COMMISSIONER OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES
COMMISSAIRE AUX LANGUES OFFICIELLES

ANNUAL REPORT 1985 In Brief

Special Feature: Youth Option

WAITING FOR . . .

- federal renewal
- increased support for our minorities
- amendments to the Act

PREFACE

In the Throne Speech of November 5, 1984, Government undertook to ensure that the equality of both official languages — "so vital to our national character and identity" — would be respected. So I felt confident in putting forward, in my first Annual Report, a general plan for renewal complete with over 50 recommendations. That plan and the integrated approach which it proposed seem to me as necessary as ever. They provide the background to this year's Report.

One year later, even if Government has largely confined itself to enunciating broad principles, our hopes have not faltered. The anticipated renewal is still in preparation, and we are also waiting to see whether enough resources will be made available to make a decent job of it. Possessing our souls in patience, we have made use of this break in the action to refine some of the basic concepts of reform and take a second look at the "Youth Option".

If this year's Report focusses once again on all three aspects of language equality, the language-of-work question seems to us an especially critical aspect of the reform at this stage, and we present a number of complementary suggestions for enabling public servants to work in their own language.

Support for our official-language minorities also remains a central concern. This question calls for major efforts on the part of Government and strong leadership in its relations with the provincial, municipal and private sectors.

Noting that the Official Languages Act is expected to be revised in the near future, we made our amendments proposals known last December. This revision is clearly overdue and is a vital element in any fundamental new beginning.

In 1986, a fresh start for this program means a recommittal to putting linguistic duality at the core of our common values. Bold new directions in language reform should help inspire the negotiations to bring Quebec back into the constitutional fold and at the same time provide an invaluable — perhaps essential — stimulus to national reconciliation.

The Commissioner of Official Languages

D'Iberville Fortier

PART I. PROSPECTS FOR RENEWAL

Leadership in Action

To the cynical ear, bilingualism and national reconciliation may sound like a contradiction in terms. For the guardian of Canada's Official Languages Act they go hand in hand. In last year's Report, we noted and approved Government's two-pronged approach to official languages policy: vigorous implementation of the Act in the federal domain and greater support to the linguistic minorities. In 1985 we looked anxiously for signs of government leadership at work.

On that score, we candidly admit to some disappointment that Government confined itself to sympathetic generalizations and a protracted policy review, however necessary. We nevertheless appreciate the fact that it did make some policy statements on official bilingualism. The Prime Minister voiced his concern about the often "folkloric" status of French as a federal language of work, and several key federal ministers took useful initiatives: the Court Challenges Program was renewed and there was a further extension of the official languages in education agreement with the provinces, for instance.

Problem areas in the implementation of the Official Languages Act change little from year to year, but it is possible to set priorities for resolving them. For instance, developing a consistent quality of federal service in the minority official language, particularly outside bilingual areas, should be priority "numero uno" over the next five years. Government should also take a more muscular attitude toward provincial laws that are out of line with the guarantees of section 23 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms on minority language education. It could help finance the technical spadework needed to work out practical administrative solutions.

Renovation of the Official Languages Act is also important, but it is only the centre-piece in an agenda for change. Above all, the Federal Government must come up with a sustained and co-ordinated promotional effort by assigning federal institutions very specific and time-framed operational goals, and holding them to them, as well as by getting the other key players involved in a more systematic and carefully priorized way.

Canadians have come to have great expectations of official bilingualism, but federal spending in this area has not been keeping pace. The notion that bilingualism is a big ticket item hardly stands up to critical scrutiny. "In a country where National Defence spending has grown by 114 per cent over the last six years, total federal spending on language reform has grown by only 30 per cent", well below the increase in the cost of living.

Canadians are generally favourable to linguistic equality. In a national survey, 74 per cent of respondents felt federal services should be provided in both English and French. Fifty-eight per cent thought that the same should apply to provincial services, and 53 per cent favoured bilingual services from business as well. The Commisioner concludes that Canadians are "prepared to think, talk and act responsibly in any way that seems to them consistent with mutual respect and a well managed investment in ourselves as people." This is certainly an area where governments "have nothing to fear but fear itself."

Language Rights

The full complexity of language law is difficult for the layman to grasp. Section 133 of the 1867 Constitution, section 23 of the Manitoba Act, 1870, section 110 of the old North-West Territories Act and the 1969 Official Languages Act, all define language rights. The Charter of Rights and Freedoms also adds a new constitutional dimension to language rights in its sections 16 to 22.

If it once seemed as if proclamation of the Charter of Rights would give rise to more litigation on language issues, in practice it was the Manitoba Act, 1870 and the old North-West Territories Act which stole the show in 1985. Interpreting these earlier texts can be fraught with problems. Not only did the Supreme Court of Canada decree all Manitoba laws passed only in English to be invalid, but Saskatchewan and Alberta courts found that the accused's right to use either French or English in a criminal trial still exists in those provinces.

Courts thus confirmed the thesis that these two provinces have constitutional language obligations in the administration of justice. This means that a majority of Canadian provinces and territories have either declared or recognized official languages duties which go beyond those set out in section 23 of the Charter. The question arises whether a form

of institutional bilingualism that would cover government services and provide for clearer autonomy of the official-language minorities in areas like education should not be extended to provinces not covered by the original constitutional guarantees such as section 133 of the Constitution Act, 1867.

Although the Charter guarantees the right of certain minorities to their own educational institutions, the courts have not yet compelled governments whose Education Acts are inconsistent with the Charter to take appropriate legal and administrative action. Moreover, several governments have proved reluctant to put into practice the rights to which they subscribed in the Constitution. "This obvious discrepancy between words and deeds should be deeply embarrassing to all people of good will."

In December 1985 the Commissioner submitted proposed changes to the Official Languages Act that would better define its objectives and intent, both inside and outside the federal administration, and clarify its relationship to the language provisions of the Charter of Rights. It was also proposed that the Commissioner's powers be reinforced in ways that would make the application of the Act more expeditious and effective.

Standing Joint Committee

Nineteen eighty-five was the first full year of operation for Parliament's Standing Joint Committee on Official Languages Policy and Programs. Committee members examined basic components of the program and the linguistic performance of certain federal bodies. In their first substantive report, they, too, pinpointed the need for greater federal-provincial co-operation to counter assimilation and erosion of the official-language minorities. Government's response was sympathetic but somewhat lacking in specifics.

Bilingualism and Multiculturalism

Over 70 ethnic groups make up the cultural heritage of some 8 million Canadians. The proportion of Canadians of neither British nor French origin has more than quadrupled since 1871; by 1981 it had reached 33 per cent. The linguistic background of future immigrants will also have a marked impact on our official languages policy.

According to leaders of many ethnic groups, retention of their mother tongue is of major importance to their members. Canadian society has an interest in establishing clear principles to protect this heritage; all initiatives to define and protect ethnic and cultural diversity in Canada are important gains for freedom and the right to be different. But it is equally important to develop programs that will resolve the ambiguities surrounding the relationship between bilingualism and multiculturalism. The Commissioner recommends that Government increase the teaching of other mother tongues and, at the same time, encourage ethnic groups to strengthen their ties with official-language communities.

PART II. THE THREE PRINCIPLES

Service to the Public

What do Canadians think about the services that are or should be available in English and French from federal and provincial governments and from the business sector? That question was partly answered by a Canada-wide survey commissioned by our Office. As already noted, a majority of Canadians favour the provision of federal, provincial and other business services in both official languages.

A market research firm was also commissioned to test the *availability* of federal services in the minority language in allegedly bilingual offices in Moncton, Cornwall, Edmonton and Quebec. Conclusion: even if bilingualism is becoming an integral part of the federal bureaucratic fabric, the results still indicate a mixed picture: the fact that "bilingual services are officially advertised is no guarantee of their availability"; one out of three minority-language enquiries was not initially dealt with in the appropriate language.

A regional round-up shows that "inconsistencies and letdowns just get more maddening with each passing year". In British Columbia, Expo 86 organisers were made aware that they were projecting a unilingual image of Canada, a problem they are endeavouring belatedly to correct. Spotty efforts have been made to improve a lacklustre situation in Manitoba; the pattern is inconsistent in Ontario; and even in Quebec, Air Canada explained unilingual French ads in the Montreal metro by claiming that Anglophones "for the most part commute by train or car." "In Nova Scotia, the availability of federal services in French

remains distinctly unimpressive, particularly outside the southwestern portion of the province."

Bilingual federal services need to be better identified and the active offer of service reinforced. Quality, too, should be more closely monitored: "The general quality of federal service to the public in English and French is rarely better than the will of politicians and policy makers. Some individual deputy heads have a strong personal commitment to effective bilingual service", while others "will not go out of their way to press forward with a program that, rightly or wrongly is not widely perceived as a major Government priority."

Equitable Participation

Anglophone and Francophone participation rates in the Public Service have stabilized in recent years. But that means that internal imbalances have not changed, either. Anglophones are still under-represented in Quebec and in the Administrative Support category; Francophones are under-represented in management (civilian and military), in the Scientific and Professional category and in bilingual regions outside Quebec.

Some departments, like Environment Canada, have shown the value of active recruitment in universities and colleges, while the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, "using obscure recruitment methods", managed to achieve only 5 per cent of French-speakers among its entire 1985 intake.

To correct such situations, federal institutions need to set specific participation objectives, complete with timetables. Participation plans must be developed that take into consideration the many factors, such as labour force, recruitment and mobility patterns, that affect the relative presence of the two groups. The Commissioner also recommends that non-departmental organizations should collect and publish, between now and December 31, 1986, *all* the data that is necessary to permit evaluation of their performance with respect to equitable participation.

Languages of Work

"It is important to understand that French-speaking Canadians are not Anglophones who somehow went astray." They have their own lan-

guage, culture, history and vision of their country. A federal administration that subordinates one of our official languages or turns it into a mere language of translation not only contravenes our Constitution, it tends to destabilize Canadian society as a whole.

Present policy supposes that French-speaking employees are free to use French to roughly the same extent as English-speaking employees are free to use English. To paraphrase Dickens: "If the policy supposes that, the policy is a ass."

Present provisions have been in place for over a dozen years now, "during which an ever-increasing number of jobs have been designated bilingual", and "their occupants are obliged to be bilingual at gradually higher levels" of second language proficiency.

But "the extent to which the use of French as a language of work has kept place with those changes is highly questionnable." Francophones in the National Capital Region, for instance, make up 35 per cent of the Public Service but work more than 60 per cent of their time in English. French has "achieved the status of a valued commodity in the Capital without becoming . . . a working language in the fullest sense."

We may well have reached the limits of what existing policy can deliver. If French is to become competitive as a working language of the federal administration, it needs to be given something more than simply a fighting chance: "we must envisage policies that are able to compensate . . . for the various forms of predisposition that work against it."

Government must identify sectors where bilingual Francophones and Anglophones would work "preferably in French". This may be "the *only* way to develop a variety of professional environments" where French becomes "the *natural* choice of most employees." A reciprocal civic obligation must also be fostered between the two linguistic groups: Anglophones should see it as their duty to create the necessary environment and encourage the use of French; and Francophones would normally be expected to use their own language at work, subject, of course, to such constraints as serving the public in the language of its choice.

Political parties in the Commons have seen the link between the use of French and its public prestige, but this message has yet to penetrate

the government bureaucracy, where "senior level example is generally lamentable."

■ Complaints

Since complaints are essential to the reform the Act seeks to achieve, the Commissioner's Office conducted a review of its complaints process in 1985 to see how it could be improved. The tendency in the past was to notify offending institutions of each alleged infraction as soon as possible. In the future the Office plans to group complaints, where appropriate, before taking action. This method should make better use of human resources and produce more penetrating results.

Although the overall number of complaints dropped from 1421 in 1984 to 1079 in 1985, largely for technical reasons, complaints relating to language of work are on the increase, notably from the Department of National Defense and the Canadian Security Intelligence Service. The latter was the subject of 15 complaints representing over 200 unilingual English communications between head office and its Quebec Regional Office. "A fair gaggle of institutions have not grasped the implications of language equality on the job."

In the public transportation field, Air Canada, Via Rail and CN Marine have a large share of complaints about lack of service in French. In many cases these can be traced to conflicting provisions in collective agreements. The Commissioner suggests that, if Government cannot ensure that the Act and the Constitution prevail on this point, it may have to explain its neglect before the courts.

All too often, there is a tendency to mislay linguistic considerations at the planning level. The Canada Games at Saint John (New Brunswick), for example, gave rise to complaints about press releases in English only or in the sort of French that could best be rendered as follows: "When the race is finish, the film is to process, to clean and to insert into a spectator."

PART III — EQUALITY IN OPERATION

Federal Institutions

The main objects of our attention in 1985 were the central agencies and larger organizations, those with special language problems, and institutions such as the House of Commons and the Governor General's Residence which are of symbolic importance to Canadians.

Our recent audit of the Department of Agriculture confirmed once again the weakness of its official languages program. Not only does its bilingual capacity leave much to be desired in many regions, but French is rarely used as a language of work outside Quebec.

Air Canada managed to improve its performance: 60 percent of in-flight personnel are now bilingual; but little is done to inform passengers that bilingual services are available. This may explain in part why the Office received 136 complaints against our national airline in 1985.

The Bank of Canada remains one of the better performers in the language field. Bilingual services are offered both at headquarters and through Bank agencies.

Although language of work is still a problem and English-speakers remain severely under-represented in Quebec (13 Anglophones out of 440 employees), the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation is also one of the better achievers.

Canada Post is improving its services slowly, but seniority provisions in collective agreements still hamper progress toward a satisfactory level of spontaneous service, as witness the 82 complaints received in 1985.

Despite significant budget cuts, the CBC managed generally to maintain local and regional services to minority-language groups.

The Canadian International Development Agency has no difficulty offering services in both languages and enabling its employees to work in the language of their choice. By contrast, the question of language of work at CN is far from resolved, especially in New Brunswick.

In the Department of Communications, progress was not as good this year as might have been hoped. The same can be said of Consumer and Corporate Affairs. A major reorganization also put official languages projects on hold at Correctional Service Canada.

Bilingual services in the regions are satisfactory at Employment and Immigration, but French is little used as a language of work outside Quebec. While the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources continues to struggle to provide better services in both official languages, Environment Canada is generally able to provide its clientele with good bilingual services. However, it too has a number of endemic language-of-work and participation problems.

Members of the public are usually well served in both official languages at the Governor General's Residence, but efforts are needed to increase the frequency of guided tours in French. It is also striking that, although 65 percent of GGR employees are French-speaking, English dominates as a language of work.

The House of Commons is in good linguistic health, and management has made some progress in resolving some of the language-of-work problems. The situation was less positive at the Department of Justice, where language matters were largely set aside and our 1984 recommendations have yet to be attended to.

The National Arts Centre and the National Capital Commission both have a strong bilingual capability. Here again, however, the use of French as language of work is not what it should be at the NCC. Nor has French assumed its rightful place as a language of work in the Department of National Defence. Most of the 110 complaints lodged against DND in 1985 were on this issue.

Petro-Canada made only moderate progress in 1985: its main achievement was the installation of bilingual signs at another 81 service stations in Quebec.

Employees at the Prime Minister's office are well aware of the importance of bilingual service, but the use of French as a language of work is very limited.

The Public Service Commission offers a good model for providing bilingual services of high quality. The Department of Public Works has made some strides and should be commended. In contrast, the RCMP has a long row to hoe before its troubles are over; complaints against the Force deal mainly with the unilingualism of Anglophone personnel.

Statistics Canada is working hard to implement its official languages program, and Transport Canada and Via Rail are slowly improving. Veterans Affairs, on the other hand, has lost ground; the proportion of Francophones at departmental headquarters in Charlottetown (13.8%) is a particular cause for concern.

The Federal Machine

Canada's bilingualism program has recently been called "a sacred cow" and a costly illusion. Such judgements do not stand up to an objective analysis of our real situation.

Official bilingualism is based on a practical recognition "that there are millions of Canadians, in Quebec, New Brunswick, Manitoba, Ontario and you name it, who have been born into a bilingual environment." Given the choice, "they will certainly use their own official language just as much as social circumstances and enlightened governments will allow."

In effect, Canadians' opportunities for exercising linguistic choice have been growing considerably, and there is no reason to feel ashamed of "contributing to a milk-giving cow of that order."

In 1985, Government made clear that its first order of business was to put its own house in order. Based on its accomplishments, however, one had the impression that "pursuit of official language objectives had largely been confided to the linguocrats. . . with orders to keep things moving. . . but not to give way to paroxysms of zeal."

The Commissioner finds that, while all central agencies and all departments have their role to play in implementing the Official Languages Act, Treasury Board is supposed to provide not just routine program management but the promotional spark that is still very much needed. He concludes, however, that the Board "is no longer at the leading edge

of reform" and is too ready to "turn all the house-cleaning and home improvement duties over to departmental managers."

As far as the cost of operating the Public Service in both English and French is concerned, the annual expenditure ($250 million) represents an increasingly modest proportion of overall government spending. "And while it would be nice to think that political priorities and public spending enjoy a purely platonic relationship, everyone who knows anything in or about the public service understands the unsubtle semiotics of the dollar sign."

If the success of "integrating" official languages functions within other standard administrative functions can be measured by its place in the internal audit systems of federal institutions, it is too soon for Government to loosen up on centralized monitoring of the program. The Commissioner found that "internal auditors were not always well placed or well equipped to carry out linguistic audits, and, even if they were, there are significant deficiencies in the audit guidelines provided by some central agencies in this regard."

Out of a total of some 55 recommendations put forward in last year's Annual Report, it is estimated that "less than a quarter were fully or promptly acted on in 1985." Issues raised last year, such as "the deployment, language abilities and first official language of employees in bilingual jobs, for example", are still awaiting an appropriate response.

PART IV. THE MINORITY CHALLENGE

Minorities Colloquium

One of the most important events of the Commissioner's year was the organization of a national colloquium, held in Ottawa-Hull last October, on the theme "The Minorities: Time for Solutions". It brought together over a hundred people from various backgrounds — minority representatives, political figures, senior officials, constitutional specialists and people from the private sector — to look at the many problems of concern to our English-speaking and French-speaking minorities.

"Participants unanimously stressed the importance of all federal institutions accepting their responsibilities toward the minorities" and the need for sustained co-operation by the federal and provincial governments and the private sector. To judge by subsequent reactions from the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State and members of the Standing Committee on Official Languages, the message of the colloquium was clearly received and is being given serious consideration.

Minority News

The Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada (the Macdonald Commission) devoted considerable attention to the situation of the French-speaking minorities outside Quebec. It judged that language reform efforts so far "clearly fall somewhat short of true equality." Among its recommendations on this topic was the suggestion that Ontario recognize English and French as official languages and thus set an example for other provinces.

The Commissioner highlights such 1985 developments as the appearance of the Bovey Report in Ontario drawing attention to the very unequal access of Franco-Ontarians to post-secondary education in their language. Similarly, a report put out by the *Conseil Franco-ontarien de l'éducation* demands outright abolition of mixed schools on account of their negative impact on Franco-Ontarian schooling. The Commissioner supports that view and, by the same token, welcomes the decision to establish a homogeneous Francophone school board in Ottawa-Carleton.

Generally speaking, the future for Franco-Ontarians now appears brighter than it has for some time, particularly in view of the growing movement toward recognizing French as an official language of the province, which would "confirm in law a situation that already exists in fact."

Quebec faces linguistic challenges unlike those of any other province. It must defend French at home, help the Francophone minorities outside the province and still respect the rights of its English-speaking minority.

The province has once again accepted its important and historic role in promoting the development of French-speaking groups outside Que-

bec. Where English-speaking Quebecers are concerned, it has to be careful of the impact that some of its administrative reforms could have on the accessibility of services in English. Undertakings given by the new Provincial Government suggest that solutions to inter-linguistic problems can be worked out.

In the West, the year's outstanding event was the Supreme Court of Canada's judgement that all Manitoba laws adopted only in English were invalid. The Commissioner hopes this will cue a federal and provincial effort to upgrade French services in that province.

French-speaking Saskatchewans are asking the courts to recognize their constitutional right to manage their own schools. Franco-Albertans seem to have had this principle recognized by a provincial court, but nothing concrete has been done about it. In British Columbia, the French-speaking community turned its attention to economic development. Whereas the Yukon is pondering the idea of declaring French an official language on its own initiative, the Northwest Territories is having some problems applying the official bilingualism it proclaimed in 1984.

Down East, New Brunswick awaits the report of its Advisory Committee on Official Languages with some apprehension, but important projects have been launched under a $23 million bilateral agreement signed with the Federal Government last July. Educational issues dominated the scene in the other three Atlantic provinces.

Radio and Television

Official-language minorities would like to enjoy radio and television that is better adapted to their milieux and their needs. Centralization of production in Toronto or Montreal alienates the minorities as much as it attracts them. As a result, they turn to majority-language networks, which are at least more concerned with local events.

The Commissioner points out that the minority cultures are particularly vulnerable and that they need access to appropriate electronic media if they are to survive and develop. Greater emphasis should be placed on equality of opportunity, "whether in terms of creative work or of access to technology."

PART V. YOUTH, LANGUAGES AND EDUCATION

The Youth Option

The Act making English and French the official languages of Canada was born into a country where such equality was seldom realized. Turning that around was not something that could be achieved in a single generation. Hence the importance of schooling in the official languages and their teaching as second languages.

The so-called "Youth Option" rapidly became a recurrent theme and even provided "a convenient cop-out for all those people who would rather this particular hot potato be passed to succeeding generations." In 1985, the Office tried to find some answers to the following questions. How bilingual are our young people? What do they think of official bilingualism? Are bilinguals really in demand on the job market? How do young people view their own future in a bilingual Canada?

One thing is clear: young Canadians continue to be considerably more bilingual than their elders. The proportion of 15 to 24 year olds who considered themselves bilingual did not change between the 1971 and 1981 censuses (18.2 per cent compared to figures of 13.4 and 15.3 per cent for all age groups), but the number of young bilinguals rose by well over 100,000 in that decade. Among people of English and other non-French mother tongues in Quebec, the proportion of those who claim to speak both languages grew from about 50 per cent in 1971 to 65 per cent in 1981, in the 15 to 24 age group. Eighty-four per cent of young Francophones outside Quebec are bilingual, and Anglophones in all parts of Canada are increasingly so, especially among 15 to 24 year-olds, for whom the 1981 figure was a respectable 10.2 per cent.

What is more, young people have a more open attitude on language issues than older Canadians, whether it be toward learning the other official language or toward its official recognition. They are not only readier to accept the principles of language equality but more inclined to consider personal bilingualism a worthwhile undertaking.

Where the job market is concerned, young Canadians are largely convinced of the importance of being bilingual. The real need for a knowledge of both languages is, however, more obvious in bilingual regions: 75 per cent of 405 English-speaking graduates of French immersion in

the Ottawa area declared that their knowledge of French had been beneficial in the work environment.

Has the Youth Option succeeded? The survival of the official-language minorities is still not assured, and growth in the numbers of young bilinguals does not relieve governments of their linguistic responsibilities. Much necessary information remains to be brought together; it is still too soon to know the real impact of this somewhat more bilingual generation on our society.

The Education System

Even though the federal-provincial agreement on official languages in education has been extended, second language and minority language education are suffering from a virtual cap on federal funding at a time when demand is on the rise. Announced increases will be just enough to cover the rise in costs. These programs will not perish of starvation in the short term, but "symptoms of malnutrition are already visible." The Commissioner recommends a review of priorities and more generous financing.

Minority Official Language Education

While two thirds of the federal budget for official languages in education supports minority language education, Quebec receives more than half of this money ($65 million) to maintain its minority language education system. At the other end of the spectrum, Francophones outside Quebec, who, for obvious reasons, have not yet developed an adequate infrastructure, have to make do with the rest. This type of imbalance "is dangerously out of keeping" with the program's developmental philosophy as far as Francophones are concerned, and needs urgently to be reviewed.

Some progress is noted in virtually all provinces, but there was a further drop in enrollments in English schools in Quebec. It is recommended that the Secretary of State, in planning future federal-provincial agreements, increase aid to minority official language communities which have as yet relatively little access to education in their own language. It is also recommended that a national conference and a series of regional meetings be held to explore ways of ensuring that official-language minorities can manage their own educational facilities.

Second Official Language Instruction

Since 1970, the Federal Government has invested upward of 733 million dollars in second official language programs, and positive results have been obtained across the country. However, the monies available between now and 1988 seem insufficient to satisfy an ever-increasing demand, particularly in the French immersion sector. Furthermore, in 1984-85, over 2 million elementary and secondary students out of a possible 4.3 million, nationwide, were not in second official language classes of any kind. The question of access is rapidly becoming *the* issue in second language learning.

The Commissioner continues to recommend that English language universities require a knowledge of both official languages for admission. The Secretary of State is also invited to examine the feasibility of establishing a national program of bilingual exchanges for young Canadians.

Other Languages

While the mandate of the Commissioner of Official Languages is limited to the two official languages, the standing and development of other languages is bound to be of concern. Over 46,000 students in Canada's elementary and secondary schools study some 20 languages, such as Greek, Hebrew, Chinese, Arabic and Spanish. More than 100,000 attend supplementary schools in order to develop and maintain their knowledge of heritage languages. The teaching and learning of native languages is also on the upswing, in part because of the realization that some native languages are in grave danger of disappearing. It is recommended that interested parties be brought together by the Secretary of State to study the actual extent of opportunities for Canadian school children to learn languages other than English and French.

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COMMISSAIRE AUX LANGUES OFFICIELLES

COMMISSIONER OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

Sommaire du RAPPORT ANNUEL 1985

Dossier spécial : option jeunesse

ATTENDANT...

un appui accru pour nos minorités

Révision de la Loi

AVANT-PROPOS

Dans le discours du Trône du 5 novembre 1984, le gouvernement s'est engagé à faire respecter l'égalité des deux langues officielles qui est « vitale pour notre originalité et notre identité nationale ». C'est donc avec confiance que j'ai exposé dans mon premier rapport annuel un plan de relance comportant une cinquantaine de recommandations portant sur la réforme du régime linguistique. Ce plan et l'approche intégrée qu'il préconise me paraissent toujours aussi essentiels ; ils servent de toile de fond à ce nouveau rapport.

Un an plus tard, nos espoirs n'ont pas diminué, même si le gouvernement s'en est surtout tenu à des exposés de principe. Le renouvellement attendu est encore en gestation tout comme l'attribution de ressources qui soient à la hauteur de la tâche. Nous armant de patience, nous avons profité de cette pause pour mieux cerner quelques notions fondamentales et pour réexaminer « l'option jeunesse ».

Si encore une fois toutes les composantes de l'égalité linguistique ont retenu notre attention, c'est la question de la *langue de travail* dans la Fonction publique qui nous paraît l'élément critique de la réforme linguistique en ce moment et nous proposons différents moyens complémentaires permettant aux fonctionnaires de travailler dans leur langue.

La nécessité d'assurer un soutien accru à nos minorités de langue officielle demeure une préoccupation constante. Cette question exigera un grand effort du gouvernement et l'exercice d'un leadership vigoureux auprès des gouvernements provinciaux, des municipalités et du secteur privé.

Comme il est prévu que la *Loi sur les langues officielles* soit mise à jour prochainement, nous avons rendu publiques en décembre 1985 nos propositions en la matière. Cette révision est urgente et indissociable d'une relance en profondeur.

En 1986, la relance passe par le retour de notre dualité linguistique au coeur de nos valeurs collectives. Ces nouvelles orientations devront inspirer également la négociation permettant la rentrée du Québec dans la famille constitutionnelle. La « réconciliation nationale » pourra y puiser des éléments précieux, voire essentiels.

Le Commissaire aux langues officielles

D'Iberville Fortier

PARTIE I — PERSPECTIVES DE RENOUVEAU

Le bilinguisme et la réconciliation nationale

Pour les cyniques, les expressions « bilinguisme » et « réconciliation nationale » peuvent sembler contradictoires. Mais aux yeux du Commissaire aux langues officielles, ces politiques vont de pair. Nous avions noté dans notre rapport de l'an dernier que le gouvernement avait mis le cap sur deux destinations : une mise en œuvre vigoureuse de la Loi dans l'appareil fédéral et un soutien accru aux minorités linguistiques. En 1985, nous avons mesuré de notre vigie et non sans inquiétudes la distance parcourue.

Nous sommes quelque peu déçus de constater que le gouvernement s'en soit tenu à des généralisations sympathiques et, si nécessaire soit-il, à un long réexamen des politiques. Nous avons toutefois apprécié certaines prises de position du gouvernement en matière de bilinguisme officiel. À cet égard, le Premier ministre a exprimé sa frustration devant le statut souvent « folklorique » réservé au français comme langue de travail au sein de l'appareil fédéral. Les ministres fédéraux ayant un rôle clé ont également pris des initiatives : le Programme d'aide à la contestation judiciaire a été reconduit, l'accord fédéral-provincial sur l'enseignement des langues officielles a été prolongé.

Bien que les problèmes de mise en œuvre de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* varient peu d'année en année, certains secteurs devraient être priorisés. Par exemple, l'établissement de mesures assurant des services de qualité dans la langue officielle minoritaire, surtout en dehors des zones bilingues, devraient être la « priorité *numéro un* » au cours des cinq prochaines années. Le gouvernement devrait adopter aussi une attitude nettement plus interventionniste face aux lois provinciales qui s'écartent des garanties de l'article 23 de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés* concernant l'enseignement en langue minoritaire. Par exemple, il pourrait aider à financer le travail technique nécessaire en vue d'arriver à des solutions administratives pratiques.

En ce qui a trait à la révision de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, elle n'est selon le Commissaire que l'élément central d'un ensemble de changements à apporter. Le gouvernement fédéral doit surtout fournir « un effort de promotion soutenu et coordonné » en fixant aux organismes fédéraux des buts et un échéancier très précis et en exigeant qu'ils soient res-

pectés. Il doit aussi fixer les priorités et s'assurer que les autres intervenants participent plus systématiquement à la réforme du régime linguistique.

Les attentes des Canadiens en matière de bilinguisme sont grandes, mais au cours des six dernières années le gouvernement n'a pas répondu à celles-ci en consacrant des sommes équivalentes aux programmes. Dire que le bilinguisme est « un gros item », est une affirmation qui ne résiste pas l'analyse. « Dans un pays où le budget de la Défense nationale s'est accru de 114 p.100 au cours des six dernières années, les fonds consacrés à la réforme du régime linguistique n'ont augmenté au total que de 30 p.100 », ce qui est bien en deçà de l'indice du coût de la vie.

Les Canadiens se montrent assez ouverts à la question de l'égalité linguistique. Un sondage national indique que 74 p.100 des répondants estiment que les services fédéraux devraient être assurés en français et en anglais. Cinquante-huit pour cent des répondants sont favorables à des services provinciaux bilingues et 53 p.100 ont le même point de vue sur les services assurés par le secteur privé. De l'avis du Commissaire, les Canadiens « sont manifestement disposés à consentir les efforts et les investissements de toutes sortes, nécessaires pour se réaliser en tant que peuple, dans le respect mutuel. » Voilà une situation « où le gouvernement n'a rien d'autre à craindre que ses propres craintes. »

Les droits linguistiques

La complexité des droits linguistiques au Canada est peu connue du profane. L'article 133 de la *Loi constitutionnelle de 1867*, l'article 23 de la *Loi de 1970 sur le Manitoba*, l'article 110 de l'ancienne *Loi des Territoires du Nord-Ouest* et la *Loi sur les langues officielles* de 1969, sont autant de textes législatifs qui définissent des droits linguistiques. *La Charte canadienne des droits et libertés* en traite aussi dans ses articles 16 à 22.

Alors qu'on s'attendait à ce que ce soit les articles de la Charte qui donnent lieu à un accroissement des litiges linguistiques, ce sont plutôt la *Loi de 1970 sur le Manitoba* et la *Loi des Territoires du Nord-Ouest* qui ont été invoquées en 1985. Ces textes posent d'ailleurs aux juristes des problèmes d'interprétation. En 1985, le jugement de la Cour suprême

invalidant les lois du Manitoba adoptées uniquement en anglais, a particulièrement retenu l'attention. De plus un tribunal de la Saskatchewan et un tribunal de l'Alberta ont statué que le droit d'employer le français ou l'anglais dans une cour de juridiction criminelle existe toujours dans leurs provinces respectives.

Ainsi, cette année certaines cours ont confirmé que ces deux provinces avaient des responsabilités constitutionnelles en matière de langue officielle dans l'administration de la justice. Cela signifie que plus de la moitié des provinces et territoires canadiens ont reconnu ou promulgué des droits linguistiques allant au-delà des prescriptions de l'article 23 de la Charte. La question se pose donc à savoir s'il ne faudrait pas étendre à d'autres provinces que celles concernées par l'article 133 de la *Loi constitutionnelle de 1867*, un bilinguisme institutionnel qui inclurait les services gouvernementaux et une certaine autonomie institutionnelle pour la minorité, entre autres, dans le secteur de l'éducation.

Bien que la Charte garantisse le droit à l'instruction dans des établissements scolaires de la minorité, les juges n'ont pas voulu jusqu'à maintenant forcer les autorités compétentes à concrétiser ces droits. D'ailleurs, on constate que plusieurs gouvernements répugnent à traduire dans les faits les droits linguistiques qu'ils ont consentis eux-mêmes à inscrire dans la Constitution. « Cet hiatus entre les paroles et les actes... inspire un profond sentiment de gêne aux gens de bonne volonté. »

Le Commissaire a recommandé en décembre 1985 des modifications à la *Loi sur les langues officielles*. Elles visent à mieux définir les objectifs et le but de la Loi, à la fois au sein de l'Administration fédérale et à l'extérieur, et à préciser les rapports de celle-ci avec les dispositions de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés*. Il est également proposé de renforcer effectivement les pouvoirs du Commissaire de manière à assurer une mise en vigueur plus dynamique de la loi.

Le Comité mixte permanent

À toutes fins utiles, 1985 aura été la première année d'existence du Comité mixte permanent sur la politique et les programmes de langues officielles. Les membres du Comité ont examiné les principales composantes des programmes et la performance linguistique de certains organismes fédéraux. Ils ont également reconnu dans leur premier rapport

le besoin d'une meilleure coopération fédérale-provinciale pour lutter contre l'assimilation des minorités de langue officielle. La réaction du gouvernement a été empreinte de bonnes intentions, mais assez vague.

Bilinguisme et multiculturalisme

Plus de huit millions de Canadiens sont issus de plus de 70 groupes ethniques. La proportion de Canadiens d'origine autre que britannique et française a plus que quadruplé depuis 1872, pour s'établir à 33 p.100 en 1981. L'héritage culturel et linguistique des immigrants aura inévitablement un impact sur toute la politique en matière de langues officielles.

Les dirigeants de ces groupes ethniques accordent beaucoup d'importance à la conservation de la langue maternelle et dans la mesure où ces groupes désirent protéger leur patrimoine linguistique, la société canadienne a intérêt à reconnaître et à préserver cet héritage. Toutes les initiatives visant à mieux définir et à protéger la diversité ethnique et culturelle du Canada constituent un pas en avant vers la liberté, vers le droit à la différence. Toutefois, il importe de développer des programmes qui permettront de dissiper les ambiguïtés entourant le bilinguisme et le multiculturalisme. Le Commissaire recommande au gouvernement fédéral de favoriser l'enseignement des langues ancestrales tout en encourageant les groupes ethniques à tisser des liens avec les communautés de langue officielle.

PARTIE II — L'ÉGALITÉ LINGUISTIQUE : LES TROIS PRINCIPES

Le service au public

Qu'en est-il des services qui sont ou qui devraient être offerts en français et en anglais au niveau fédéral, provincial ainsi que dans l'entreprise privée ? Pour répondre à cette question, nous avons commandé une enquête à travers le pays. Comme nous l'avons déjà noté, une majorité se dit en faveur des services bilingues sur le plan fédéral, provincial et dans le secteur privé.

Nous avons également commandé à une firme spécialisée en études de marché une vérification de l'état actuel des services fédéraux offerts dans la langue de la minorité dans des bureaux dits bilingues à Moncton,

Cornwall, Edmonton et Québec. Si « le bilinguisme est en train de s'intégrer aux pratiques administratives fédérales », les résultats de l'enquête révèlent que la performance fédérale dans ce domaine comporte toujours « du bon et du mauvais ». De fait, « l'annonce officielle de services bilingues n'est pas une garantie de leur accessibilité. » Le tiers des demandes de renseignements dans la langue minoritaire n'ont pas fait l'objet d'une attention immédiate dans la même langue.

Un survol des provinces révèle que « les lacunes et les déceptions deviennent de plus en plus irritantes d'une année à l'autre. » En Colombie-Britannique, les organisateurs d'Expo 86 ont été informés sur le tard que le site de l'exposition projetait l'image d'un Canada unilingue anglophone et ils s'efforcent de régler le problème. Les progrès sont assez fragmentaires au Manitoba et le service est inégal en Ontario. Au Québec, Air Canada a expliqué sa publicité unilingue française dans le métro en révélant que « ...la communauté anglophone utilise moins le métro, préférant le train et la voiture. » En Nouvelle-Écosse, la disponibilité de services fédéraux en français n'a rien de renversant, notamment en dehors du sud-ouest de la province.

En règle générale, les services bilingues du gouvernement fédéral doivent être non seulement mieux identifiés et offerts plus activement, mais encore mieux contrôlés du point de vue de la qualité. En effet, « la qualité d'ensemble des services fédéraux offerts au public en français et en anglais est largement fonction de la détermination de la gent politique et des décissionnaires. » Certains sous-ministres se sont très fermement engagés et nous leur en savons gré, alors que d'autres « ne feront aucun effort particulier pour faire avancer un programme que la plupart, à tort ou à raison, ne considèrent pas comme une haute priorité du gouvernement. »

La participation équitable

On assiste depuis quelques années à une stabilisation des taux de participation des Francophones et des Anglophones dans les organismes fédéraux. Cependant, les déséquilibres internes sont aussi restés à peu près les mêmes. Les Anglophones sont toujours sous-représentés dans la catégorie Soutien administratif ainsi que dans l'ensemble des services du gouvernement fédéral au Québec. Par contre, les Francophones sont sous-représentés chez les cadres supérieurs (civils et militaires), parmi

parmi les scientifiques et spécialistes et dans les régions bilingues en dehors du Québec.

Certains ministères, Environnement Canada, par exemple, ont démontré l'utilité d'une action concrète et suivie auprès des universités et des collèges. Par contre, le Service canadien du renseignement de sécurité, en raison de « méthodes de recrutement furtives », n'a pu découvrir plus de 5 p.100 de Francophones parmi ses recrues en 1985.

Afin de redresser cette situation, il importe que les organismes fédéraux établissent des objectifs et des échéanciers précis. Ils auraient avantage, en outre, de développer des plans de participation qui tiennent compte des nombreux facteurs qui influent sur la participation équitable tels que le niveau de recrutement et la mobilité du personnel. Le Commissaire recommande également que les organismes non ministériels compilent, d'ici le 31 décembre 1986, toutes les données nécessaires à l'appréciation de leur rendement linguistique en matière de particiaption.

La langue de travail

« Les Canadiens de langue française, faut-il le rappeler, ne sont pas des Anglophones qui auraient mal tourné. » Ils ont leur propre langue, leur propre culture, leur histoire et même une vision du pays qui est la leur. Un gouvernement fédéral qui refoule une des langues officielles ou la réduit à un à un rôle de « langue de traduction » non seulement contrevient à la Constitution, mais met en péril la société canadienne dans son ensemble.

La politique en vigueur laisse supposer que les employés francophones sont à peu près aussi libres d'utiliser le français que les employés anglophones l'anglais. « Mais de la politique à l'application, il y a loin. »

Les dispositions actuelles ont été édictées il y a plus de douze ans ; entretemps, les postes désignés bilingues se sont multipliés. De plus, une proportion toujours croissante de leurs titulaires sont bilingues ; et l'on a même haussé le niveau de compétence exigé d'eux en langue seconde.

Cependant, il semble très peu probable que l'utilisation du français au travail ait progressé au même rythme. Le taux de participation des Francophones dans la région de la Capitale nationale est de 35 p.100, mais

ils utilisent l'anglais au travail plus de 60 p.100 du temps. « C'est ainsi que le français constitue aujourd'hui une denrée appréciée dans la Capitale sans être devenue... une langue de travail au sens plein. »

Avec la politique actuelle, il se peut qu'on soit incapable de faire mieux. Si nous voulons que le français puisse vraiment concurrencer l'anglais comme langue de travail, il faut adopter des politiques qui puissent contrer sa prédominance et rétablir l'équilibre.

Le gouvernement doit identifier des secteurs de travail où, grâce à la présence de Francophones et d'Anglophones bilingues, l'utilisation du français serait privilégiée. C'est peut-être « l'unique façon de créer un éventail assez large de milieux professionnels » où le français s'imposerait naturellement comme langue de travail. Mais il faut également compter sur le développement d'une « obligation civique réciproque liant en matière de langue de travail les deux groupes linguistiques. » Les Anglophones auraient l'obligation de créer un milieu propice et d'encourager activement l'emploi du français. On s'attendrait à ce que les Francophones en contrepartie utilisent normalement leur propre langue au travail en respectant bien entendu les obligations du service au public dans les deux langues officielles.

Les partis politiques présents aux Communes ont démontré qu'ils ont bien saisi le lien qui existe entre l'utilisation du français et son prestige public. Mais le mandarinat fédéral n'a malheureusement pas compris le message : « La haute direction donne, en général, un exemple lamentable. »

■ Les plaintes

Compte tenu de l'importance des plaintes dans la mise en application de la Loi, le Commissariat aux langues officielles a réexaminé cette année ses procédures à cet égard afin de les rendre plus efficaces. Au lieu d'enquêter individuellement sur chaque infraction, il a constaté l'intérêt de grouper certaines plaintes avant d'engager une action. Cette méthode devrait permettre une meilleure utilisation des ressources et donner de meilleurs résultats.

En grande partie pour des raisons d'ordre technique, le nombre de plaintes a chuté de 1 421 en 1984, à 1 079 en 1985. Toutefois, la proportion de plaintes portant sur la langue de travail a augmenté, particulièrement au ministère de la Défense nationale. Par ailleurs, le Service

canadien du renseignement de sécurité fait l'objet de 15 plaintes portant sur quelque 200 communications unilingues anglaises entre l'administration centrale et le bureau du Québec. Il semble bien qu'« une floppée d'organismes n'ont pas compris... ce que signifie l'égalité linguistique en milieu de travail. »

Dans le domaine des transports publics, Air Canada, Via Rail et CN Marine font encore l'objet de plaintes attribuables au manque de services en français. La difficulté tient souvent aux clauses d'ancienneté des conventions collectives. Le Commissaire note que si le gouvernement ne peut donner à la Loi et à la Constitution la priorité dans ce domaine, il se pourrait que les organismes en cause aient à s'expliquer devant les tribunaux.

On a trop souvent tendance à oublier les aspects linguistiques lorsque vient le temps de planifier les activités. C'est ainsi que les Jeux du Canada à Saint-Jean (Nouveau-Brunswick) ont donné lieu à des plaintes portant sur des communiqués de presse en anglais seulement ou rédigés dans un français indigne, dont l'exemple suivant : « Quand la course est fini (*sic*), le film est processer, nettoyer et insérer dans un téléspectateur (*sic*). »

PARTIE III — L'ÉGALITÉ LINGUISTIQUE : LES RESPONSABLES

Ministères et organismes

Cette année, nous avons mis l'accent sur les ministères et organismes les plus importants, sur ceux qui éprouvent des difficultés avec leur programme linguistique et sur les institutions qui ont aux yeux des Canadiens une valeur symbolique, comme la Chambre des communes et la Résidence du Gouverneur général.

Notre récente vérification à Agriculture Canada n'a fait que confirmer les faiblesses de son rendement linguistique. Sa capacité bilingue laisse à désirer dans plusieurs régions et le français est peu utilisé comme langue de travail en dehors du Québec. Par contre, Air Canada a progressé à quelques égards. Quelque 60 p.100 du personnel navigant sont bilingues, mais peu d'efforts sont cependant faits pour informer les passagers des services bilingues qui leur sont offerts. Cela explique en partie les 136 plaintes que nous avons reçues contre la Société cette année.

La Banque du Canada est encore une des institutions fédérales les plus avancées en ce qui a trait à la question linguistique. Des services bilingues sont offerts dans tous les bureaux et agences. C'est également le cas de la Société canadienne d'hypothèque et de logement. On y note cependant quelques problèmes de langue de travail et une sous-représentation des Anglophones au Québec : il n'y a que 13 Anglophones parmi 440 employés.

Postes Canada s'améliore lentement. Le principe de l'ancienneté dans les conventions collectives continue de retarder le processus visant à concrétiser le bilinguisme des services au public. Ainsi, nous avons reçu 82 plaintes contre la Société en 1985. Malgré d'importantes compressions budgétaires, la société Radio-Canada a réussi à épargner aux minorités linguistiques certaines des réductions de services locaux et régionaux que l'on pouvait craindre.

À l'Agence canadienne de développement international, les services sont offerts dans les deux langues officielles et les employés peuvent travailler dans la langue de leur choix. Au Canadien national, par contre, les problèmes sont nombreux et la question de la langue de travail ne se règle pas vite, particulièrement au Nouveau-Brunswick.

Cette année, le ministère des Communications n'a enregistré que des progrès modestes dans ses services bilingues et il en va de même pour Consommation et Corporations Canada. Les projets linguistiques ont aussi marqué un temps d'arrêt au Service correctionnel du Canada en 1985, les énergies ayant été consacrées à une vaste ré-organisation administrative.

La prestation de services bilingues dans les régions est satisfaisante à Emploi et Immigration Canada, mais le français est peu utilisé au travail en dehors du Québec. Les efforts visant à concrétiser le bilinguisme se poursuivent à Énergie, Mines et Ressources Canada, alors que le ministère de l'Environnement offre des services de qualité à sa clientèle. Il connaît cependant des problèmes persistants en matière de langue de travail et de participation.

À la Résidence du Gouverneur général, le public a droit à un bon service dans les deux langues officielles. Les visites guidées en français sont cependant peu nombreuses et l'anglais domine comme langue de travail, même si 65 p.100 des employés sont francophones. La performance

linguistique de la Chambre des communes est bonne et des progrès ont été enregistrés en ce qui touche la langue de travail. Le ministère de la Justice n'a pas encore mis en application les recommandations formulées par le Commissariat l'an dernier et la plupart des problèmes sont restés sans solution.

Le Centre national des arts et la Commission de la Capitale nationale offrent tous deux d'excellents services bilingues. Le français a cependant encore beaucoup de progrès à faire avant de vraiment devenir une langue de travail à la CCN. Le ministère de la Défense nationale est, lui aussi, un organisme où le français n'a pas la place qui lui revient comme langue de travail. D'ailleurs, bon nombre des 110 plaintes envoyées au Commissariat en 1985 concernaient cet aspect.

Les efforts sont demeurés modestes chez Pétro-Canada et l'installation de signalisation bilingue dans 81 stations-service du Québec est la principale amélioration.

Au Cabinet du Premier ministre, les employés sont particulièrement sensibilisés à l'importance des services bilingues. Il n'en demeure pas moins que le français y occupe toujours une place limitée comme langue de travail.

La Commission de la Fonction publique pourrait servir d'exemple tant par la qualité que par la régularité de ses services dans les deux langues officielles. Le ministère des Travaux publics a également fait des progrès en ce sens. Par contraste, la question des langues officielles demeure encore le talon d'Achille de la Gendarmerie royale du Canada, les plaintes des citoyens portant principalement sur l'unilinguisme du personnel anglophone.

Statistique Canada consent de solides efforts en vue de réaliser son programme de langues officielles. On note aussi une certaine amélioration à Transports Canada ainsi qu'à Via Rail, mais une régression au ministère des Affaires des anciens combattants où la proportion de Francophones à l'administration centrale à Charlottetown (13,8 p.100) suscite des inquiétudes.

L'appareil fédéral

Certains ont récemment qualifié le bilinguisme canadien de « vache sacrée » et les programmes de langues officielles « d'illusions coûteuses ». De tels jugements ne résistent pas à une analyse objective de la réalité canadienne.

Le bilinguisme officiel repose sur la reconnaissance du fait que des millions de Canadiens au Québec, au Nouveau-Brunswick, au Manitoba et en Ontario et ailleurs vivent dans un milieu bilingue. Si on leur donne la possibilité, les Anglo-Québécois autant que les Francophones hors Québec « *choisiront* très certainement d'utiliser leur langue officielle dans toute la mesure où ils pourront le faire dans leur vie quotidienne. »

En effet, cette possibilité d'exercer un choix linguistique s'est déjà beaucoup développée et il n'y a aucune raison « pourquoi les Canadiens devraient avoir honte de faire fructifier un si bon placement. »

En 1985, le gouvernement fédéral a reconnu qu'il devait commencer par mettre de l'ordre dans sa propre maison. Quand on a examiné les réalisations, on a eu l'impression « que la poursuite des objectifs en matière de langues officielles avait été pour l'essentiel déléguée (...) aux » linguocrates « (...) avec l'ordre de faire avancer les choses sans toutefois tomber dans des excès de zèle. » Toutes les agences centrales et tous les ministères ont, bien sûr, un rôle à jouer dans la mise en œuvre de la Loi. Mais de l'avis du Commissaire, le Conseil du Trésor doit faire plus que simplement gérer le programme au jour le jour ; il se doit d'être le maître d'œuvre de la réforme de régime linguistique. Force nous est de constater que « le Conseil du Trésor n'est plus à l'avant-garde de la réforme » et qu'il est par trop disposé à « confier sans réserve aux gestionnaires des ministères la tâche de mettre de l'ordre dans leurs affaires. »

En ce qui a trait au financement des programmes de bilinguisme au sein de la Fonction publique, les sommes consacrées (250 millions de dollars) sont, en chiffres absolus, de plus en plus modestes par rapport à l'ensemble des dépenses publiques. « Il serait certes réconfortant de croire qu'il n'existe entre les priorités politiques et les fonds publics qu'un lien théorique, mais quiconque connaît un tant soit peu la Fonction publique sait fort bien qu'il n'en est rien. Les chiffres ne mentent pas... »

Si le succès de l'intégration des langues officielles aux autres tâches administratives se mesure en fonction de la place que cette question occupe dans la vérification interne des organismes fédéraux, l'heure n'est pas venue pour le gouvernement de renoncer au contrôle centralisé. En effet, les vérificateurs internes ne sont pas toujours « bien placés ni bien outillés pour effectuer des vérifications d'order linguistique » et « même s'ils l'étaient, ils se buteraient aux lacunes importantes des directives émanant de certains organismes centraux. »

Le suivi que nous avons mené sur la cinquantaine de recommandations faites dans notre rapport annuel de 1984 révèle que plus des trois quarts sont jusqu'à présent restées presque sans écho. Ainsi, « toutes les questions que nous avons soulevées l'an dernier — au sujet du déploiement des effectifs des compétences linguistiques et de la première langue officielle des employés occupant des postes bilingues, par exemple — sont loin d'avoir été réglées. »

PARTIE IV — LES MINORITÉS : LE DÉFI

■ Le colloque

L'un des faits les plus marquants de l'année 1985 pour le Commissaire a été la tenue d'un colloque national sur les minorités de langue officielle qu'il a organisé en octobre à Ottawa et à Hull, sous le titre « Les minorités : le temps des solutions ». Le débat a réuni plus de cent personnes appartenant à divers milieux : représentants des minorités, personnalités politiques, hauts fonctionnaires, spécialistes du droit constitutionnel, éducateurs et représentants du secteur privé qui se sont penchés sur les problèmes intéressant les Francophones et les Anglophones vivant en situation minoritaire. « Les participants ont souligné unanimement l'importance pour *tous* les organismes fédéraux d'assumer leurs responsabilités en matière d'appui aux minorités » ainsi que la nécessité d'une coopération plus soutenue entre les gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux, les associations volontaires et le secteur privé. D'après des entretiens ultérieurs avec, entre autres, le Premier ministre, le Secrétaire d'État, et des membres du Comité mixte permanent de la politique et des programmes des langues officielles, le message du colloque a été très clair et il reçoit l'attention voulue.

La chronique minoritaire

La Commission royale sur l'union économique et les perspectives de développement au Canada (Commission Macdonald) a consacré une partie de ses travaux à la situation des Francophones hors du Québec. Les Commissaires ont estimé que la réforme du régime linguistique avait aidé les minorités, mais que l'on était encore loin de l'égalité. La Commission a recommandé que l'Ontario reconnaisse le français et l'anglais comme langues officielles et qu'en ce domaine, elle donne l'exemple aux autres provinces.

En Ontario, le Rapport Bovey sur l'avenir des universités a démontré le manque d'accès des Francophones à l'enseignement post-secondaire. Pour sa part, le Conseil franco-ontarien de l'éducation recommande l'abolition des écoles mixtes qui aggravent les problèmes de scolarisation des Franco-Ontariens. Le Commissaire appuie cette position, tout comme il se réjouit de la décision de créer un conseil scolaire homogène de langue française dans Ottawa-Carleton.

Dans l'ensemble, l'avenir des Franco-Ontariens semble plus prometteur grâce, notamment, aux pressions croissantes en faveur du bilinguisme officiel en Ontario. « En définitive, il ne s'agira que de confirmer en droit un état de fait. »

Le défi du Québec en matière de langues officielles n'a pas son pareil ailleurs au Canada. Il doit protéger le français sur son propre territoire, assurer le respect des droits de sa minorité anglophone et aider les minorités francophones du pays. Il a du reste accepté de reprendre son important rôle à leur endroit.

Le Québec doit aussi mesurer l'impact sur sa communauté anglophone de certaines réformes administratives qui influent parfois sur la prestation de services en anglais. Les promesses du nouveau gouvernement laissent présager qu'il y aura certains accommodements sur le plan liguistique.

Dans l'Ouest, le jugement de la Cour suprême du Canada déclarant invalides les lois du Manitoba adoptées uniquement en anglais, fut l'événement marquant. Le Commissaire souhaite que le gouvernement fédéral y voit un encouragement à améliorer ses services en français dans cette province. Les Fransaskois réclamaient le droit à la gestion de leurs

écoles tandis que les Franco-Albertains obtenaient cette reconnaissance des tribunaux, ce qui ne fut suivi d'aucun effet concret. En Colombie-Britannique, les Francophones se sont surtout penchés sur leur situation économique. Pendant que le Yukon songe à reconnaitre le français comme langue officielle, les Territoires du Nord-Ouest sont aux prises avec des difficultés d'application de la reconnaissance officielle déjà consentie.

Au Nouveau-Brunswick, c'est avec une certaine appréhension que l'on attend les conclusions du rapport préparé par le Comité consultatif sur les langues officielles. Une contribution fédérale de plus de 23 millions de dollars, en juillet dernier, a permis la mise en chantier de plusieurs projets importants. Dans les autres provinces atlantiques, ce sont les questions touchant l'enseignement dans la langue de la minorité qui ont défrayé la chronique.

La radiotélévision

Les minorités veulent que la radio et la télévision soient mieux adaptées à leur milieu et à leurs besoins. La centralisation de la production d'émissions à Montréal ou Toronto aliène les minorités autant qu'elle les attire. Elles ont tendance, alors, à préférer les émisions diffusées dans la langue de la majorité parce qu'elles accordent plus de place aux nouvelles locales.

Le Commissaire soutient que les communautés minoritaires sont très vulnérables sur le plan culturel et qu'elles ont besoin d'avoir accès aux médias électroniques pour leur développement communautaire. Selon lui, il faut « mettre l'accent sur l'égalité des chances au sein de la collectivité, autant sur le plan de la création que de la technique. »

PARTIE V — LA JEUNESSE, LA LANGUE ET L'ENSEIGNEMENT

L'option jeunesse

La *Loi sur les langues officielles* a vu le jour dans un pays où l'égalité linguistique ne s'était que rarement matérialisée et il était impossible de changer le cours des choses en une seule génération. D'où l'importance de l'enseignement des langues officielles comme langue maternelle et langue seconde dans les écoles.

« L'option jeunesse » est rapidement devenue un thème familier et a même pu servir d'« échappatoire commode pour tous ceux qui préféraient refiler cette patate chaude aux générations futures. » En 1985, nous nous sommes posé certaines questions sur le bilinguisme des jeunes. Jusqu'à quel point sont-ils bilingues ? Que pensent-ils du bilinguisme ? Les bilingues sont-ils vraiment en demande sur le marché du travail ? Comment les jeunes envisagent leur propre avenir dans un Canada bilingue ?

Une chose est sûre : les jeunes Canadiens continuent à être plus bilingues que leurs aînés. Même si le taux de bilinguisme individuel dans le groupe des 15-24 ans n'a pas varié de 1971 à 1981 — 18,2 p.100 en regard de 13,4 p.100 dans l'ensemble de la population —, cela représente néanmoins plus d'une centaine de milliers de nouveaux bilingues au cours de la décennie. Chez les Anglo-Québécois et les allophones du Québec, la proportion de ceux qui se disent bilingues est passée de 50 p.100 en 1971 à 65 p.100 en 1981. Les jeunes Francophones hors du Québec sont bilingues à 84 p.100 et les Anglophones de toutes les régions sont de plus en plus bilingues, principalement dans le groupe de 15 à 24 ans qui sont bilingues à 10,2 p.100.

De plus, les jeunes sont plus ouverts que leurs aînés aux questions linguistiques, que ce soit l'apprentissage de l'autre langue officielle ou sa reconnaissance officielle. On décèle chez eux non seulement une acceptation du principe de l'égalité linguistique, mais aussi un engagement personnel.

Face au marché du travail, les jeunes sont convaincus de l'importance d'être bilingues. La nécessité réelle de la langue seconde est cependant moins évidente dans le monde anglophone que dans les régions francophones. N'empêche, 75 p.100 des 405 anciens élèves du programme d'immersion de la région d'Ottawa-Carleton ont indiqué que leur connaissance du français leur avait servi dans leur milieu de travail.

Peut-on qualifier « l'option jeunesse » de succès ? Pour les minorités de langue officielle, la survie est encore bien fragile. L'augmentation du nombre de jeunes bilingues, bien en deçà de la demande en éducation, ne doit pas empêcher le gouvernement d'assumer pleinement ses responsabilités en matière d'enseignement des langues officielles. Trop de données restent imprécises et on ne saurait encore évaluer l'impact réel de cette génération un peu plus « bilingue » sur notre société : « Il faudra

dra réfléchir plus rigoureusement et planifier d'une façon objective, en tenant compte des individus. »

Le système d'enseignement

Nonobstant la reconduction de l'entente fédérale-provinciale sur l'enseignement des langues officielles, l'enseignement dispensé aux minorités de langue officielle ainsi que l'enseignement de la langue seconde souffrent d'un plafonnement des subventions fédérales alors que la demande croît sans cesse. Les hausses accordées sont tout juste suffisantes pour couvrir la hausse des frais et ces programmes sont menacés non pas à court terme, mais du moins à moyen terme. « Déjà, ils présentent des symptômes de malnutrition. » Le Commissaire recommande donc une révision des priorités ainsi qu'un financement plus généreux.

L'enseignement dans la langue minoritaire

Bien que les deux-tiers du budget en matière des langues officielles dans l'éducation soient consacrés à l'enseignement dans la langue de la minorité, plus de la moitié de cette somme (65 millions de dollars) est versée au Québec pour le maintien des établissements scolaires de langue anglaise. Par contraste, les Francophones hors du Québec qui, pour les raisons que l'on connaît, n'ont pas encore développé l'infrastructure nécessaire dans le domaine de l'éducation, doivent se contenter de la portion congrue. De l'avis du Commissaire, ce partage ne répond pas « au principe de développement sur lequel devrait en théorie reposer l'ensemble du programme. » Il devrait être ré-examiné dans le but de mieux soutenir les collectivités francophones hors du Québec.

Des progrès ont été réalisés dans presque toutes les provinces, mais on note une baisse de la clientèle scolaire anglophone au Québec. Le Commissaire recommande au Secrétariat d'État d'accroître l'aide aux provinces où les minorités de langue officielle ont peu d'accès à l'enseignement dans leur langue et ce, en vue des prochaines ententes fédérales-provinciales. De plus, le Commissaire préconise la mise sur pied d'une conférence nationale et d'une série de rencontres régionales portant sur les moyens concrets qui permettront aux minorités de langue officielle de gérer leur système scolaire.

L'enseignement de la langue seconde

Depuis 1970, le gouvernement fédéral a investi quelque 733 millions de dollars dans les programmes d'enseignement en langue seconde et cet effort a donné des résultats concrets à travers le pays. Toutefois, les sommes qui y seront consacrées d'ici à 1988 semblent insuffisantes pour répondre à la demande qui ne cesse d'augmenter, surtout pour ce qui est des classes d'immersion en français. De plus, en 1984-1985, à l'échelle du pays, 2,1 des 4.3 millions d'enfants fréquentant les écoles primaires et secondaires n'apprennent pas leur langue seconde. « En fait, la question de l'accès est en passe de devenir le problème de l'heure en ce qui a trait à l'apprentissage de la langue seconde. »

Le Commissaire continue de recommander aux universités de langue anglaise d'exiger une connaissance minimum des deux langues officielles pour l'admission des étudiants, et au Secrétariat d'État de songer à créer un programme vraiment national d'échanges bilingues pour les jeunes Canadiens.

Les langues non officielles

Même si le mandat du Commissaire aux langues officielles se limite aux deux langues officielles du pays, la situation des autres langues parlées au Canada ne lui est pas indifférente. Près de 46 000 élèves du primaire et du secondaire étudient une vingtaine de langues qui vont du grec à l'hébreu, en passant par le chinois, l'arabe et l'espagnol. De plus, quelque 100 000 élèves fréquentent des« écoles complémentaires » dans le but de maintenir et de développer leurs connaissances de leur langue patrimoniale. On assiste aussi à une redécouverte des langues autochtones causée par une prise de conscience des graves dangers qui les menacent.

La recommandation du Commissaire en ce qui a trait aux autres langues est à l'effet que le Secrétariat d'État réunisse tous les intéressés afin d'étudier les possibilités réelles offertes aux écoliers canadiens d'étudier des langues autres que le français et l'anglais.

Désirez-vous d'autres exemplaires ?

Pour vous procurer d'autres exemplaires du résumé du Rapport annuel 1985 du Commissaire aux langues officielles, veuillez écrire à l'adresse suivante :

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Commissariat aux langues officielles
Ottawa, Canada
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Il existe égalemet des tirés à part de la partie V du Rapport annuel intitulée « La jeunesse, la langue et l'enseignement ».

COMMISSIONER OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

COMMISSAIRE AUX LANGUES OFFICIELLES

ANNUAL REPORT 1985

Special Feature: Youth Option

WAITING FOR...

- federal renewal
- increased support for our minorities
- amendments to the Act

COMMISSIONER OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

COMMISSAIRE AUX LANGUES OFFICIELLES

ANNUAL REPORT 1985

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The Speaker,
Senate,
Ottawa

Mr. Speaker,

Pursuant to section 34(1) of the Official Languages Act, I hereby submit to Parliament, through your good offices, the fifteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Official Languages, covering the calendar year 1985.

Yours respectfully,

D'Iberville Fortier
Commissioner of Official Languages

March 1986

The Speaker,
House of Commons,
Ottawa

Mr. Speaker,

Pursuant to section 34(1) of the Official Languages Act, I hereby submit to Parliament, through your good offices, the fifteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Official Languages, covering the calendar year 1985.

Yours respectfully,

D'Iberville Fortier
Commissioner of Official Languages

March 1986

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Preface

> My government is committed to ensuring that the equality of the two official languages — so vital to our national character and identity — is respected in fact as it is in law (. . .). National unity also demands that the two levels of government co-operate in supporting official language minorities and in fostering the rich multicultural character of Canada.
>
> *Extract from the Speech from the Throne, November 5, 1984.*

As statements of principle go, what could be clearer? So it was with a feeling of confidence that we proposed last year, in my first Annual Report, a strategy for renewal comprising some 50 recommendations on major aspects of language reform. From the lessons learned over 15 generally fruitful years of implementing the letter and spirit of the Official Languages Act, we tried to put down the broad outline of a future action plan.

One year later, even if Government has largely confined itself to broad principles, our confidence and hopes have not faltered. While the anticipated renewal has not taken place, preparatory work is being done. Patience is our watchword. As our frontispiece says: "Waiting for. . . federal renewal, increased support for our minorities, and amendments to the Act". We have taken advantage of this break in the action to elaborate some basic concepts and to take a second look at the "Youth Option". In my view, the main aims of revitalizing the reform — a process already several years overdue — are clearly: to define objectives that are realistic and yet bold enough to bring about the equality set out in the Constitution; to restore a fair share of our national budget to the means of promoting reform, especially in the area of education; and to introduce specific measures to ensure its successful completion. The special place that bilingualism occupies among Canadian values — a position that continues to gain public support — demands no less. Indeed, some recent polls suggest that public opinion may be a step or two ahead of Government in this respect.

This year our Report again focusses on the three functional components of equal status for English and French as proclaimed in the Act and the Constitution: the public's right to service in either official language; the choice of language of work; and the equitable participation of both language groups throughout the federal Public Service. We believe the points we have made in previous years are still valid. We have tried to refine them.

In particular, we have sought to deal with the issue of **language of work** as a key element of language reform. As Julian Greene said recently: "We become different people when we use different languages. . .". Would it not be better for Canada's Public Service if its employees were generally able to contribute to it in the language which most completely reflects their personal values? We believe this problem can finally be tackled with a better chance of success, and we present a number of complementary paths for achieving that end.

But while setting sectorial goals and establishing methods of achieving them is important, we also want more precise planning by each institution, concrete deadlines, and much tighter performance evaluation along the way. Applying the same discipline to ourselves, we reviewed our own objectives and organization in 1985 to see if we could not find ways of doing our job more effectively. We plan to apply procedures whereby, when certain recommendations are not acted upon within a reasonable time, they will be referred to the central authorities with power to implement them and, if necessary, to Parliament itself.

Support for our **official-language minorities** remains a central concern. Government must make a major effort in those areas where it is directly involved and provide strong leadership to provincial and municipal authorities as well as the private sector. I believe I detect among a good many provincial leaders an open-mindedness that might blossom further if Ottawa could create a new sense of purpose and show how to make it work in its own backyard. We hope our colloquium last October will be a source of inspiration and action in this regard.

Since we have reason to believe Government will move to update the **Official Languages Act** in the relatively near future, we made our amendment proposals known, as the Act requires, last December. In so doing, we wished to contribute to the thinking involved in rejuvenating and improving the effectiveness of the Act, an instrument which, nothwithstanding the language provisions of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, has proved to be indispensable. In our view, this revision is all the more important in that it is clearly overdue and is a vital element of any fundamental new beginning.

It was in the same spirit that we turned our attention to the fate of what has come to be called the "Youth Option". Is that dream, which to some seemed a harbinger of a better future and to others an alibi for postponing difficult deadlines, about to become reality? Our studies, discussed in detail in this Report, call for a more careful review, some cautious optimism and redoubled efforts to achieve a better tomorrow.

Many of us hope 1986 will be the year for a fresh start. We must renew our commitment, in heart and deed, to placing linguistic duality at the core of our common values. We also believe that bold new directions in language reform could be a source of inspiration for upcoming negotiations aimed at bringing Quebec back into the constitutional fold, as well as an invaluable — perhaps essential — stimulus to national reconciliation.

D'I.F.

PART I

Prospects for Renewal

Bilingualism and National Reconciliation: Unfinished Business

If, to the cynical ear, bilingualism and national reconciliation may sound like a contradiction in terms, it is nevertheless important for the guardian of Canada's Official Languages Act to form some idea of how they might fit together. In last year's Report we noted with a sense of encouragement Government's emphasis in the Throne Speech on a two-pronged approach to official languages policy: vigorous implementation of the Act in the federal domain and greater direct and indirect support for the linguistic minorities, the whole thing rooted in the statement that "national unity demands . . .". That admirable approach seemed to us so much on target that we spent much of 1985 straining our six ombudsmanic senses to see how it would manifest itself in governmental leadership in action. We wondered whether the nation was to be reconciled *through* bilingualism — or simply *to* it; whether the program would finally be projected for what it is, a tribute to Canadian realism and tolerance; and whether the other key players in the national enterprise of linguistic fair play would be actively wooed or left to abide by the spirit of Canada's Constitution as and when they felt up to it.

Leadership in Action

There is a dictum to the effect that leadership is not a question of positions but of actions. So when we pointed out in our last Annual Report that active political leadership is a *sine qua non* for the pursuit of language reform in Canada, we certainly hoped that government leadership would be demonstrated in something more substantial than sympathetic generalizations and a protracted policy review, however necessary. On that score, we must candidly admit to some disappointment. It is, of course, fundamental to effective renewal and vigorous pursuit of the official languages program that government leaders take thorough stock of the situation and the means of improving it. What, however, may not have been sufficiently taken into account is that the practical momentum of reform had already been slackening for at least a year or two before the present Government came to power and that, as a result, the kind of promotional hiatus that we experienced in 1985 has tended to compound an existing loss of dynamism. We hold it as axiomatic that, whatever policy orientations, large and small, are eventually espoused, it is always possible to enhance the productivity of *current* policies by the right kind of show of political will.

Verbum sapienti

We appreciate, of course, that this is sometimes easier said than done and that the juggling of political priorities in a tough economic climate may be the world's most complex form of performance art. After all, for those who have ears to hear, enough political pointers were forthcoming in 1985 to make reasonably clear the general direction of Government's thinking in the matter of official bilingualism. The Prime Minister continued to voice his strong personal concern to put the program as a whole on a solid footing, to counter the more "folkloric" aspects of French as a federal language of work, and to try to get the provinces and the private sector to increase both their formal and practical support to official-language communities living in a minority situation.

These and similar themes were taken up and enlarged by federal ministers with key responsibilities in this complex field. The President of the Treasury Board continued to stress the need for greater efficiency in the delivery and management of various parts of the program. A succession of Secretaries of State, for their part, were unequivocal in their commitment to refurbishing and filling out the array of federal tools for assisting the official-language minorities. Several previous initiatives were pursued: the Court Challenges Program was renewed, with a minimum of $2 million earmarked for the clarification of language rights over a five-year period; there was a further extension of the official languages in education agreement with the provinces; and work continued on a variety of bilateral projects with particular provinces, covering such things as legal translation and bilingualization of services. Meanwhile, the Department of Justice spearheaded an exhaustive review of all aspects of the Official Languages Act, by way of preparing proposals for its modification. It also adopted positions in several constitutional cases which supported the view that several Canadian provinces continue to have historically founded obligations of institutional bilingualism which they have not respected in practice. Last but not least, the Department of Communications set out its plans for improving the availability of appropriate minority-official-language services by, for instance, putting up $15 million of matching federal money to help create a new TVOntario service in French.

In the circumstances, it may seem a touch churlish on our part to wonder whether these and similar messages got through or, if they did, whether they succeeded in conveying to federal officials and provincial and other leaders a clear and concrete sense of Government's determination to both rationalize and reinvigorate the entire process of language reform in Canada. Our own contacts with provincial leaders and officials left us with a distinct impression that they too would not be unreceptive to clear and substantial federal initiatives. Thus, given our concern about where the reform now stands and the quality and quantity of energy and resources that have been devoted to it in more recent years, we would undoubtedly have preferred to see a few more political cards actually being played, rather than merely adumbrated in the best poker-playing tradition.

At the same time, we are gratified that Government has apparently taken to heart some of the principal suggestions we transmitted last year and has repeatedly made senior ministers available to answer questions from the Standing Joint Committee on Official Languages. Gratified, too, by the positive tone of those appearances, although, as *The Economist* observed of the spirit of last year's Geneva Summit, there is a sense that such things soon fade and the "hard work is still all to be done".

We wholeheartedly agree with the view expressed by more than one federal minister that the effectiveness of federal action must begin at home, within the federal administration. Obviously, this is an area of public policy where federal credibility with other players hinges, if not on an impeccable bill of health, at least on relatively optimistic vital signs.

Optimistic vital signs

We believe that this Report will show that such signs exist, even if they are perhaps more apparent to central Canadian language watchers than to the averagely interested citizen. But we also believe that 15 to 18 months is a long time, even for a new government, to hold off specifying intentions with respect to the major program goals and how federal resources will be applied to meeting them. However, since this "break in the action" has given us extra time to do some further thinking about how Government might best keep faith with the basic goals of reform, while of course reshaping the program in its image, let us venture some more unsolicited advice.

Priority Clean-Up Areas

Quality bilingual services

The problem areas in federal efforts to implement the Official Languages Act change little from year to year; it may not even be particularly practical, given the present limited promotional resources, to make effective headway on all of them at one and the same time. But some are more amenable to improvement over the short term, and Government could do both the program and itself a lot of good by putting them in what we might call a "priority-clean-up-order". For instance, it is well known that the consistency and quality of federal service in the minority official language diminishes in direct proportion to its distance from the areas of greatest bilingual capacity. But this need not be so. It is well within the power of the Federal Government virtually to eradicate those blots on its constitutional escutcheon before the end of this decade, provided that it establishes that as priority *numero uno* and makes resources available accordingly.

Minority-language education

Or, to take a rather different aspect of the program, let us ask where minority-language education ranks, not in Government's motherhood chart of the month but in its "priority-clean-up-order" or hit-list? Because if it really ranks anywhere near the top, Government may well have to take a more muscular attitude toward preempting the dispiriting procession of court cases to determine how far provincial education acts are out of line with the guarantees of section 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Even the greatest possible respect for provincial powers should not inhibit appropriate forms of national leadership. If provinces are worried, as well they might be, about the practical repercussions of realigning provincial legislation and providing suitable minority-language educational facilities, the least the Federal Government could do is help finance the technical spadework that is needed to resolve those problems. The last thing we need is for the provinces to work themselves into a state of neurotic paralysis while case after provincial case winds its ambiguous way through the courts. This would be like a re-run of *Bleak House*. Only a strongly proactive federal position is likely to prevent it.

Other priorities

Two other areas that seem to us outstanding candidates for a rationalization of the federal effort are: the development of French as an authentic language of work in the federal administration; and a firmer sense of direction and financial priorities in the whole area of official languages in education. As we point out in subsequent chapters, the language-of-work file has reached the put-up-or-shut-up phase where it has to be either relegated to the limbo of "lost causes and forsaken beliefs" or substantially revamped. The education dossier, in contrast, suffers almost from a superfluity of interest. We have therefore devoted a substantial section of this Report to reviewing such critical issues as: the balance between minority-official-language and second-language funding; the actual and expected productivity of various "Youth Option" initiatives; and, finally, whether enough money is being put into this aspect of reform to enable it to fulfil all or any of the hopes that are attached to it.

The Act and Its Implementation

One priority that has already attracted considerable government attention is the need to renovate the Official Languages Act itself. While we obviously share the view that it is always best to start from the clearest and most coherent legislative statement of what language reform in Canada aims to achieve, we also know from hard experience that even the clearest of statements can prove no better than the means provided to put it into effect.

Operational discipline; promotional inventiveness

We repeat what must by now be stunningly obvious, that the Official Languages Act is only the centrepiece in an agenda for change. Furthermore, the changes of institutional behaviour and personal attitudes that it envisages will not take place — or not take place with appropriate dispatch — without a sustained and co-ordinated promotional effort by the Federal Government. That effort has two main dimensions:

- the first is to set very specific and time-framed operational goals and to be absolutely ruthless in holding all federal institutions to meeting them;
- the second is so to order federal priorities for getting the *other* players involved (provinces, private sector, the general public) that appropriate levels of funding can be attributed to each aspect in accordance with its nature and its needs.

If we had to reduce our resolutions for 1986 and beyond to just two points, they would be: first, to ensure that the Act, the federal planning and reporting machinery, as well as our own investigation and report methodology, are all tightened up in ways that prevent departments and agencies from repeatedly sliding out of their own clear operational commitments;[1] and, second, to persuade and help Government to put together a comprehensive promotional package for provincial, private-sector and public involvement that would (a) say where official bilingualism is headed, (b) establish relevant priorities, (c) demonstrate inventive leadership and (d) put up some real money where it counts.

[1] The longer any valid recommendation, whether general or specific, lingers in bureaucratic limbo, the greater the likelihood that it will become buried in competing concerns. We will therefore be asking Government and its institutions to produce a specific and measurable action plan in response to all reasonable recommendations within a fixed deadline, or explain why not. We can thus establish better *historical* records on their performance and be in a position, when necessary, to deliver well-documented "special reports" to the Clerk of the Privy Council, the Governor in Council or to Parliament.

Bargain Basement Bilingualism?

Invited to give the Falconbridge Lecture at Laurentian University last November, the Commissioner chose the theme of "Bilingualism and Canadian Values", in part because it seems to us there is a dangerous ambiguity abroad about what we gain from our official linguistic duality in relation to what it costs either to maintain or to promote. Whatever one's personal attitude to the official languages endeavour, one would have to admit that the expectations it has created are just as important as what it has achieved so far. Proponents of the "sacred cow" theory of bilingualism (see p. 127) are right to this extent, that many Canadians inside and outside of government have proved ready to invest a great deal of personal conviction and energy into making official bilingualism a working proposition. Indeed, it would not be pure exaggeration to suggest that thousands of individual Canadians have perhaps put rather more into the vision of mutual linguistic respect than have some of their leaders.

Be that as it may, we think the question must be asked: where *does* this vision of a suitably shaded, bilingual country really stand in the order of Canadian values and how much are we ready to pay to make it work? As we point out in later chapters, federal expenditures on the official languages have been fairly steadily declining relative to total government spending for going on 10 years now. The notion that "bilingualism" is a big ticket item hardly stands up to critical scrutiny. In a country where National Defence spending has grown by 114 per cent over the last six years, total federal spending on language reform has grown, if that is the word, by only 30 per cent. (See Table I.1.)

Without getting into the wondrous world of socio-political relativities and certainly without suggesting that the best way of consolidating official bilingualism is to throw money at it, we do wish to state that, in our opinion:

- to clean up the priority problems within the Public Service, and to monitor that clean-up effectively, will require more resources than Government seems ready to apply at present; and
- in the "growth areas" of language reform outside the Public Service, the total federal envelope is just too small in relation to what Canadians now expect in a country with two constitutionally recognized official languages.

Public Attitudes

Which brings us to the knotty question of what exactly Canadians do expect in this regard. From the evidence now available, be it survey-statistical, media-mediated or ear-to-the-ground anecdotal, we feel that it can safely be said that:

- a substantial majority of Canadians are favourable, in principle, to the proposition that Canadians should be able to receive both government and other services in either English or French;
- a similar majority also holds that effective minority-language and second-language education in English and French should be a fundamental part of the Canadian birthright; and

Table I. 1

Percentage increase in net expenditure in various federal departments and in official languages programs and proportion of government expenditure assigned to official language programs, 1979-80 to 1984-85 and 1979-80 to 1985-86

Departments	1979-80 ($ 000)	1984-85 ($ 000)	Increase %	1985-86 Estimates ($ 000)	Increase %
National Defense	4,389,000	8,926,000	103.4	9,383,223	113.8
Transport	1,630,000	3,701,000	127.1	3,680,254	125.8
Environment	456,000	819,000	79.6	726,964	59.4
Agriculture	782,000	1,593,000	103.7	1,704,303	118.0
Health and Welfare	14,038,000	24,914,000	77.5	26,463,729	88.5
Net Government Expenditure	52,364,000	100,254,000	91.5	102,530,583	95.8
Official languages programs					
• External[1]	196,287	241,842	23.2	253,556	29.2
• Internal[2]	194,135	254,620	31.2	251,978	29.8
• Total	390,422	496,462	27.2	505,534	29.5
Proportion of Government expenditure assigned to official language programs	**0.75**		**0.50**		**0.49**

[1] Provinces, territories and organizations.
[2] Public Service and Armed Forces Programs.

Sources: Federal Expenditures: Public Accounts of Canada 1981 & 1985, 1985-86 Estimates; For Official Languages Programs: Annual Reports, O.C.O.L.

- somewhat more tentatively, many Canadians are simply weary of futile and over-emotional linguistic sparring and would rather settle down to some practical framework of linguistic justice as soon as possible.

As we read it, then, official bilingualism in Canada is no longer regarded to any great extent as a "yes-or-no" proposition. The answer is "yes": people largely accept the idea that Canada is a bilingual country. That means a country which presents itself bilingually at events like Expo 86 or the Calgary Winter Olympics; where the legislatures and courts of certain provinces and territories will respect their institutional duty to operate in both official languages; where educational authorities address themselves to solving the complex administrative tasks of actually providing minority-language education rather than wishing those tasks away; and where Canadians of many different ethno-linguistic backgrounds will find it increasingly natural to use *either* English *or* French as they go about their daily business and seek to get along with their compatriots.

If, as we suggest, *all* federal authorities are to take a forceful and proactive line on language reform, it is vital that they read these signs aright. No, Canadians will not have the bogey of bilingualism "forced" upon them, but yes, they are prepared to think, talk and act responsibly in any way that seems to them consistent with mutual respect and a well-managed investment in ourselves as people. Surely a case in which Government has nothing to fear but fear itself. Or, to paraphrase another statesman, if "the finest eloquence is that which gets things done", there are many, relatively unused opportunities for Government to wax eloquent on behalf of effective bilingualism, Canadian style. Leadership remains the key: the ability to demonstrate Government's convictions through a comprehensive and adequately funded action plan. We very much look forward to its appearance.

Language Rights: Something Old, Something New

Beginning with some general remarks on language rights in Canada, this chapter goes on to examine recent court decisions in this area, extension of the Court Challenges Program and revision of the Official Languages Act, which is expected to be undertaken soon.

It is difficult for the layman to grasp the full complexity of Canadian language law. Any overview of language rights must simultaneously take into account their constitutional entrenchment, the separation of powers between the two levels of government and existing federal, provincial and territorial statutes.

Our legal heritage

Section 133 of the Constitution Act, 1867 has traditionally been the cornerstone of language rights in Canada. To this, section 23 of the Manitoba Act was added in 1870, and section 110 of the old North-West Territories Act has also resurfaced recently as another component in the constitutional jigsaw. The 1969 Official Languages Act represents a different and broader approach to language rights. More recently still, sections 16 to 22 of the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms have consolidated this legislative structure by broadening the scope of constitutionally entrenched language rights to include government communications with the public. To date, only the Governments of Canada and New Brunswick have formally committed themselves to these latter provisions. However, section 23 of the Charter, concerning minority-language educational rights, applies to all provinces and territories.

At first, it appeared that proclamation of the Charter would give rise to more litigation on language issues, and particularly on minority-language educational rights. Indeed, the number of related cases then before the courts suggested such a trend. Most of them, however, concerned provisions that existed before the Charter: section 133 of the 1867 Act, section 23 of the Manitoba Act or section 110 of the old North-West Territories Act. These provisions, which some would have preferred to forget, returned in 1985 to haunt the nation's courtrooms.

Interpreting earlier texts

Interpretation of these earlier texts is fraught with problems. The rights provided in law can only be interpreted in the light of how legislators and courts have perceived them over a century, during which time the constitutional tree has both grown and branched out on Canadian soil. However, we must look now at least as much to today's legislators as to those of the past to show the way and present us with new, more coherent and perhaps unexpected views. A re-reading of earlier provisions in

the light of more recent texts calls for great discernment on the part of judges, administrators and politicians, who must discover how best to interpret and apply them to modern needs. In this respect, one of the most important developments of 1985 was a confirmation of the thesis that Alberta and Saskatchewan are to be numbered among the provinces with specific constitutional obligations relating to language in the administration of justice. Although the exact nature of these obligations remains a matter of debate, their existence nevertheless implies a broadening of the legal range of official bilingualism, or, if you prefer, that new memberships have been taken out in the club of Canadian provinces with historical linguistic obligations.

New rights

The minority language educational rights defined in section 23 of the Charter are new and go well beyond any of the provisions of section 93 of the Constitution Act, 1867 regarding denominational schools. In a field as fundamental to our minorities as public education, proclamation of the Charter has meant both innovation and renewal. One sometimes wonders, however, whether all the provinces that signed the Charter fully grasped the implications of their gesture in agreeing to these provisions.

In this regard, it is obvious that, in most provinces, the legal pyramid that is made up of the Constitution at the apex, laws and regulations at the centre, and administrative guidelines and programs at the base, is incomplete as far as minority language education is concerned. In a sense, the middle level is missing. A constitution may well contain statements of principle and entrench fundamental rights, but this only establishes essential guarantees, it does not come with instructions or set out mechanisms for applying those guarantees. The Constitution is merely a starting point, not the finish line.

Judges have so far struck down certain sections of provincial education acts. They have gone further and stated that provincial legislators have a duty to amend their current laws to make them consistent with the constitutional right to education in the minority language. But as yet they have refused to issue injunctions or other orders to compel governments to act.

Toward broader rights

Any constitutional broadening of language rights in Canada should above all reflect the spirit already defined in section 133 of the Constitution Act, 1867 and the corresponding and more detailed sections 16 to 22 of the Charter. It is by extending the bearing of these provisions to other provinces, with all the shadings, conditions and adjustments that may entail, that we may manage to move toward the equal status and use of English and French. One may wonder whether most or all of the provinces and territories should not recognize that the wording of section 133 of the Constitution Act, 1867 is largely outmoded in this day and age. Should they not anticipate that the time must come, and sooner than some might expect, when this section will have to be brought up to date by extending a form of institutional bilingualism to the other provinces, one that would include the notion of providing government services and more clearly define the institutional autonomy of the minorities in fields like public education?

Litigation is a lengthy and very costly business, and its outcome is far from sure. It often exacerbates already tense relations between government and governed. However, in seeking to exercise their rights, the minority communities are sometimes left with no alternative. More often than not, they turn to the courts only when their

approaches to the political powers have not produced the desired results or have been humiliatingly rebuffed. They know only too well that rights obtained by way of declaratory judgements can be very short-lived if governments are unwilling to give them prompt effect. It is very disheartening in this regard to note that several governments have shown a distinct lack of eagerness to translate into law the language rights they themselves agreed to enshrine in the Constitution. This obvious discrepancy between words and deeds, not to mention its impact on citizens, should be deeply embarrassing to all people of good will. The major court decisions on language rights over the past 12 months, discussed below, provide ample proof that the battle is far from won.

The Court Calendar

The Manitoba case

The past year nevertheless proved instructive in terms of court decisions. Beyond question, the main event was the Supreme Court decision in the federal reference on section 133 of the Constitution Act, 1867, and section 23 of the Manitoba Act, 1870. In a decision delivered on June 13, 1985, the judges unanimously declared that all enactments (and ensuing rules and regulations) of the Manitoba legislature printed and published in English only are, and always have been, invalid. However, in the interests of public order and the rule of law, the Court prudently declared at the same time that existing enactments would be deemed to have full force and effect until expiry of the deadline set for their translation.

The Supreme Court then asked the Attorneys General of Canada and Manitoba to set a minimum period necessary for the translation, re-enactment, printing and publishing in both languages of (a) current Acts and (b) repealed or spent Acts which "may need to be enacted, printed and published and then repealed, in both official languages". For the future, the Court specified that, under the Constitution, all new laws must be adopted, printed and published in both languages and that any law not meeting this requirement would be invalid.

On November 4, in an unusual procedure, the Supreme Court ratified an out-of-court settlement between all parties appearing in the case. This gives effect to Manitoba's commitment to publish, in a bilingual, two-column format, the consolidation of provincial laws, regulations, rules of court governing judicial courts, and rules of administrative tribunals. It established two readoption and publication deadlines: December 31, 1988, for the consolidation of statutes and translation of unilingual provincial Acts, regulations, rules of court and rules of administrative tribunals; and December 31, 1990, for all other unilingual enactments. If necessary, any party to this agreement may ask the Supreme Court to review the Order. While Franco-Manitobans were delighted to see their rights thus confirmed to the letter of the law, they were also fully aware that much remains to be done to translate its spirit into a concrete recognition of their right to receive provincial services in French.

Saskatchewan and Alberta

Three decisions handed down in 1985 concerned the right to use French in criminal proceedings in Saskatchewan and Alberta. In each case, the issue was to determine whether section 110 of the North-West Territories Act, as it stood in 1891, providing for institutional bilingualism, remained in effect after the two provinces came into being.

On June 11, in the *Tremblay* case, a Saskatchewan court decided that section 110, as it relates to criminal procedure, still applies in criminal cases before the Court of Queen's Bench of Saskatchewan. Put simply, this means that the right to use English or French in criminal proceedings before a Saskatchewan Superior Court still exists but does not include the right to a completely French trial: the accused is entitled to be heard through an interpreter. Furthermore, the Court accepted the accused's claim that province-by-province implementation of section 462.1 of the Criminal Code, by depriving him of the same protection and benefits enjoyed by someone speaking the other official language, is inconsistent with section 15(1) of the Charter (equality rights). The Court therefore declared that section's progressive-implementation provision to be of no force or effect, to the extent it precludes an accused from applying to be tried in the official language of his or her choice. This matter was referred to the Saskatchewan Court of Appeal in November and was still under advisement as we went to press.

On July 30, in the *Paquette* case, an Alberta court stated that, even if the legislator had not intended to entrench these language rights when Alberta came into being in 1905, section 110 of the North-West Territories Act *was* incorporated at that time into Alberta's law and has never been abrogated. Thus, section 110 remains in effect. Moreover, the Province of Alberta has no authority to abrogate the section where criminal procedure is concerned. However, the judge considered that the right to use English or French in criminal proceedings did not include the right to choose the language of the hearing. Nevertheless, the judge must be able to read and understand French, even if members of the jury need not.[1]

On October 28, the Saskatchewan Court of Appeal finally rendered its decision in the *Mercure* case, in which the tenor of section 110 had been invoked to challenge a provincial court action under provincial penal law. In a majority decision, the Appeal Court upheld the initial decision, which had found that section 110 became part of Saskatchewan's body of law when the province was established in 1905. It also held that, although the section does not apply to the legislature, it does apply to the courts. However, section 110 does not require that a trial be held entirely in French at the accused's request. Moreover, refusal to allow the accused to be tried in French cannot be deemed to negate his or her right to a full and complete defence. In short, section 110 remains in effect but is not entrenched, and, although carried over in 1905 by a still operative transitional provision, its current scope is considered uncertain for lack of precise indications in the laws of the province responsible for the administration of justice. A murky business indeed!

In November, the Saskatchewan Court of Appeal also heard arguments on a reference brought by the provincial government to determine the exact scope of section 110 with respect to the administration of justice in that province. At year's end, the case was still under advisement.

Alberta: École Georges et Julia Bugnet

In Edmonton, the parents of Francophone children attending a private school, École Georges et Julia Bugnet, went to court to obtain recognition of certain rights, among them the right to publicly funded education in a facility managed by a Francophone school board. In its July 24 decision, the Court of Queen's Bench attached great

[1] In February, 1986, a further decision, based in part on section 15(1) of the Charter of Rights, declared that the right does include the right to a bilingual jury.

moral weight to an advisory opinion of the Supreme Court of Ontario in the 1984 education reference. Although the court accepted the arguments expressed in that opinion and recognized the principles invoked by the plaintiffs, in practice it rejected most of their conclusions. It would appear that the minority language rights contained in section 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms have already been appropriately recognized by a Roman Catholic school division in Edmonton in establishing a French-language school, École Maurice-Lavallée, that also has two immersion classes. However, the provincial School Act conflicts with the Charter to the extent that it does not ensure adequate control and management by Francophone parents. The court invited the Province to amend the Act, cautioning it not to set an arbitrary numerical limit to the number of students required for giving effect to the right to minority-language education.

Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards

On June 25, the Quebec Superior Court granted the application of several Quebec Protestant school boards and their provincial association by declaring the Quebec Public Elementary and Secondary Education Act entirely null and void. (The primary objective of this act was to re-organize the denominational school system along linguistic lines.) The Court instructed the Government to take no measure and make no move to implement the aforementioned act. Lastly, the Court declared that certain sections of the Code of Civil Procedure cannot be invoked to exempt the Crown from extraordinary remedies and provisional measures insofar as their implementation might prevent any person or group from obtaining legal redress and protection of the rights granted under sections 93(1) and 93(2) of the Constitution Act, 1867, concerning denominational schools in Quebec. In October, the Court rejected an application from the same plaintiffs for a declaratory judgment to annul other Quebec education laws and orders as being prejudicial to the rights of certain groups (Protestants) who were present in Quebec at the time of Confederation.

Although both decisions dealt chiefly with the right to denominational schooling under the 1867 Act, they are of obvious interest to the English-speaking community of Quebec and French-speaking communities in Ontario and elsewhere, as well as to anyone concerned with the protection of constitutional minority rights in Canada. The decisions appear to suggest that, while rights to denominational schools and to minority language education are often companions in adversity, they nevertheless involve separate issues.

Other issues

The Supreme Court of Canada and several provincial courts of appeal are currently being asked to rule on other cases involving the nature of, or conditions for exercising, language rights in this country. These include: unilingual documents incorporated by reference in the texts of certain laws; the right to receive a summons in one's preferred official language; an accused's right to be tried in criminal proceedings in the official language of his or her choice; the right to be heard by a judge or jury who speak the accused's official language; the right to display public signs and written advertising in a language other than French in Quebec; and the right of certain minorities to manage their own educational institutions. In coming months, language rights will be the focus of several other court decisions of importance to the future of bilingualism in Canada.

These cases have one common and fundamental aim in provinces that have specific language obligations: the pursuit of equality before the law in a country which, at the parliamentary, legislative and judicial levels, has constitutionally enshrined

equality of status, rights and privileges for English and French in the highest institutions of the land. Such cases encourage us to hope that the provinces will endeavour actively to promote a more harmonious and fruitful understanding between our two official-language communities, avoid the often pointless proliferation of legal challenges and, instead, put constitutional language rights into practice by law, regulation and administrative directive. This hope is all the sharper in that, over vast reaches of our country, the two language communities co-exist unhappily in a state of tension which is far from productive. As was aptly pointed out by the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada, it is the existence of an institutional framework controlled by a largely Francophone population which reinforces the distinction between the majority status of Francophones within Quebec and the position of Francophones elsewhere in Canada and is central to the specific character of Quebec. We must all come to see that it is both necessary and possible to find workable solutions to the legal, economic and cultural problems that bedevil the life of French-speaking Canadians. To varying degrees and with due regard for historical, legal and demographic differences, this is a matter for which federal, provincial and municipal authorities across Canada are responsible, and a matter that makes permanent intra- and intergovernmental co-operation imperative.

Broadening the Court Challenges Program

In 1985, the Government decided to extend its Court Challenges Program to include more of the areas covered by the Constitution and the Charter of Rights. Emphasis is to be placed on equality rights, but continued support will be given to important language rights cases. The approximately $200,000 allocated to this program in 1984-85, grew to $1 million in 1985-86, and will increase to $2 million in each of the next four years. From now on, the Canadian Council on Social Development, a private, non-profit organization, will administer the broader program. Three hundred thousand dollars a year has been earmarked for constitutional language rights cases. A sub-committee of the Canadian Council on Social Development will be responsible for allocating these funds. We hope that official-language minority associations will be consulted on the same basis as other interested associations so that they can make full use of the increased funds now available under the program for language rights cases.

The Commissioner and the Courts

While implementation of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms is clearly a matter for the courts, it is natural that the Commissioner should take an active interest in all court cases relating to Canada's official languages, whether under the Charter, other constitutional and legislative provisions, or the Official Languages Act. From the moment he took up office, the Commissioner has made clear his intention to play a more active role in language-related legal proceedings. His representations to the responsible authorities in Ottawa have helped win support for various requests for financial assistance to undertake new legal proceedings. He indicated to the Prime Minister his support for renewal of the Court Challenges Program and for establishing procedures to ensure that parties involved in such

challenges have the necessary financial and administrative independence. In general, and within the limits of his responsibility to Parliament as linguistic ombudsman, the Commissioner hopes, by considered and effective involvement, to help achieve the most generous settlements possible in these cases.

Amendments to the Official Languages Act

The first Commissioner of Official Languages, in his first and sixth Annual Reports, proposed amendments to the Official Languages Act, as the Act invited him to do. In the Throne Speech of November 17, 1977, the Government of the day announced its intention to proceed with such amendments. Since nothing came of this, his successor continued to press for amendments in his 1978, 1979 and 1980 Reports. In 1981, the Special Joint Committee on Official Languages lent its support to his proposals by also suggesting some changes to the Act. Although, in its response, the Government approved several of the Committee's recommendations, it took no further action.

Noting the present Government's expressed intention to review the Act, the Commissioner developed a new series of recommendations for updating and amending it and submitted his proposals to the Standing Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons in December 1985. These proposals incorporate, clarify and complement those of his predecessors. Their aim is to better define the goals and objectives of the Act, both within the Federal Government and beyond; to clarify its relationship to the official languages provisions of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms; to make its exact scope and application as explicit as possible; and to clarify and, where appropriate, extend or strengthen the Commissioner's powers. Other recommendations may well be added, in particular by the Standing Joint Committee. Appendix C of the Report contains a complete list of the proposed amendments; what follows is a summary of the main points.

Preamble

First, to clarify the intent of the legislator, the Commissioner believes that the Act should have a preamble setting out its two main objectives: 1) equal treatment of English and French as languages of service and of work, and full participation of both language groups in the federal administration and its institutions; and 2) promotion of official-language equality in other sectors and activities of Canadian society.

The preamble would also include a statement to the effect that Parliament recognizes the need for on going co-ordination of federal, provincial and other action to respect Canada's fundamental linguistic duality and protect the rights of Canada's official-language minorities, and exhorting federal and provincial authorities to work together to give concrete expression to the equality of English and French.

The preamble should also include a reference to the particular symbolic importance of achieving fully effective and equitable bilingualism in the National Capital Region and the need for the three governments concerned, as well as local municipalities, to co-ordinate their action for that purpose.

Finally, on the national level, the preamble would encourage the private and voluntary sectors to play their respective roles vis-à-vis the Canadian public in ways that are consistent with the spirit and intent of the Act.

Primacy and executory nature of the Act

To eliminate any ambiguity concerning the executory nature of the Act, the Commissioner recommends that it be explicitly stated, in terms comparable to those found in section 24 of the Charter, that the rights spelled out in the Act are enforceable before the courts. A section should also be added to assign the Act primacy over the provisions of other federal acts, unless they specifically provide otherwise, to leave no doubt that the purpose of the Act is to give detailed expression to the fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution.

Reconciliation of the Act and the Charter of Rights

It goes without saying that the wording of the Act should be revised to conform with that of the Charter, without, however, repeating each and every section of the latter. The Commissioner suggests that section 4 concerning the publication in both languages of statutory and other legislative instruments be carefully examined to determine whether the two exceptions it contains should be maintained. He also recommends that section 11, which deals with the hearings of witnesses, be subjected to a thorough review to determine present federal practice and whether existing safeguards adequately protect witnesses' rights.

The Commissioner recommends that the Act retain the formulation, found in the Charter, of a personal right to be served in either language, as well as the institutional obligation to provide the service. The Commissioner takes the view that the bilingual districts concept, as now worded, has run into difficulties that have prevented its being put into effect. He believes, however, that an amended Official Languages Act should continue to reflect three elements of this concept:

- territorial definition of locations where, by virtue of the mother tongue composition of the local population, all federal services should be automatically and actively offered and available in both official languages, whether or not federal offices themselves fall within those territorial boundaries; this could be achieved through Governor-in-council regulations confirming the so-called "bilingual regions" established under present government policy, along with others which might qualify;

- such definition must not, however, prejudice the possibility of recognizing other federal offices where, by reason of the volume of demand or "the nature of the office", the public can obtain federal services from and communicate with them in either English or French; and

- federal authorities must do everything appropriate to ensure (a) that specified locations coincide as far as possible with areas designated by provincial or local authorities for similar purposes, and (b) that, where possible and after proper consultation, federal, provincial and local services in both official languages are conveniently concentrated to the advantage of official-language minorities.

The Commissioner also recommends that the right of employees in all federal institutions to work in the language of their choice be made explicit in the Act, and that

the conditions under which that right is to be exercised (for example subject to serving the public in the appropriate language) be articulated in the Act or in the form of regulations promulgated by the Governor in Council pursuant to section 35.

The recommendations also include several suggestions relating to international treaties, federal-provincial agreements and the scope and application of the Act. On the latter point, the Commissioner believes that, when the Crown in right of Canada holds a significant proportion of the equity, mixed enterprises should be subject to the Official Languages Act. The Act should also provide that, in the event of privatization, the successor corporation be obliged at least to continue to serve Canadians in both official languages. Wherever services of any kind are provided to the public by reason of a government agreement, contribution or contract, the responsible federal institution should have the duty to ensure that such services are equally available in both languages. Federal regulatory bodies should be required to take bilingual service to the public into account when regulating the activities of corporations under their jurisdiction. Lastly, the mandate and powers assigned to the Commissioner with respect to the conduct of investigations, seeking remedial action, immunity from legal proceedings, and administrative autonomy would benefit from clarification.

The prime objective of all these recommendations is, of course, to better respond to the expectations of Canadians in all matters pertaining to the official languages and to make the Act a truly effective instrument for the pursuit of language reform.

It may be asked whether the provisions of the Charter and the Constitution are not already adequate, and whether it would not suffice simply to standardize the wording of the two texts. But the Charter by no means covers all the bases. By definition, a constitution is less precise than an ordinary statute, and in some cases, our present Charter is less encompassing. For example, the Charter does not grant the public the right to use English or French in communications with federal offices outside Canada, nor does it explicitly recognize the right of federal employees to work in the official language of their choice. In short, although the Charter is in a sense the supreme safeguard of our language rights, the Official Languages Act establishes specific ways in which they may be exercised.

Standing Joint Committee: The Parliamentary Perspective

Nineteen-eighty-five was, to all intents and purposes, the first full year of operation for Parliament's Standing Joint Committee on Official Languages Policy and Programs. It is therefore not surprising that many of its 19 public meetings were exploratory, relying on our Annual Report as the frame of reference and aimed primarily at getting a feel for the basic components of the program. In this initial phase, the Committee called as principal witnesses the Commissioner, representatives of the Treasury Board, the Department of the Secretary of State and the Public Service Commission, questioning them on the substance, inter-relationships and practicalities of their respective responsibilities. Several themes emerged from these exchanges, not least of which were the sheer complexity of the program and the growing sense that a fresh impetus for language reform should be high on the new Government's agenda.

At an early stage, the Committee also took care to hear directly from representatives of groups for whose benefit the program exists. The heads of the *Fédération des Francophones hors Québec* and Alliance Quebec, in particular, testified eloquently about the day-to-day conditions and concerns of the official-language minority communities across Canada, all of whom look to Parliament for moral and practical support in meeting the challenges they face. Academic and other specialists also provided valuable opinion on how language reform may or may not be meeting the needs of Canadians.

The Committee followed this initial survey with specific hearings on the Commissioner's *1984 Annual Report* and on the linguistic performance of a small sample of federal institutions: Parliament (the Senate and House of Commons administrations), Air Canada, Canada Post and the Department of Public Works.

Report to Parliament

Having analysed these initial findings, the Committee submitted its first substantive report to Parliament in June. Some of the key conclusions were that:

- there is unquestionably a pressing need for a renewal of language reform, to be powered by a strategy of concerted government action;
- within the federal administration, such a strategy is essential to ensure the full and vigorous application of the Official Languages Act and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms; this process should begin with proposals to enhance internal performance, including more rigorous techniques for ensuring a truly active offer of service to the public;

- there is also a need for a comprehensive framework of federal-provincial co-operation to protect the official-language communities against assimilation or weakening of their institutional framework; a federal-provincial conference aimed at developing such a framework should be convened by the fall of 1986 or earlier, to be preceded by immediate bilateral discussions;
- the Government should do much more to encourage the private sector to serve clients in either official language by, for example, instituting language-of-service standards for organizations funded or regulated by the Federal Government; and
- the Court Challenges Program, which helped to fund litigants seeking court rulings on constitutionally guaranteed language rights, should be renewed and remain the responsibility of the Secretary of State's Department.

Government response

This substantial menu was presented to the Government for response. In its somewhat Delphic reply, the Government reaffirmed its strong commitment to official bilingualism — as it had done in the Speech from the Throne in 1984 — but did not have much in the way of concrete undertakings to offer. This could, of course, reflect the fact that Government was by then in the thick of its own policy review. The reply did, however, point out that:

- the three principal ministers concerned — the President of the Treasury Board, the Secretary of State and the Minister of Justice — had been asked by the Prime Minister to provide a comprehensive assessment of existing policies in their respective areas, along with options for bringing about improvements;
- an examination of ways to update the Official Languages Act was in progress;
- the Court Challenges Program had indeed been renewed and would make available at least $300,000 annually over the next five years for language-related challenges;
- measures would be taken to improve the active offer of minority-language service to the public; and
- intergovernmental co-operation in support of the minority communities was already part of the Government's game plan.

If the Government did not specifically endorse all of the Committee's recommendations, its positive intentions were nonetheless welcome. But programs of this magnitude do not stand still while governments review and plan. This is one area where no news is not necessarily good news. Along with members of the minority communities across the country, we and the Committee now wait to see how these broad, general commitments will translate into actions that really affect the delivery of services.

The Committee subsequently devoted two meetings to questioning the newly-appointed Secretary of State, always a key minister on the linguistic playing-field by virtue of the many direct support activities which come with the job. Discussion was wide-ranging and touched on: grants in support of the official-language minorities; assistance to provincial governments seeking to improve minority-language service; insufficient bilingual capacity among Citizenship Court judges; and the provision of translation services within the federal administration. But what may have counted

most for Committee members was the Secretary of State's strong re-affirmation of the Government's commitment, and his own, to revitalize the program of reform so that language equality may become a practical reality. Less clear were the intentions of the Government where influencing the provinces is concerned, and where strong leadership will have to be exercised.

Future work

At year's end, the Committee spent some time considering how best to focus its resources over the coming months. A detailed examination of proposals for amending the Official Languages Act clearly tops the Committee's priority list. Other vital topics are the halting progress of certain major federal institutions to bring their linguistic performance up to something more closely resembling equal treatment of English and French, and, inevitably, the persistent problems faced by the linguistic minorities in all regions.

On the latter point, the Committee gave careful thought to the possibility of undertaking face-to-face dialogue with minority communities on their own turf. Understandably, there was some hesitation about the merits of a full-fledged, royal commission-style regional tour, and in the end the Committee decided against this approach. For our part, we think it worthwhile to retain the underlying principle of direct contact with citizens and to keep open the possibility of periodic but more narrowly focussed visits to one region or another in the future. We also think the proceedings, conclusions and consensus arising from our October 1985 colloquium, which was largely intended to give Parliament and Government a clearer idea of the plight and challenge confronting the minority communities, should receive careful parliamentary scrutiny and serve as a basis for further action-oriented examination of the problems.

In trying to cover this varied terrain as effectively as possible, the Committee may also wish to consider the option of forming a small sub-committee with its own, specific subjects of inquiry, to analyse and report back on particular problems. This might be a particularly effective approach to the bread-and-butter task of holding federal institutions accountable for meeting their obligations. Few things focus the mind of a deputy head and senior staff with linguistic responsibilities like the knowledge that a parliamentary (sub-)committee has a systematic plan of investigation to see how they have lived up to specific undertakings going back over the years.

Before the close of the year the Commissioner submitted to the Committee his proposals for updating and modifying the Act. These are discussed in the previous chapter. Given the Committee's work thus far, and the prospect of early legislative action by the Government in this field, it is hoped that the Committee will be able to play its full part in making the Act as effective and relevant as possible.

Bilingualism and Multiculturalism: Elective Affinities

Official recognition of linguistic duality in Canada is based on a very simple premise: the vast majority of Canadians use either English or French as their principal language of communication. In this sense, they are joined to the major cultural communities which gave rise to present day Canada. If multiculturalism in a bilingual framework still provokes a scarcely disguised sense of mistrust in some people, it is in part because of a fear of seeing two policies with distinct but complementary objectives juxtaposed or confused.

Demographic data

Whether we look at it in terms of multiculturalism in a bilingual framework or from the standpoint of two major language communities that are themselves becoming increasingly multicultural, the reality is the same: over 70 ethnic groups and as many languages make up the cultural heritage of some eight million Canadians. It is interesting to see just how the Canadian population has been changing over the past hundred years. Although Canadians of British or French origin still account for the majority of our population, their share of the total population has changed significantly. In 1871 Canadians of British origin accounted for 60 per cent of the population, but only 44 per cent in 1971 and 40 per cent in 1981; Canadians of French origin declined proportionately from 31 per cent in 1871, to 29 per cent in 1971 and 27 per cent in 1981. Which also means that the proportion of Canadians of neither British nor French origin has more than quadrupled, climbing from 7 per cent in 1871 to 27 per cent in 1971 and 33 per cent in 1981. Moreover, this trend seems likely to continue, and the linguistic backgrounds of immigrants coming to Canada will have a marked impact not only on the development of multiculturalism programs but also on our official languages policies.

One-third of the Canadian population is composed of groups which, in a large number of cases, have had to develop their own institutional means of adaptation to life in Canada, usually in the form of ethnic community associations. Although the initial goal of such associations was often to help immigrants adapt, they have also proved an important factor in the cohesion and survival of the groups themselves. There is little doubt that a fairly direct link exists between the determination of people to preserve their identity and their participation in such organizations. The nature and aims of such associations vary according to when the groups arrived in Canada and what their priorities have been since their arrival. A number of groups have umbrella agencies at the provincial and federal levels and, since 1981, the Canadian Ethnocultural Council has represented almost 30 national organizations, explaining to governments the aspirations of its members toward true equality in Canadian society.

Language retention

According to the leaders of many ethnic groups, retention of their mother tongue is of major importance to their members. Their attitudes toward their languages does not, however, seem to have captured the interest of many researchers. As Ronald Wardhaugh notes:

> There has been one comprehensive study on non-official languages in Canada: O'Bryan, Reitz and Kuplowska's 1976 publication *Non-Official Languages: A Study in Canadian Multiculturalism*. The study itself has severe limitations, being confined to five metropolitan areas (. . .) and covering only the ten largest non-official language groups (. . .).[1]

Despite these drawbacks, the study is still a major source of information. For example, it shows that a large majority of those questioned (71 per cent) were in favour of retaining their mother tongue; less than 9 per cent of interviewees indicated otherwise. The authors also found that the groups most in favour of retaining their mother tongue were the Greek, the Italian and the Chinese (approximately 83 per cent, 77 per cent and 79 per cent respectively). By contrast, Netherlandic and Scandinavian groups attached relatively little importance to preserving their language. Finally, although the desire to maintain the first language decreased from one generation to the next, 75 per cent of first-generation interviewees were very or somewhat favourable to language retention; however, this figure dropped to 66 per cent in the second generation and 59 per cent in the third. Professor Wardhaugh concludes:

> In some groups, even among immigrants, fluency in the language may be lost quite quickly. They note that, although the various groups differ in their rate of loss, these differences are minor, and that the loss occurs in a straight-line fashion.[2]

Data from the 1981 census appear to confirm this hypothesis; in each ethnic group, a substantial proportion of respondents reported a language other than their mother tongue as their home language. The following is a list of 1981 census data for the eight major languages (excluding English and French) identified as mother tongues:

Table I.2

Transfer rate for the eight languages most often spoken in Canada, other than English and French

	Mother tongue	Home language	Transfer Rate
Italian	531,285	338,180	36.3%
German	515,515	152,825	70.4%
Ukrainian	285,115	88,440	69.0%
Chinese	224,135	172,230	23.1%
Portuguese	164,615	122,605	25.5%
Netherlandic	160,100	24,695	84.6%
Polish	127,400	51,460	59.6%
Greek	123,235	87,830	28.7%

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census — based on 20% data

[1] Wardaugh, Ronald, *Language and Nationhood: The Canadian Experience*, October 1983.
[2] *Ibid.*

Without more detailed study, it would be dangerous to speculate on the reasons for such language transfers, but, insofar as the groups concerned wish to retain their mother tongue, Canadian society has an interest in establishing clear principles for the recognition and protection of that heritage and in making them known to everyone. The debate over how the official languages policy relates to multiculturalism in Canada has barely begun. In our opinion, until there is a concerted effort at all levels to define the fundamentals of these overlapping policies — fundamentals which, as the B & B Commission and all Canadian governments for the past 20 years have recognized, are the basis of our country's future — the misunderstandings that still hamper both programs will persist. As an editorialist in the *Globe and Mail* observed last May 15:

> We grapple for an understanding of multiculturalism that does not entrench inequality, that does not erect barriers among Canadians across generations, that does not discourage individuals from embracing new values, that does not conceal the essential universality of Man or, paradoxically, inhibit the growth of a shared Canadian identity.

Important events in 1985

Fortunately, several important events in 1985 suggest that efforts to find a common ground are well under way. The first federal-provincial conference on multi culturalism was held in May in Winnipeg, with the Minister of State for Multiculturalism and the provincial ministers responsible for ethno-cultural communities in attendance. Although the conference produced no dramatic results, it did allow everyone to exchange information on what is being done to help the communities maintain their cultural and linguistic heritage while they adapt to Canadian society.

Last July, replying to a recommendation of the Special Parliamentary Committee on Visible Minorities in Canadian Society (March 1984), the Minister of State for Multiculturalism announced the establishment of a Standing Parliamentary Committee on Multiculturalism whose mandate is to encourage and oversee implementation of the federal multiculturalism policy. The Committee has met several times, and there is every indication that the submissions it will hear will enable it to make thoughtful suggestions to the Government. Following a recommendation developed in a study by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission entitled "A broadcasting policy reflecting Canada's linguistic and cultural diversity", a task force was set up to examine the context and mandate of a possible national advisory committee on ethnic radio and television. Meanwhile, where the work force is concerned, the Minister of Employment and Immigration tabled a bill on equal job opportunities aimed aty offsetting the discrimination encountered by visible minorities.

In education, the Multiculturalism Branch of the Secretary of State paid almost $4 million to the provinces in fiscal 1984-85 for heritage-language education programs involving over 117,000 students in 1,421 schools. (For more details see Part V on Youth, Languages and Education). The Modern Language Centre of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education established a heritage language resource centre this year.

Future prospects

In our view, all these initiatives to define and protect ethnic and cultural diversity in Canada are important gains for freedom and the right to be different. But like any other right, this one is enjoyed within a well-defined framework, that of an officially

bilingual country. Acceptance of, and respect for, linguistic duality are the fundamental bases for greater openness toward other languages and cultures. Unfortunately, these elective affinities are not always well understood, either by the ethnic or the official-language minorities.

Faced with this lack of understanding, we think it vital to establish a strategy of inter-cultural relations whereby the various ethnic organizations are encouraged to strengthen their ties with Francophone and Anglophone communities and especially with official-language minority groups. It should also encourage ethnic and official-language organizations to organize joint projects. Particular emphasis should be given to initiatives that help explain and underscore the complementary nature of bilingualism and multiculturalism. Such a program would doubtless bring to light unexpected similarities. In their public statements, political figures at all levels should seek to place multiculturalism clearly within the framework of linguistic duality.

Learning an official language

A final word about the importance of promoting English- or French-language instruction among immigrants, especially female immigrants, to help them adapt to Canadian society. Since existing programs are often designed solely in terms of the need to know enough English or French to get a job, they do not always meet the particular needs of immigrants. We hope that the various levels of government will co-operate more closely in developing ways for all newcomers who want to to learn one of our official languages.

Rights and privileges of other languages

As part of his recommendations for updating the Official Languages Act, the Commissioner has suggested that section 38 of the Act concerning the rights and privileges of other languages be broadened and worded in more positive terms. Such wording would inscribe in law the complementary nature of federal efforts in these areas. Lastly, we have assured the Minister of State for Multiculturalism that we are ready to co-operate in finding ways to better define programs and strategies for resolving the ambiguities surrounding the bilingualism and multiculturalism policies.

We recommend that the Federal Government:

1) develop an inter-cultural relations program to encourage ethnic groups to strengthen their ties with official-language minorities;

2) establish an information program on the complementarity of bilingualism and multiculturalism for ethnic community leaders and organizations and official-language minorities;

3) encourage the teaching of languages other than the official languages at all levels;

4) encourage the teaching of an official language to immigrants to help them integrate into their communities.

Canada's Indigenous Peoples

The principle of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework is only indirectly related to the ancestral rights and freedoms of the native peoples of Canada, a matter of

concern to all Canadians. It is undeniable that, like the ethnic communities, the indigenous peoples of Canada have a large stake in the preservation and enhancement of their languages. Although 29 per cent of Canada's 492,000 native people have an aboriginal language as their mother tongue, barely 22 per cent speak that language in the home. As noted by Gordon E. Priest, "(. . .) English seems to be replacing the aboriginal languages even in the home, a shift most apparent in Ontario, the West and the far North. In Quebec, there may be a shift from both aboriginal and French as mother tongue to English as home language".[1] Thus, language transfers are also a familiar phenomenon among our native peoples. Increased aboriginal language instruction may be the only long-term solution.

At present, the Federal Government is responsible for providing instruction to native peoples living on reserves in southern Canada and in the North. Its policy is to allow the communities themselves to decide whether instruction is given in an aboriginal language and, if so, up to what grade. Excluding the Yukon and the Northwest Territories, some 33,880 aboriginal students (42 per cent) are enrolled in programs in which an aboriginal language is either the language of instruction or taught as a language. In recent years, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs has established programs encouraging the use of aboriginal languages by hiring and training teachers and developing teaching materials.

The Northwest Territories and the Yukon are devoting more and more attention to protecting aboriginal languages and cultures. We must hope that this will shed light on the problems of aboriginal peoples and lead to policies better suited to their needs. (Part V on Youth, Languages and Education also contains additional information on the teaching of aboriginal languages.)

[1] Priest, Gordon E., "Aboriginal languages in Canada", *Language and Society*, Winter 1985, p. 15.

PART II

The Three Principles

Service to the Public: Two Sides to the Question

It is no secret that when the Official Languages Act was passed, it was not greeted with universal approval. Indeed, proclamation of the equal status, rights and privileges of English and French was met in some quarters with much scepticism about the impact of such recognition on the day-to-day activities of federal departments and agencies. To what extent these apprehensions were artificially created to scare off the crusaders of language reform we leave others to decide. What is undeniable is that Canadians have, over the years, come to believe that service in both languages should be a normal feature of federal operations.

For one reason or another, we all encounter the bureaucracy at some point. And since it is our tax money which greases the bureaucratic wheels, the least we expect is service for our money. For French-speaking Canadians outside Quebec and English-speaking Canadians within Quebec, a basic criterion of good service is its availability in their language. To prove this tenet, which to some is still not self-evident, our Office recently commissioned a national survey on issues relating to bilingualism and asked Canadians what they thought about the provision of services in English and French.

Desirability of Service

Opinion survey

Four questions were designed to evaluate the public perceptions of the desirability of providing services in both official languages in three sectors: federal, provincial and business. English-speaking respondents outside Quebec were asked, not only whether services should be provided in French in their province, but also what they knew about the actual entitlements of the provincial minority. In Quebec, the French-speaking majority was asked similar questions about service to the English-speaking minority. Finally, these same respondents were asked their opinion on what the entitlements of the *other* official-language minority *should be*: for example, how Anglophones in Alberta see the entitlements of English-speaking Quebecers. The results, which were tabulated to provide breakdowns by age, sex, education, region and language, make for interesting reading.

As Tables II.1 and II.2 indicate, most of the people questioned believe that the Federal Government should provide service in both official languages. Understandably, perhaps, more French-speakers (88 per cent) than English-speakers (69 per cent)

Table II. 1

Percentage of Canadians stating that service to the public should be provided in the minority official language by governments and business, by language of interview

Institution providing service	Language of interview		
	French %	English %	Total %
Federal Government	88	69	74
Provincial Government	71	53	57
Business	74	46	53

Source: Official Languages National Survey, Canadian Facts, 1985.

held this view. Younger English-speakers were also noticeably more likely to favour bilingual service than their elders. According to the survey, a majority of Canadians are also in favour of the provision of *provincial* services in English and French, although support for this principle weakens as one goes west. The level of support for the provision of service in both official languages by the private sector is similar to that for services provided by provincial governments.

Respondents were also asked whether services *were being provided* to members of the official-language minority in their province, and whether services *should be provided* in four specific situations: at the post office, in hospitals, in department stores, and in schools. (See Tables II.3 and II.4.)

It appears that Francophones in Quebec not only believe that their English-speaking minority *has* the right to be served in its language but that they are also very supportive of the desire of English-speaking residents in their province to have such entitlements. By and large, there also appears to be broad support for the provision of a range of services in the minority language *across* Canada, even if there are serious reservations about the use of French in business in the West.

Table II. 2

Percentage of Canadians stating that service to the public should be provided in the minority official language by governments and business, by age and sex

Institution providing service	Age groups										Grand total %
	15–24		25–34		35–49		50+		Total		
	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	
Federal Government	84	86	79	75	69	71	61	67	73	75	74
Provincial Government	63	75	59	62	52	52	47	52	55	60	57
Business	66	70	50	57	46	50	40	48	50	56	53

Source: Official Languages National Survey, Canadian Facts, 1985.

Table II. 3

Percentage of Canadians who believe that official-language minorities in their province *are* entitled to service in the minority official language from various institutions

Institutions providing service	Anglophone respondents outside Quebec %	Francophone respondents in Quebec %
Schools	72	91
Hospitals	61	91
Post Offices	56	87
Department stores	32	85

Source: Official Languages National Survey, Canadian Facts, 1985.

Table II. 4

Percentage of Canadians who believe that official-language minorities in their province *should be* entitled to service in the minority official language by various institutions

Institutions providing service	Anglophone respondents outside Quebec %	Francophone respondents in Quebec %
Schools	71	91
Hospitals	68	91
Post Offices	58	87
Department Stores	43	84

Source: Official Languages National Survey, Canadian Facts, 1985.

The opinions expressed on whether minority-language speakers in other provinces should be entitled to service in their own language are paradoxical. While Francophones in Quebec have similar views about the entitlements of the English-speaking minority in their province and those of the French-speaking minorities elsewhere, Anglophones outside Quebec are much more likely to support the claims of English-speaking Quebecers than they are to support the claims of the French-speakers in their midst.

There is apparently a large group of Canadians favourably disposed toward the provision of services in both official languages, particularly among the young and the better educated, and in those provinces with large minority-language groups. While this is not completely earth-shattering news, it is at least a source of quiet satisfaction. It is, above all, an invitation to hope. It should be an incentive to the various orders of government to put aside hesitation, equivocation and other acts of bureaucratic legerdemain and get on with the job. Service to the public was and is the central concern of the Official Languages Act, has been further affirmed in section 20 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and is a completely realisable goal within the present decade.

Table II. 5

Number of minority and majority[1] language visits to federal offices serving the public

City	Minority language	Majority language	Total
Moncton	41	12	53
Cornwall	31	10	41
Edmonton	60	13	73
Quebec City	59	13	72
Total	**191**	**48**	**239**

[1] A small number of majority-language visits to the same offices were conducted for control purposes.
Source: Official Languages National Survey, Canadian Facts.

To Render Useful Service

Simple as the concept of linguistically appropriate service may seem, however, true equality of status for English and French in this respect remains for some an elusive goal. So much depends on a happy but far from automatic combination of circumstances: a public servant who is cheerily at ease in either language; appropriate signage and greetings to indicate the active offer of bilingual service; and of course minority-language clients who, notwithstanding past difficulties, are game to ask one more time for service in their language.

Even in 1985, equal treatment of this kind remained something of a pipe dream in a surprisingly large number of situations, be it aboard an Air Canada plane, in the lobby of a government building in Ottawa, or at a major sporting event like the Canada Games in New Brunswick. What makes lapses of service especially frustrating is our inner certainty that, with just a little bit more sensitivity and forethought, the vast majority of them could be avoided.

Market research study

But 1985 also offered evidence that all is definitely not lost. In a bid to get an *outside* reading of the actual availability of minority-language services from would-be bilingual federal offices around the country, we commissioned a market research firm to undertake what the trade calls a "mystery shopper" survey of selected federal services in four cities: Moncton, Cornwall and Edmonton, to test service in French; and Quebec City, those in English. What *happens* when minority-language customers in need of information enter a government office and exercise their constitutional right to ask for and receive that information in their own official language?

To find out, we selected a sample of nine federal institutions with important public mandates — six departments and three Crown corporations: Agriculture, Consumer and Corporate Affairs, Employment and Immigration, Environment, Health and Welfare, Revenue (Customs and Excise), plus Air Canada, Canada Post and Via Rail. The investigation focussed not on federal offices generally but on a sample of those specific offices which are said to have "a full-time capacity to provide services to the public in both official languages"[1] (in the case of departments), or which might reasonably be expected to have that capacity in practice (in the case of Crown

[1] *Serving You in Both Official Languages*, 1984, a directory published by Treasury Board of Canada.

corporations). Canadian Facts field staff then followed pre-assigned scenarios to request appropriate information and took note of the results. Table II.5 shows the distribution, by city, of the visits they made.

Given the way the offices were selected, it seemed to us reasonable to presume that service in the minority official language *would* be forthcoming in all cases. With that in mind, the picture of offer and availability which emerges has both gratifying and disappointing elements. On the one hand, evidence that the system can work is provided by aggregate findings such as:

- that 94 per cent of minority-language enquiries did ultimately obtain a response in the appropriate language, after waits which were quite brief or, at any event, not significantly longer than those for majority-language enquiries;
- that the linguistic skills of those who *were* able to serve the minority-language public were rated as "poor" in only 8 per cent of the cases;
- that enquiries in either official language were handled with virtually identical friendliness and courtesy; and
- that, nine times out of ten, a visitor greeting a counter clerk in the minority language received a return greeting in that language.

Clearly, the emphasis placed in our Annual Report last year on the quintessential importance of active offer of services in both official languages, visible and audible, has not yet convinced all public servants to try harder. However, these aggregate results, while not without their imperfections, argue that the official languages factor *is* becoming an integral part of the federal bureaucratic fabric.

On the debit side, there are certain weaknesses which become more apparent when the data are disaggregated, and which detract from the performance in important ways. Keep in mind that we are discussing only officially *listed* bilingual offices (or proxies) and consider the following findings.

- In Edmonton and Cornwall, 11 per cent and 10 per cent (respectively) of French-speaking "customers" were *not* able to obtain any response in French; and for those who did, the waiting times in these cities were considerably longer than in the other two centres.
- One out of every three minority-language enquiries was not *initially* dealt with in the appropriate language. Again, further probing reveals some remarkable inconsistencies: whereas Quebec City offices scored an impressive 95 per cent in this respect, the grades fell off elsewhere to the point where, in Edmonton, two out of every three enquiries in French were initially answered in English. Not surprisingly, Edmonton visits were most often rated as "poor" in terms of fluency in French when the initial response was in that language (26 per cent), while Quebec City encounters in English were rated as only "fair" on this count more often than elsewhere (34 per cent).
- The proportion of offices visited in Edmonton and Moncton which had signage in English only (12 per cent and 10 per cent, respectively) can hardly be considered insignificant 16 years after promulgation of the Official Languages Act.

- Another important indicator of visible and active offer of service in English was lacking most often in Quebec City, where over 60 per cent of offices with counter areas or wickets offered no visual evidence that service in English might be expected, although, as we know, its availability cannot be taken for granted.

In short, the picture of federal performance in serving the minority-language public is still a mixed one. It seems to us to testify to the lack of a concerted effort to pursue common standards of service across bilingual offices. Treasury Board please note. While there are many positive elements, the persistent shortcomings suggest that the equality of status for the two official languages decreed by the Official Languages Act and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms is still some distance away, and the fact that bilingual service is officially advertised is no guarantee of its availability.

Treasury Board telephone survey

Just how important these imperfections may be was revealed by a telephone survey conducted by the Treasury Board Secretariat. The survey covered about one-quarter of *all* the officially bilingual offices of 33 departments operating outside Quebec and the National Capital Region. It found, for starters, that telephone reception was frequently inadequate: in 46 per cent of cases, the receptionist answered in English only or otherwise failed to offer a bilingual service in an active way. Once the caller was placed in the hands of an officer who was allegedly bilingual, the chances of receiving satisfactory service in French improved (a 79 per cent adequacy rating) but remained well short of perfect. The Board's conclusion? It honestly recognizes that the availability of service in French is not all it should be and that the problem is widespread. Deputy heads of departments have been informed of the results and reminded pointedly of what active offer is all about. Treasury Board will also audit steps being taken to bring about improvements.

We cannot avoid citing one last, sad example of the lack of visible and audible service in the minority language. Following up on our 1983 Canada Post audit, in September and October, members of the Commissioner's staff visited more than 50 offices where, according to Canada Post, services in both languages should be readily available. They discovered that fewer than half of the offices in question displayed signage informing clients of the active offer of bilingual service. Moreover, in 18 of 52 offices, on at least one occasion, counter service was not available in the minority language. And finally, service by telephone was not available in the minority language on at least one occasion in 17 out of 41 offices tested.

Regional Roundup

Cross-sectional surveys of this sort can be complemented by individual readings from our mailbag or by day-to-day checks on institutional performance. These too confirm the checkerboard pattern of 'good news' and 'bad news', driving home the point that, while a remarkable amount has certainly been accomplished, the inconsistencies and let-downs just get more maddening with each passing year. Consider the following regional sampling.

British Columbia is in the grips of World Fair fever. Expo 86 in Vancouver will give Canadians a special opportunity to present themselves in an international setting.

However, as Expo began to take shape in 1985, the media and minority-language communities, as well as this Office, took issue with the unilingual English image of Canada that was being projected. The *Globe and Mail* pointed to the virtual absence of French at the Expo site as a major problem confronting the organizers. The Canadian Pavilion was bilingual, but the only other major endeavour in this area was IBM's initiative to render its information services bilingual by installing separate English and French terminals throughout. The effect of the protests was somewhat belatedly to sensitize the Federal and B.C. Governments to the fact that French *belongs* at Expo 86, not just as one of our official languages and as the language of millions of Canadians, but also as a reflection of Canada's pride in its international value.

In **Alberta**, Parks Canada has improved the availability of services in French at its tourism and information centres; Canada Post, meanwhile, attracted a majority of all complaints in that province.

Federal services in French in **Saskatchewan** are patchy at best, especially if one looks beyond Regina and Saskatoon. While the Passport Office and Employment and Immigration are in the forefront, Air Canada, and Canada Post are at least a furlong off the pace.

Although efforts have been made to provide better French-language service in **Manitoba**, there is still considerable room for improvement. Winnipeg provides a spotty picture, despite having been designated in April 1982 as a region of significant demand for service-to-the-public purposes. While most federal institutions can provide *some* degree of service in French, few can offer anything approaching equal treatment in that language. Active offer of service is alive and well, we estimate, in less than 20 per cent of federal offices there. An informal survey by the *Winnipeg Free Press* discovered that five out of 11 federal offices contacted omitted even the customary French greeting called for by government policy. Fortunately, Treasury Board has conducted its own evaluation of federal services in French by telephone in Winnipeg. Departments and agencies have developed plans to improve matters and progress on this front will be evaluated in 1986.

To the north, Francophone visitors to one of the tourist attractions of the **Northwest Territories** — the Northern Heritage Centre in Yellowknife — had to enjoy the exhibits as best they could, since the display captions were in English only. Good business sense, to say nothing of legal niceties, would dictate that French quickly take its rightful place in matters like this in what is, after all, a self-proclaimed officially bilingual region. In the **Yukon**, meanwhile, we would have liked to see more signs that the official languages obligations of that territory were being tackled seriously. It is strange, for instance, to see a vacant judgeship on the Yukon Territorial Court being advertised with no mention whatsoever of official language requirements, particularly when you happen to know that bilingual skills are in very short supply among the judges already in place.

The pattern in **Ontario** is very inconsistent. The eastern sector, including Ottawa, continues to perform well, consolidating gains it has made in recent years. Even in Ottawa, however, performance can be erratic. We wish we could adjust our sets, for instance, when one of Canada Post's new "one-stop mail shops" comes on our screen: a stone's throw from Parliament Hill, a high-traffic, multi-purpose office in a large shopping centre seems to have problems providing service in French. Part of

the difficulty stems from the use of a single queue that leads to clerks who are not always bilingual, This hit-and-miss approach to service is apt to send frustrated Francophones scurrying to the nearest private delivery service.

Good service is often a question, it seems, of being in the right place at the right time. Pity the poor Francophone tourist who spoke French to a customs officer at Cornwall when returning from the United States on the 24th of June last — yes indeed, on St-Jean-Baptiste Day. The affable summer student who asked the routine questions was unilingual English. The Department explained this faux pas in the following manner: ". . . for operational reasons, [the student] was not aware of the procedures to follow when dealing with a French-speaking client. Accordingly, she did not offer service in French." The fact that the student did not speak a word of the language may have had something to do with it as well. In this regard, it is not without misgivings that we learned that, of 129 students recruited by Customs and Excise in Ontario to provide service to the public at airports and border crossings during the busy summer season, only 17 were bilingual. It does not take much calculus to figure out the odds against a Francophone traveller meeting up with a bilingual student at a given port in any given 24 hour period. For those given to invidious comparisons, we note that all the 108 students in similar positions in Quebec were required to be bilingual.

The Ontario Region of Employment and Immigration, on the other hand, sounded a more upbeat note. It assigned to its 13 regional Francophone advisory committees, set up in 1984 to work toward improved training programs in French, a sizeable budget for the development of appropriate French-language courses at Ontario community colleges and universities. The chairmen of these committees are also ex-officio members of the department's local advisory councils, which have a broad mandate to develop job-creation strategies, and we trust that this cross-fertilization will ensure that the special linguistic needs of Ontario's Francophones get the attention they deserve. Employment and Immigration also distinguished itself as a principal organizer in the federal services in French exhibition mounted in September to coincide with Francophone Week in Toronto.

In **Quebec**, the English-speaking community can take a little heart from progress on two traditionally tough fronts. Employment and Immigration centres have markedly improved their ability to serve the public in either official language, while Petro-Canada is making gradual but unmistakable progress toward fulfilling its commitment to bilingualize the face of its gas stations. We do have some comfort for the pessimists, though: active offer of service in English remains at unacceptably low levels in institutions like Canada Post and Agriculture Canada, while Air Canada wears the yellow jersey among a tight field of Crown corporations who persist in using only French on promotional signage. In answer to complaints about unilingual French advertisements in Montreal's metro, Air Canada blithely explained: "We use this vehicle to reach the Francophone community who traditionally commute by metro. The Anglophone community tends to use both metro and train but for the most part commute by train and car."

Revealing as such anecdotes may be, they should not be allowed to overshadow other less obvious situations like the the long delays in producing a French version

of scientific studies. The availability of services in French or English in other specialized fields is also problematical, as the results of our audit on the linguistic dealings between five Crown corporations and their Quebec-based suppliers reveal. The degree of non-respect for suppliers' language preferences was 9.3 per cent for those who preferred English and a whopping 18.5 per cent for those who had the temerity to prefer French.

The same ambivalent approach to service was observed when a subsidiary of the Canada Lands Company, the "Vieux-Port de Montréal" Corporation, arranged to open a children's amusement park on the St-Jean-Baptiste Day long weekend. The fact that the equipment came from outside the Province should perhaps have made them THINK LANGUAGE. It did not. When the merry-go-rounds, bumper cars and other rides were opened to the public, all signs — including important security and safety notices — were in English only. Perhaps even more serious was the fact that some attendants knew no French at all. Upon receiving complaints, the Corporation acted with admirable dispatch: signs in French were improvised and newly recruited playground attendants began addressing the public in both official languages. With a little foresight, the Corporation might have avoided a lot of embarrassment.

Down east, we were more than disappointed that bilingualism was not given a sporting chance at the Canada Games in Saint John, **New Brunswick**. The juicy details are provided below in the chapter dealing with complaints.

Our audit of the RCMP's "J" Division (New Brunswick) and "L" division (**Prince Edward Island**) had revealed that there was still a long row to hoe before police services would be provided on an equal footing to Anglophones and Francophones. The good news is that "J" Division now boasts a 50 per cent bilingual staff; the bad news is that "L" Division has only one bilingual member more than in 1983, thereby reaching a total bilingual capacity of only 7 per cent.

In **Nova Scotia**, the availability of federal services in French remains distinctly unimpressive, particularly outside the southwestern portion of the province. In some cases, federal departments and agencies unwittingly compounded their problems. For example, Parks Canada approached the Nova Scotia Department of Transportation to see if it could improve road signage pointing the way to national parks and historical sites and thereby foster the growth of tourism in Nova Scotia. It agreed to have its beaver logo incorporated into "shared" signs and to pay part of the costs. However, Francophone tourists may have wondered why signs erected for their convenience with well-intended federal funds were only in English. It seems that Parks Canada failed to note that the policy of the province is that only English messages will be displayed on signs. The Department is studying the problem.

As for **Newfoundland** and **Labrador** . . . the less said the better.

Nor have our linguistic flubs been confined to these shores. When a Francophone visited the Canadian pavilion at Le Bourget Aeronautical Salon in Paris, an event that draws over a million visitors, he was a trifle surprised to be greeted at the information kiosk by an employee who spoke only English. Fortunately, he was quickly referred to another employee who spoke French. The Department of External Affairs admitted that three of the eight officers working in rotation at the kiosk did not speak French. However, schedules had been arranged to ensure that if a unilingual officer was on duty, there would be one or two bilingual officers on duty at the same time.

The Department then added with unbecoming candour that "it is not the first time over the years that we have received this particular kind of complaint". Presumably, the Department considers a sincere wringing of hands the appropriate diplomatic gesture.

This litany of lapses confirms that, in spite of real improvements, there are still too many egregious and inexplicable infractions of the Act. Without wanting to accuse anyone of being asleep at their past, we are forced to conclude that, for many managers the provision of faultless bilingual service does not weigh heavily in the scales of bureaucratic performance, and, too often alas, they can still count on top management to rationalize their peccadilloes.

Political and policy momentum

One cannot say farewell to this heartland of the Official Languages Act without observing that the general quality of federal service to the public in English and French is rarely better than the will of politicians and policy-makers that drives it. Some individual deputy heads and senior managers have a strong personal commitment to effective bilingual service. We are grateful to them. Others simply have a lot of other things on their mind and will not go out of their way to press forward with a program that, rightly or wrongly, is not widely perceived as a major Government priority.

The Government *has* re-affirmed, in general terms, both the importance of providing federal services in the official language of the citizen's choice and, as it observed in its reply to the Standing Joint Committee's second report, that "the quality and availability of such services is often uneven in some parts of the country." However, these findings have yet to trickle down to the Public Service at large. The Government has acknowledged, in particular, that the policy of actively offering bilingual service needs to be reinforced, as does the process for monitoring its impact. To this end, it promised:

- better identification of bilingual service points in federal offices;
- a closer match between existing bilingual capacity and the points where it is needed; and
- increased awareness by federal employees of the public's language rights and their corresponding obligations.

Since these needs have long been recognized, however, one wonders why it is taking Government so perilously long to respond to them. If the current timetable holds, we will be well into 1986 and close to Government's second anniversary before the effects of any significant policy interventions are felt in the Public Service.

In an effort to flesh out precisely what the Government's corporate obligations are in this area, a fair amount of thought was given, by officials at the Treasury Board, Justice Department, Privy Council Office and elsewhere, to developing working interpretations of the constitutional criteria for providing bilingual service to the public, as set out in section 20 of the Charter: namely, wherever there is "significant demand" for such service or where the "nature of the office" indicates that a bilingual capability should exist. One wonders whether the days and weeks devoted in 1985 to searching for that particular Holy Grail were time well spent. So long as bilingual service is barely 70 cents on the dollar in situations of manifest demand, what possible purpose is served by definitional nickle-and-dimeing at the less "significant"

end of the scale, — unless it be to demonstrate one's essentially Scrooge-like approach to public service? We would like to stress one more time that the problems we now encounter are essentially problems of operational accountability, of making sure that everyone can and does do what he or she is supposed to do. The solution to such problems is, for the most part, well within the powers of federal institutions to achieve *now*, under existing policy, and with reasonable and routine attention to quality control.

Equitable Participation: Preferred Shares

As early as 1971, the Federal Government enunciated the principle that the composition of Canada's Public Service should reflect the country's two official-language groups. The same notion reappeared in the Parliamentary Resolution on Official Languages in the Public Service of 1973, in which "full participation" of both English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians was seen as a goal linked to healthier use of English and French in the workplace. The concept has become gradually more refined over the following years, changing from a straightforward statistical formula to a notion of fairer representation across the various dimensions of the federal administration: regional, hierarchical and professional.

In some ways, "full" or "equitable" participation is the most delicate of the three main federal goals, if only because it is both individual and collective at the same time. It directly touches the essential fibre of all Canadians, and of federal public servants in particular. Concrete matters like signage, publications or work instruments are child's play by comparison. Person-to-person service and supervision, which call for individual skills, are a bit more difficult; but the most subtle, sensitive and occasionally explosive aspect of bilingualism is participation, which affects both language groups and at the same time implicates the individual's linguistic identity. It is not surprising, then, that this topic can still provoke bitterness and mistrust, the more so since its parameters are not yet precisely defined or even always definable. Notwithstanding such ambiguities, and looking beyond the overall balance already achieved, we see a trend toward persistent and even worsening hierarchical and regional imbalances. Any slippage of this kind must be vigorously and systematically countered; it would compromise an aspect of linguistic equality that Parliament has recognized as essential.

As shown in Table II.6, Anglophone and Francophone participation rates in the federal Public Service have stabilized in recent years. The overall proportions correspond more or less to the national distribution of both language groups: 27.8 per cent (63,077) of the 226,403 persons *for whom Treasury Board is the employer* have French as their first official language.[1] We might therefore be tempted to believe that the target has been reached and that the celebrations can begin.

[1] The overall Francophone participation rate for Crown corporations is estimated at approximately 25 per cent.

Table II.6

Anglophone and Francophone representation in the Public Service, 1965 to 1985

Year	Anglophones %	Francophones %
1965	78.5	21.5
1974	75.7	24.3
1975	74.4	25.6
1976	74.0	26.0
1977	73.8	26.2
1978	74.0	26.0
1979	73.6	26.4
1980	73.3	26.7
1981	72.8	27.2
1982	73.2	26.8
1983	72.5	27.5
1984	72.2	27.8
1985	72.2	27.8

Source: 1965: B & B Commission sampling of the mother tongue of employees in all federal departments and agencies. "Mother tongue" usually means the language first learned in childhood and still understood. For subsequent years, information comes from the Official Languages Information System.

Unfortunately, as is usually the case, a detailed examination of data on equitable participation shows the overall statistics to be misleading. Worse still, in spite of general progress, the underlying problems are practically the same as those pointed out in every Annual Report since 1980: Anglophones are under-represented in Quebec and in the Administrative Support category; Francophones are under-represented in management generally (civilian and military), in the Scientific and Professional category and in bilingual regions outside Quebec.

A Closer Look

a) Upstairs, Downstairs

Management

Recent data (summarized in Table II.7) show various imbalances among the occupational categories. These are all the more unacceptable for not being new. In 1984, as in 1981, Francophones accounted for only 20.5 per cent of the Management category; in 1985, that figure dropped to 19.9 per cent. When managers from the other occupational categories are included, Francophones account for only 18.8 per cent. Hardly a subject for rejoicing, given the strategic importance of management

TABLE II.7

Distribution of Anglophone and Francophone public servants in the entire Public Service, by professional category, 1980 and 1985[1]

CATEGORY		Anglophones		Francophones		
Officers		**Number**	**%**	**Number**	**%**	**Total**
Management	1980	993	79.4	257	20.6	1,250
	1985	3,422	80.1	851	19.9	4,273
Scientific	1980	17,375	80.9	4,091	19.1	21,466
and Professional	1985	18,028	77.6	5,214	22.4	23,242
Administrative and	1980	37,188	72.6	14,033	27.4	51,161
Foreign Service	1985	40,154	70.6	16,721	29.4	56,875
Technical	1980	21,268	81.3	4,890	18.7	26,158
	1985	22,091	79.3	5,766	20.7	27,857
Total	**1980**	**76,824**	**76.8**	**23,271**	**23.2**	**100,095**
	1985	**83,695**	**74.6**	**28,552**	**25.4**	**112,247**
Other personnel						
Administrative	1980	47,623	68.2	22,168	31.8	69,791
Support	1985	47,035	66.4	23,770	33.6	70,805
Operational	1980	74,913	73.5	27,063	26.5	101,976
	1985	32,666	75.4	10,685	24.6	43,351
Total	**1980**	**122,476**	**71.3**	**49,231**	**28.7**	**171,707**
	1985	**79,701**	**69.8**	**34,455**	**30.2**	**114,156**
GRAND TOTAL	**1980**	**199,300**	**73.3**	**72,502**	**26.7**	**271,802**
	1985	**163,396**	**72.2**	**63,007**	**27.8**	**226,403**

[1] Canada and overseas.
Source: Official Languages Information System, 1980 and 1985.

in the government of a country whose Constitution proclaims linguistic equality. Nor does the management feeder group offer much comfort: while Francophones represent 20.8 per cent of the Executive group, they account for only 19.2 per cent of those immediately below it, the senior managers. On the other hand, 31 per cent of the 500 deputy-minister and governor-in-council appointees who make up the highest levels of the federal bureaucracy are French-speaking. At the other end of the scale, Francophones are still over-represented in the Administrative Support category (33.6 per cent), which in no way compensates for the lack of French-speaking managers.

Administrative support

The Administrative Support category contains an unusually high proportion of bilingual positions that have been staffed "imperatively", in other words with employees who are already bilingual: 80 per cent compared to 49 per cent in the Scientific and

Professional category and 26 per cent in the Management category[1]. Requirements to serve the public, or other employees, may explain these differences to some degree, but do they really justify them? Not in our view. Could it be that managers, who determine the linguistic requirements of positions, tend to demand more from their subordinates that from their equals? Have they found ways to exempt themselves, at least temporarily, from obligations that are more strictly applied to others? The high proportion of such bilingual positions staffed on an imperative basis also tends to work against Anglophone candidates, who, more often than Francophones, have remained unilingual. In the circumstances, it is not surprising that the proportion of Anglophones in this category has declined from 68.2 per cent in 1980 to 66.4 per cent in 1985.

Despite improvements, the ratio of Anglophones to Francophones in the Scientific and Professional category (78:22) is still inequitable. Even within this category, there are marked contrasts: Francophones account for more than 30 per cent of some of the smaller groups, but for only 15, 13 and 9 per cent of the more numerous biologists, physicists and scientific research staff. The progress made since 1980, when these proportions were 11, 6 and 6 per cent respectively, should not obscure the fact that the distance covered has been short.

Another point worth noting is the higher proportion of Francophones in what might be called "soft" positions: 32 per cent in term positions and 37.2 per cent in part-time positions, compared to 27.6 per cent in "permanent" positions.

However, our crystal ball does suggest a somewhat brighter future. The proportion of Francophones recruits among university, CEGEP and community college graduates is markedly higher (30.4 per cent)[2] than their current representation in the Public Service. In the medium term, it would seem that Francophone replacements are guaranteed, at least for officer positions (where they now account for 25.4 per cent), if not in more senior ranks.

b) East Side, West Side

Across the country

A regional cross-section of the Public Service reveals equally serious inconsistencies. As shown in Table II.8, the linguistic make-up of the population is best reflected in unilingual regions and in the most bilingual region (the National Capital). On the other hand, in the bilingual regions of Quebec and Ontario, as well as in New Brunswick, the gap between the linguistic composition of the Public Service and the local population is wide, a fact made all the more unsettling in that these regions have a major need for services in both official languages and should not lack for bilingual personnel. Although the situation is improving in the bilingual regions of Ontario and particularly New Brunswick, it is growing worse in the bilingual regions of Quebec, where — despite increased recruitment of late — Anglophones now account for only 7.3 per cent of federal public servants, a slow but steady decline since 1982. Considering their numbers are also declining in the rest of Quebec, while Francophone participation elsewhere in Canada, though still inadequate in some areas, is improving, we are entitled to wonder about the root causes of such a situation and the effectiveness of the corrective measures taken thus far. The situation is hardly explained by the fact that provincial language policy makes French *the* language of

[1] 1984 figures.
[2] *Ibid.*

Table II.8

Proportional distribution of minority official-language groups in the population and the Public Service, by region, 1980-85

Region	Minority official-language population	Minority official-language public servants				Difference
		82	83	84	85	82-85
Western provinces	2.7	1.7	1.9	2.0	2.1	+ 0.4
Unilingual Ontario	2.0	2.5	2.7	2.9	3.0	+ 0.5
Bilingual Ontario	32.3	21.6	22.7	23.2	23.3	+ 1.7
National Capital Region	35.4	34.6	35.4	35.7	35.7	+ 1.1
Bilingual Quebec	19.8	8.1	7.9	7.3	7.3	- 0.8
Unilingual Quebec	4.2	5.0	4.7	4.2	4.0	- 1.0
New Brunswick	33.6	22.3	25.9	26.8	27.6	+ 5.4
Other Atlantic provinces	2.9	3.0	3.4	3.6	3.7	+ 0.7
Territories	2.5	3.0	3.8	4.0	3.5	+ 0.5

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census; Official Languages Information System.

the workplace in the province: we are talking about federal institutions, after all, and the number of bilingual English-speaking Quebecers has increased significantly.

Obstacles

Recruitment

Situations like these help explain why official-language minorities in Canada often wonder, with good reason, about their "participation" in the Public Service and thus in the government of the country. Their scepticism is often based on signs that reflect only too well the attitudes and methods of the majorities. Were potential candidates given a chance to read job-offers in their own language and in the minority media? When they approached the federal agency to make their application, were they dealt with in their language? Were all the staffing services and documents available in English and French? Did all members of the selection committee belong to the linguistic majority? Factors such as these attract or repel minority-language candidates, affect judgements as to "merit" and determine whether the Public Service is a local, "members only" club or open to all. To some, this is a question of psychology, to others simply bureaucracy at work; but it is hard to know to what extent the machine is simply blind and to what extent its actions may be prejudiced.

What can be said of an organization that refuses to interview a candidate in the official language of his or her choice? This is what seems to have happened to an Anglophone candidate in Montreal last summer when, during an interview, the selection committee asked all its questions in French. Unfortunately, the Department of

National Revenue (Taxation) was unable to confirm or deny the incident without the candidate's name, which we were not at liberty to reveal.

The first objective of federal institutions and the Government should be to eliminate obstacles to recruitment. But this alone is not enough. Active measures, consistent with the merit principle, should be taken to correct persistent or growing discrepancies. Nothing could be more effective than a demonstration, through a clear presence in the media and in educational institutions, that federal jobs are open to all. Such steps have been very successful for Environment Canada, where concrete and sustained efforts in French-language universities, combined with an on-the-job student training program, have increased Francophone representation in the Scientific and Professional category from 15 per cent in 1981 to 19 per cent in 1985. On the other hand, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, using obscure recruitment methods apparently based on the "old boy" network, managed to draw only 5 per cent of its 1985 recruits from the entire French-speaking population of Canada.

Language of work

It is also important to ensure that the minority is able to work in its language in bilingual regions. The link between a satisfactory language-of-work regime and an equitable participation rate is perhaps more direct that one would think. The history of the Public Service clearly shows that, in areas where work is performed almost entirely in one language, the possibility of attracting people from the other language group who want to work in their own language is very slim. And without a significant presence of minority-language employees, both proportionally and numerically, what is a policy of language choice worth?

In our audit reports and follow-ups, we have urged federal institutions to adopt specific action plans and more dynamic recruitment methods. The success of taking one's recruitment pitch directly to schools, colleges and universities speaks for itself. We have also presented a good many recommendations on language of work. These, combined with the actions of the institutions in question, may have something to do with recent positive developments such as the increased hiring of Anglophones in Quebec. From 1983 to 1985, the pool of Anglophone candidates tripled, as did the number of Anglophones interviewed. The rate of Anglophone appointments went up from 6.7 per cent to 8.9 per cent over the same period.

Lack of data

Thus far, the percentages cited for Anglophones and Francophones refer only to some 226,000 public servants. To this number must be added approximately 345,000 military personnel, RCMP members and employees of Crown corporations, who together account for about 60 per cent of all federal employees. Although participation ratios are known for the military (73:27 overall and 77:23 for officers) and for members of the RCMP (85:15), we still have no precise data for certain Crown corporations. This results in guesstimating that is hardly in keeping with the duty of these corporations to account to Parliament for their linguistic situation. Even though, by amending the Financial Administration Act, the Government has, since the fall of 1984, had an opportunity to keep closer tabs on these agencies, it appears reluctant to do so. As a result, information on their linguistic performance lacks something in the way of precision, which in turn makes it difficult to compare them with other federal institutions, and a bit of a quandary to determine how far they conform to the Act.

It is not certain whether, in its present form, the Official Languages Act would allow the Commissioner to *require* Crown corporations to set up management systems specifically designed to provide participation data, but unless Government itself decides to establish such a requirement, we believe the Act should make a provision of that kind. Both Government and the Commissioner must have *all* necessary information from *all* federal organizations to be able to report accurately to Parliament.

Made to measure

A final question remains to be examined: how many patterns may official-language designers need to tailor appropriate participation outfits? Although it has been relatively simple to agree on an off-the-rack national standard that generally reflects the relative size of both official-language groups, it is clearly unrealistic to expect this standard to fit all federal organizations equally well. Nor are all departures from the national standard necessarily "deviations" in some pejorative sense: allowances obviously must be made for such organizations as the Pacific Pilotage Authority or the Northern Transportation Company.

Different participation models are conceivable, depending on whether the organization has its headquarters in the National Capital Region or elsewhere, and on whether its activities are national or regional in scope, either in terms of territory or clientele. Organizations in the "national" category would, for example, include the 10 largest departments, as well as Canada Post, Statistics Canada, External Affairs, Energy, Mines and Resources, the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Consumer and Corporate Affairs, Regional Industrial Expansion, and the Department of Communications. Those with headquarters in Montreal — for example, Air Canada, Canadian National Railways or Via Rail — may have reason to exceed the 26 per cent Francophone representation norm. Similarly, an Anglophone participation objective of more than 74 per cent might be more natural for Petro-Canada, whose headquarters are located in Calgary, or for the Department of Veterans Affairs, centred in Charlottetown.

It seems only proper that regional organizations like the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, the Cape Breton Development Corporation, Ports Canada or the Canadian Wheat Board should bring their linguistic composition more in line with their regions. The same principle might well apply to "national" agencies which happen to be concentrated in the National Capital Region: Museums Canada or Treasury Board. Then there are institutional differences based on the nature or location of the clientele: Fisheries and Oceans, Indian and Northern Affairs and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police serve a particular section of the Francophone public that needs to be carefully gauged but which may legitimately be considered smaller than the national figure. On the other hand, the National Film Board and the CBC, by virtue of their cultural mandates, and the Secretary of State's Department, because of its role vis-à-vis the minorities, require a much more even balance of the two groups. The size of the agency, in this field as in many others, also plays a role: there is something to be said for having an above-average *proportion* of minority-language employees in many small agencies if that is the only way to give them some *numerical* weight.

Still other factors may come into play. Are employees recruited nationally or regionally? What is the availability of qualified personnel from both language groups? Are employees required to have specialized skills at the time of hiring and, if so, where can such skills be acquired? How many regional offices are there and where are they located? What type of work is involved?

These and probably other factors ought to give us, if not rigid models, at least participation scenarios that are more equitable and more in keeping with the *spirit* of the objective. Above all, it is important to examine each case on its merits and set realistic and worthwhile objectives while clarifying situations sometimes blurred by uncertainty and apprehension.

For designers who need to make their participation outfits to measure, these are some possible patterns. We are not just fitting out a few dancers, however, but an entire ballet company — a much more complex business. Consideration has to be given to the overall balance and the development of the dance. For example, an institution that came into being some 15 years ago may have a larger number of Francophones, recruited, as it were, to compensate for imbalances in the other direction found elsewhere. Thus the choreographer (in this case, the Treasury Board Secretariat) must weigh changes in one organization against those in another as part of its ongoing quest for equitable participation. Nor should it ever forget the merit principle: a fine ballet calls for fine dancers. This Office will continue to study and analyse this issue in 1986 so as to be in a position to shed more light on specific issues in participation.

It must at all times be borne in mind that manipulating the parameters outlined above requires a great deal of care: the danger lies in becoming so absorbed in a purely mathematical exercise as to forget its purpose.

Recommendations

In light of the above, it is recommended that, in the next two years:

1) federal institutions set precise and properly nuanced participation objectives and timetables, broken down by sector, level and category, both for headquarters and the regions;

2) those objectives be linked (a) to a recruitment and development plan that takes account of the present and potential labour market and (b) to advertizing, staffing and language-of-work practices that are fair to both language groups;

3) non-departmental organizations collect and publish, between now and December 31, 1986, all the data that is necessary to permit evaluation of their performance in relation to this particular program objective.

Language of Work: Can We Talk?

Policy goals

One logical consequence of conferring equality of status on English and French as the official languages of Canada has been that they thereby enjoy equal legitimacy as languages of work within the federal administration. The Official Languages Act of 1969 does not state in so many words that public servants may, subject to appropriate limitations, work in either English or French, but such is the interpretation which Parliament and Government have consistently given to the basic declaration of equality in section 2 of the Act, and that interpretation has seldom been seriously questioned. Indeed, the principle was made completely explicit in the unanimously approved Parliamentary Resolution on Official Languages in the Public Service of 1973, from which much of Government's current official languages policies derive. From there it seems to us a small, if important step, to do the honest thing and incorporate the language-of-work principle as part of a revised Official Languages Act, which is precisely what we again recommended at the close of 1985. (See Appendix C for an outline of the Commissioner's proposals for modifying the Act.)

It is important to understand that French-speaking Canadians are not Anglophones who somehow went astray; they have, in addition to a different, if related, language, a distinct cultural, historical, intellectual and even legal perspective on this country, which is every bit as "Canadian" as anything our other major linguistic group has to offer. It violates common sense to suppose that fundamentally French-speaking Canadians can share in and identify with the national enterprise — of which the Federal Government is a major but not the only part — when its values are mediated to them very largely in another language. That, briefly, is why a federal administration that, consciously or otherwise, subordinates one of our official languages or turns it into a mere language of translation not only contravenes our Constitution but tends to destabilize Canadian society as a whole. So long as the linguistic bias of the federal language-of-work regime goes on contributing to the anglicization of Francophones, it not only fails to provide a just solution, it is plainly part of the problem.

The consequences of recognizing a right to choose either English or French as a language of work are in many ways quite as momentous as those stemming from the principle that the Canadian public should be served in its own official language. To appreciate this, one need only reflect for a moment on the economics of linguistic organization. Whereas an institution can quite readily channel and concentrate its bilingual capacity so as to ensure that a choice of English and French is available

wherever the institution deals regularly with clients of both groups, if *public servants* of both language groups are entitled to use either language indifferently, there are really only two logical models of linguistic economy which meet the bill: either one goes for some form of linguistic "streaming" or one accepts a regime which requires very widespread individual bilingualism; either you can work in your preferred official language because it is the preferred language of your work unit or you can work in it because it is understood by a very large proportion of your colleagues. There are of course many individual and institutional accomodations which will deliver degrees of choice and various forms of language streaming, but, in the main, those are the options.

While the Federal Government has never finally made up its mind on the preferred dosage of these two models, the events and observations of 1985 show that the underlying problem is as real as ever. When the Prime Minister's attention was called in the House to a passage in our 1984 Report to the effect that there was much stagnation in the area of language of work, he roundly deplored the notion that French as a language of work might be no better than "folklore" and promised to give the matter due consideration. As we write, there are still no tangible signs of what that consideration has led to, but this in itself is not surprising, as the dilemma goes very deep and there are widely divergent views about available solutions, none of them without important political repercussions.

Statement of policy

For those not yet familiar with the *present* policy regime, let us briefly recap its premises. The public servant has a theoretical right to choose to work in either English or French subject to the following limitations:

- the duty to ensure that members of the public are served in *their* official language;
- the right is intended to apply fully only in those regions of the country which are designated bilingual for language-of-work purposes;[1]
- the right is restricted by the language requirements of the employee's position (occupants of the so-called English-essential or French-essential positions may not choose to work in the other language for official purposes);
- when required to supervise other public servants in positions with diverse language requirements, a supervisor must not only be bilingual but generally respect the linguistic preference of subordinates; and finally
- public servants who provide an internal service to other public servants (e.g. a personnel service) must do so in the language of the person being served.

Within those general limits, present policy supposes that French-speaking employees are free to use French to roughly the same extent as English-speaking employees are free to use English. But, to paraphrase a well-known character from Dickens, "if the policy supposes that, the policy is a ass." These provisions have been in place for over a dozen years now, years during which an ever-increasing number of jobs have been designated bilingual and an ever-increasing proportion of their occupants

[1] In broad terms, the federally designated bilingual regions for language-of-work purposes are: the National Capital Region; the whole of New Brunswick; Montreal, the Eastern Townships and the Gaspé in Quebec; and northern and eastern Ontario.

are — at least technically — bilingual, and moreover obliged to be bilingual at gradually higher levels of second-language proficiency. But, at least as measured by the instruments at our disposal, the extent to which the use of French as a language of work has kept pace with those changes is highly questionable. The fact of the matter is that, in the bilingual regions, French is not used in communications between public servants to anything like the extent or with anything like the freedom or regularity that the numerical presence of Francophone public servants would lead one to expect. If one were to judge the official status of French, for instance, from its use in inter-departmental committees or at meetings of deputy heads, one would be hard pressed not to conclude that it has no status to speak of whatsoever.

The conventional wisdom offers two or three explanations for this: first, that the second-language skills required of Anglophones are often too low or too artificial to make a real choice feasible; second, that all the necessary "ingredients" *are* present, but it takes a committed and determined management effort to galvanize them into action; and third, that many of the present generation of Francophone public servants are conditioned by their experience both outside and inside the Public Service to forego their right to use French under the natural pressures of getting on with the job. There is, of course, some truth in all three diagnoses. But one may be forgiven for doubting whether these explanations suffice to explain the present language-of-work situation or whether they point to convincing ways of improving it.

1985 Developments

Until such time as Government develops some radically different tack on the language-of-work question, we may expect to see more years like 1985. As it was, at the close of 1984 the Public Service Commission had canvassed the proposition that one of the ways forward lay in increasing the number and intensifying the second-language requirements of bilingual positions, while at the same time continuing to foster management initiatives. To judge from the response these proposals received from departments, not too many people were persuaded that bigger and better language standards could, of themselves, make a dramatic difference in the short term or that they would not have significant negative side-effects. Now it is certainly true that higher and more meaningful standards have a way of convincing public servants that Government means business, and that people who want a job that is both attractive and bilingual had better have the required degree of second-language competence, and use it. The question is how *much* second-language competence can be acquired and maintained by many English-speaking employees, in mid-career, who have seldom been exposed to functional French and do not sense a powerful organizational pressure to use it on the job.[1] It is a fallacy, in our view, to suppose that, *in the absence of other incentives*, the second-language competence of most Anglophone public servants will rise significantly simply because test norms go up. This would be like believing that larger seed-packets will deliver bigger blooms.

Catalogue of initiatives

Treasury Board, as Government's linguistic manager, has left the policy framework and position requirements virtually untouched since 1981. The Board's only noticeable new contribution to the language-of-work system in 1985 was to publish, without much promotional fanfare, a catalogue of initiatives developed by departments as

part of their own efforts to breathe some life into an ailing policy. Among the initiatives which seem to have found the widest currency are the production of bilingual reference material, lexicons and electronic data bases; tailored, in-house language training; revision and editing facilities; and, in some cases, even some language rules for the conduct of meetings.

Although there has been no formal assessment of the impact of the catalogue so far, any promotional device of this kind which provides a day-to-day tool for managers is a step in the right direction. Our 1985 audit investigations did not, alas, bring to light many new, unsung or generalized initatives of the kind. The overall assessment on the year was that progress had been slight, if any, and that a great many of the unequal practices of the past remain firmly in place: employees continue to be improperly supervised in the boss's language; meetings contrive to exclude use of the minority official language; written communications between Ottawa and Quebec offices often are not in French to the extent they are supposed to be; and the proportion of federal documents that are originally drafted in French remains absurdly small.

Meanwhile, in the absence of any significant reorientation of the program, departments and agencies continued to apply the policy as best they could. On the basis of a quick headcount, perhaps one institution in 10 made some specific efforts to alter the balance of official-language use in internal communications. Among the more notable, however, we should mention: brochures to employees explaining their language-of-work rights and obligations (National Revenue (Taxation), Fisheries and Oceans); in-house and job-oriented second-language courses (Bank of Canada); "help-me-improve-my-English/French" buttons and signs (Employment and Immigration); co-drafting of a bilingual parliamentary reference text (House of Commons); and extended use of editor-revisers to facilitate drafting in the second language (Energy, Mines and Resources and Health and Welfare).

Pinpointing the problem

It may be that subtle changes in attitudes and in language use *are* taking place and that our present measurement instruments are too crude to catch them. Both Treasury Board and the Commissioner's Office are constantly trying to refine their survey and questionnaire tools to pinpoint those aspects of the interactions between Anglophone and Francophone public servants that are most critical for the choice of language of work. We expect 1986 to produce some new hard data on that issue. In the meantime, however, since Government is working on its own policy revisions right now, it is not too early to speculate on possible conclusions.

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[1] Since 1980, when Treasury Board first published data on language use among public servants in bilingual regions, and 1985, the numbers and proportions of public servants who met bilingual position requirements at the various proficiency levels have undergone the following changes:

	1980		1985	
Level	**Number**	**%**	**Number**	**%**
A (Elementary)	10,761	24.5	7,167	11.2
B (Intermediate)	28,021	63.8	49,250	77.1
C (Advanced)	3,191	7.3	5,304	8.3
Other	1,910	4.4	2,169	3.4

Source: Official Language Information Services.

Limitations of the Present Policy Model

The present policy model is based on individual choice: subject to the restrictions listed above, public servants should, "as a general rule", be able to choose to work in either official language, according to personal preference. Manifestly, however, choices of that kind cannot occur *in vacuo* nor without impinging on the choices of others. When Prime Minister Pearson, in the brave, new long ago of 1966, portrayed the Public Service work world as one where ". . . a climate will be created in which public servants from both language groups will work together toward common goals, using their own language and applying their respective cultural values, but each fully understanding and appreciating those of the other. . .", he may, forgiveably, have been prophesying a time when linguistic lions would lie down with linguistic lambs, but the portrait was unfortunately some distance from the ordinary probabilities of that day c' this.

It must never be forgotten in speaking of language of work in the Canadian Public Service that French has started from a position of such relative weakness that, as recently as the 60s, even in Quebec, where Francophones were in a majority, English often predominated in the federal workplace. We have come a considerable way since then, thanks in part to the sometimes vilified but effective French Language Units, and in many, but not yet all spheres of federal activity, French has demonstrated — against tough odds — that it *can be* a valid working language of the federal bureaucracy.

Theoretical versus functional equality

But the application of the system that has been in place for the last 10 years or so apparently presumes that nothing more is required to give English and French real equality of status as working languages than to place them in an administrative environment whose general rules make them theoretically equal. Even if this theoretical equalization were complete (and we know it is not), the actual linguistic pressures have not changed all that much. By sheer force of numbers, if for no other reason, English is still *the* dominant language of world, North American and Canadian relations; and in most work situations both the balance of representation and of relative second-language skills continue to favour the dominant language. Obvious inadequacies in the present use of French outside Quebec may be due, in part, to shortcomings of the system or failures of management drive, but, heretical though it may be to say so, they may also reflect the limits of what the present policy can deliver. It is time we faced more squarely the question whether providing a superficial parity of organizational circumstances is sufficient to allow a traditionally underused and subordinate language, French, a fair chance to compete, on an individual-choice basis, with a long established, dominant language, English.

Necessity and usefulness

The point was made very clearly by Professor Jean-Denis Gendron of the International Centre for Research on Bilingualism when he told the Joint Committee on Official Languages that the crux of the language-of-work issue is the perceived professional, social and economic prestige of the languages involved. So long as institutions and individuals are not provided with a *reason* — even if it is initially an artificial reason — for working in what has long been perceived as a functionally subordinate language, they will continue to opt for the dominant language. As Professor Gendron pointed out, on the basis of Quebec's own experience:

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[1]Hansard, April 6, 1966, p. 3915.

> The only way to justify the French language in Quebec over the long term in the eyes, not only of non-Francophones, but also of Francophones themselves, . . . is for French to become a necessary and useful language in Quebec.

To some extent, the federal experience has paralleled that of Quebec *in that province*: French has become not only necessary and useful for the federal administration, it has become in most situations *the* language of work of most federal employees. What has yet to happen to any marked extent is to make French as necessary and useful for federal purposes in the National Capital Region, in New Brunswick or the bilingual regions of Ontario as the relative presence of the two language groups will allow. "Necessary" and "useful" are, of course, relative terms. In an administrative environment such as now exists in the National Capital Region, where bilingual positions run in the tens of thousands, a knowledge of French is obviously a professionally desirable characteristic. Less obvious are occasions where the use of French is truly a functional necessity for getting the job done. French has thus achieved the status of a valued commodity in the Capital without becoming, other than rather exceptionally, a working language in the fullest sense.

Redressing the Balance

We already know that authentic opportunities to use French as a working language will vary in relation to several well-identified factors:

- the numerical presence and hierarchical status of Francophones in the work unit;
- the relative second-language competence, attitudes and age of both Anglophones and Francophones;
- the relative educational, professional and regional life experiences of the two groups, where the use of a second language is concerned;
- the availability and adequacy of support systems such as bilingual staff and documentation (electronic as well as written), professional development, and central and departmental guidelines; and
- the vigour and consistency with which individual managers and management as a whole apply either local or general policy directives.

Working with the variables

These are the main variables determining the dynamics of English-French use under the present policy regime. It is sufficient for one or two of those relationships to be unfavourable to French to reduce the use of that language to very modest proportions indeed. To illustrate from an actual situation, we received a complaint concerning a federal work unit in New Brunswick which was made up of doctors and nursing staff. Faced with certain realities, the department had felt it appropriate to issue a local language-of-work guideline whereby nursing staff were free to use French in their professional communications only when there were no unilingual Anglophones present who needed to know what was being said. Since all five of the senior medical staff fell into that latter category, it was evident to us what the policy amounted to: English in the vast majority of circumstances and French only

to the very limited extent possible, notwithstanding the fact that nearly 50 per cent of the people in that unit were French-speaking.

The moral of this story is not that the department was particularly irresponsible or vicious but that, faced with a reality that it could see no immediate chance of altering, it simply aligned the policy on the reality until further notice. This, by and large, is too often what becomes of the use of French outside Quebec: whenever the policy favouring its use runs up against the sociological realities of the work situation, it is the policy which bends; French remains a language whose use is officially recognized, occasionally tolerated but frequently subverted by "the facts of life". If this is, as we believe, a fair reflection of the condition of French as a working language of the federal administration outside Quebec, what policy options should we be considering?

Policy Options

The first, of course, is the do-nothing-except-a-little-more-of-the-same option, which asks us to believe that the present impasse will respond to treatment, given only more time, more demanding requirements, more individual commitment and more intense management drive. Other options start from the assumption that present policy is already producing just about as much as it is capable of, given the human beings involved, but that that is not enough to make a major dent in the administration's predisposition to "go with the flow" and use English. If then we really wish to raise French to the status of a competitive working language, it seems to us compellingly self-evident that we must envisage policies that are able to *compensate* in some measure for the various forms of predisposition that work against it.

Linguistic streaming

After serious reflection, we find it hard not to conclude, like the B and B Commission, that the institutional arrangement most likely to meet those conditions must involve *some* degree of linguistic "streaming". Previous attempts to identify French Language Units (FLU's) or Units Working in French (UWF's) in the National Capital Region have not met with much enthusiasm, either from Francophones or Anglophones; the word ghetto-ization rears its unlovely head and the policy-makers retreat into the shell of "better an unequal choice than a narrow diet of compulsory French".

Indeed, that might be a reasonable enough position, so long as a regime of choice was making some headway. But when choice appears to some to have stagnated at a level little better than folkloric,[1] surely we are bound to ask ourselves again whether there are possible merits in streaming which have not yet been explored. This Office continues to believe in the usefulness of fostering units where French is given something more than simply a fighting chance. We believe these need not entail ghetto-ization or the divorce of French from the Public Service mainstream. The trick, of course, lies in identifying organizational sectors in which French enjoys some preferential treatment and which, while still allowing for significant use of English, would assign to French the "necessary and useful" status of being that sector's — or that project's — predominant working language.

[1] Francophones in the National Capital Region represent over 35 per cent of the Public Service population, but, on average, they work more than 60 per cent of their time in English. In bilingual areas of Ontario the corresponding figures are 23 per cent and 66 per cent; roughly one-quarter of all employees are thus working two-thirds of their time in their second language.

The obvious corollary would be to recognize other sectors, units, projects or teams in which English would officially enjoy preferred status, but that hardly poses a problem, provided they are not defined as "all the rest of the Public Service". Both English-preferred and French-preferred sectors would also have to co-exist with conventional choice-of-English-or-French or bilingual sectors. While we appreciate that there are problems in designating preferred sectors and in determining how long they should keep that status, it is our opinion that this may be the *only* way to develop a variety of professional environments in which French can become the *natural* choice of most employees, Anglophone as well as Francophone. Let us take an example.

The French-Preferred Unit

"Department X"[1] is a mid-size, technically oriented department with an overall Francophone participation rate in the National Capital Region of 35 per cent (18.5 per cent in all its management groups combined), but Francophone employees in the NCR use English more than 60 per cent of the time. French-speakers are fairly evenly distributed across departmental headquarters, although with the usual over-concentration in administrative support positions, and the institution has a mandate to operate in all regions of the country. National headquarters comprises a total of some hundred work units headed by either a senior manager (EX or SM) or a section chief of a slightly lower grade. Although there are several of these units where Francophones and satisfactorily bilingual Anglophones can be found working together, professional use of French, either written or oral, remains marginal. The prevailing sense is that work projects go better when only one language is used, and the most convenient lingua franca is almost always English. To break out of this all-too-familiar syndrome requiries one or more *acts of will*. Whole sectors, units or project teams which possess the essential linguistic characteristics need to designated as "French-preferred", even if it is only for a matter of months, so that the people working there, without becoming linguistic puritans, can share the experience of doing as much as possible in French.

This is not a blanket invitation to Government to undertake, as it did in 1976, a wholesale designation of units working in French. But it is not too early to seek out specific sectors of the federal administration in bilingual regions outside Quebec — and particularly in the National Capital Region — where a French-preferred regime could be tested on a more or less formal basis. To the question why French-Preferred Units (FPU's) might prove useful where previous FLU's or UWF's have fallen short, there are several answers. The whole history of these related concepts would take a chapter in itself, but, briefly: FLU's (1971-73) *were* generally successful,[1] but there were too few of them in Ottawa itself to make a major impact; UWF's (1976-77) virtually died on the drawing-board, in part because the proposed implementation plan was not selective enough, and in part because they were felt to be too exclusive of the use of English. Further, in 1986, the linguistic mix and second-language skills in Ottawa are very much better than they were 10 years ago. At the moment, it might fairly be said that, in many sectors of the federal administration outside Quebec, we simply cannot judge how viable French may be as a full-fledged working language,

[1] Although "Department X" is, to some extent, a composite of several mid-sized departments, the statistical description is as typical as it can be.

[1] The President of the Treasury Board reported to Parliament in 1973 that "French Language Units have proven to be a successful experiment." The overall use of French in those units rose by something like 5 per cent.

for the simple reason that it has seldom been given that sort of trial. In the few cases where French sectors have persisted (in CIDA and External Affairs, for instance), the experience has been generally positive and unquestionably a *useful* factor in making the use of French an operational reality in those departments.

Personal Commitment

This is not to underestimate the value of personal commitment, the effort that employees of both groups are prepared to put into using the minority working language, even when it means going against the grain. But, as has often been pointed out, it would be a risky policy indeed that rested exclusively on the foundation of personal conviction, non-conformism or even heroism. For this reason we have come to think that the foundation should be of a more durable material. We therefore propose recognition, at the highest policy level, of a reciprocal civic obligation in this area between the two linguistic groups in the Public Service. We believe that would go a long way toward reshaping language-of-work relations and improving, permanently and practically, the status of French in the Public Service. On the Anglophone side, particularly for supervisors, the duties would be actively to encourage the use of French and to create an environment propitious to its use. The reciprocal duty of Francophones would be to make it their normal practice to use their own language at work. The duties thus recognized would perforce be subordinate to the limitations outlined above, but in all other respects would be treated as having a high priority among the professional standards expected of employees. Whatever Government decides on "language streaming", it should make it clear to all concerned where it stands on this concept of civic obligation, which, to our mind, is the inescapable complement and practical corollary of the right to choose one's language of work. But this process can and must be, not just endorsed, but structured, if the fundamental intent of this policy is to make the choice of French for future generations of Francophone — and Anglophone — public servants one that relates meaningfully to their professional realities.

We urge Government to reflect on and try out, in their 1980's form, both the "streaming" and the the "civic obligation" ideas. We may no longer need FLU's or UWF's as they were conceived 10 or a dozen years ago, but we may well need to retain their motivating idea until French can gain an ecological foothold in a largely Anglotropic system. Merely to persist in the present policy, with whatever trappings it may be embroidered, seems to us a counsel of despair, at least until such time as all plausible alternatives have been exhausted. Past and present federal experience already shows that such alternatives exist. It is time to give them another outing.

A word in closing: the "prestige" of French outside Quebec is a function of what all of us perceive to be its impact in use. We have been struck by the way in which all parties in Parliament have shown a pronounced determination — no doubt not unrelated to their fortunes in Quebec — to be heard and seen doing their parliamentary job in the language, if not of Molière, of Marie-Claire Blais or Roch Carrier. Would that this sensitivity to the interaction of politics and prestige might infiltrate the power structures of the Ottawa bureaucracy, where, we regret to have to say again, senior-level example is generally lamentable.

Complaints: Tears Are Not Enough

Because the Official Languages Act made the investigation of complaints a key factor in safeguarding the rights of citizens and the equal status of English and French, and bearing in mind that a single complaint often represents dozens, if not hundreds, of infractions that go unreported, we conducted a review of our complaints process this year to see if it could not be improved. The main objective is, of course, to get solutions from federal departments and agencies to the problems brought to light by disgruntled citizens. We felt that with a little effort the process could be made more efficient and meaningful for all concerned.

When it comes to language rights, complainants often voice not only personal but community concerns. Although many of them realize there will be no immediate redress for themselves, they are content to know that their complaints can lead to solutions over time and that they have contributed to a larger process of reform.

Changing the approach

In the past, our tendency was to fire off each alleged infraction to the offending institution as soon as it came in. While our survey conducted three years ago revealed that complainants were in general well-satisfied with this practice, it was costly in terms of human resources, both for our Office and for federal institutions. Moreover, our analysis of complaints over time suggests that, by investigating most infractions of the Act on an individual basis, we might sometimes, be losing sight of the ultimate goal: to bring about durable solutions by reforming the underlying systems. In the future, we plan to group complaints, wherever possible, before taking action. This should enable us to focus investigation on particularly sensitive issues and increase our chances of obtaining significant results. It should also mean that federal institutions will be less able to camouflage some of their more conspicuous flaws.

We also intend to broaden our range of investigatory techniques: simple telephone calls for minor lapses, full-scale target audits for systemic problems, and direct and immediate intervention at the highest levels when such prodding is required. We hope that this new emphasis on results will also allow us to make better and more efficient use of our resources, but we have not forgotten our complainants, either. They will be kept better informed of how their complaints fit into the general picture and of what we and others are doing to resolve them. Needless to say, this new approach can only succeed to the extent that federal institutions, too, actively seek to eradicate the underlying causes of complaints.

Numbers and Statistics

In 1985, we received 1,079 complaints compared to 1,421 in 1984. The drop in numbers occurred chiefly in two specific areas — bilingual signage and the use of the minority press for federal advertising. We also received fewer complaints about non-federal organizations. Since several provinces have now introduced mechanisms of their own to handle complaints of a linguistic nature and people have been made aware of this service, resort to our good offices has become less frequent.

The number of complaints against individual institutions varies from year to year depending on particular circumstances or events. This year, for instance, we received fewer complaints against Air Canada. Since the corporation had its share of labour disputes in 1985, travellers may have decided to pull their punches. On the other hand, complaints relating to language of work were on the increase; we received 163 complaints on this theme compared to 95 in 1984. Most concerned documents that had been circulated to staff in English only, particularly in the Department of National Defence and the Canadian Security Intelligence Service. Suffice it to say that, 16 years after the adoption of the Official Languages Act, there is still a fair gaggle of institutions that have not grasped the implications of language equality on the job.

Service to the Public: Person-to-Person Contacts

Few things are more frustrating than trying to deal with someone who does not speak your language, especially when the matter at hand is important. The citizen's irritation is no doubt compounded when the difficulties involve government services, which, by definition, are paid for by the taxpayer and are not available elsewhere. Although the Official Languages Act was meant to do away with such problems, fully one-quarter of the complaints we receive still concern such person-to-person contacts. For example, a Francophone who called a Canada Employment Centre (CEC) in Moncton was met with the familiar question, "Do you speak English?" The message was clear: if you want service fast, speak English. Similar complaints were lodged against four CEC offices in Montreal where service in English was either impossibly slow or unavailable. A Francophone in Ottawa practically ran into a brick wall when she called the Department of Regional Economic Expansion: she had to ask three times before someone finally served her in French. Would it be too much to expect unilingual employees to learn and use a few short phrases to let clients know that bilingual help is on the way? Common courtesy can go a long way toward overcoming the language barrier.

In most of the cases mentioned above, we received the usual assurances that the employees in question had been reminded of their duty. However, after 16 years of official bilingualism, simple reminders are perhaps not enough. Presumably, the employees involved occupy bilingual positions and have therefore received clear instructions from management on how to deal with the public in the appropriate language. Perhaps placing a written reprimand on file or suspending the bilingual bonus would jog their memory. On the other hand, if managers have not issued clear instructions, the deputy head could always send them a pointed billet-doux.

Enforcement agencies

Sensitivity in person-to-person contacts is even more important when public servants occupy positions of authority, be it for allocating grants or arresting suspected lawbreakers. Whenever citizens are at a disadvantage, and especially when coercive powers are involved, it is doubly important to make them perfectly aware that they are free to use their language. Consider the following case. In Niagara Falls, an Anglophone customs officer refused point blank to speak French while questioning three Francophone travellers and yet, to add insult to injury, she let them know in French as they were leaving that she had understood everything they had said. After investigating the incident, the Department informed us that it was unable to determine the employee's identity but that all customs officers would be reminded of their obligation to provide service in the client's language. In view of the customs officer's considerable coercive powers, this milquetoast approach is not good enough. In our 1983 audit, we recommended that the Department develop mechanisms to monitor the delivery of services; although some action was taken, incidents like the one described suggest that there is a lot more to do.

In Saskatchewan, a French-speaking motorist complained when he received a traffic ticket from an RCMP officer who made no effort to use French. At the time, an internal audit of the area revealed that service in French was not always offered spontaneously, particularly in non-criminal cases, and recommended that the Force's policy be more strictly applied. As a result of the complaint, officers received instructions to summon a bilingual colleague when necessary and to show Francophones the unofficial French version of traffic tickets. In general, we were satisfied with the Force's reaction, but, had the situation been monitored on a regular basis, the audit findings might have been better and the Force would already have been in compliance with the law.

Not all the Force's investigations have such happy endings. In Nova Scotia, a Francophone complained about a summons he received in English from a unilingual English officer. When investigating the incident, the Force sent a French-speaking officer to see the complainant, who had authorized us to reveal his identity. Following the visit, we learned that the complainant had made a voluntary declaration to the effect that the sole object of his complaint was the unilingual document and that the officer in question had acted in a praiseworthy manner. Without wishing to cast aspersions on the Force's good intentions, we feel that sending the officer to visit a complainant could be seen as intimidating. Informed of our concern, RCMP authorities agreed to refrain from such action in the future.

The Travelling Public

Although the travelling public receives special mention in the Official Languages Act, it does not always receive similar consideration in the planes and boats and trains that criss-cross the country. The main culprits are Air Canada, Via Rail and CN Marine, and complaints generally deal with a lack of service in French at wickets or announcements in English only. No one disputes that people have a right to be told in their language when the train will arrive at the next station. In the event of an emergency, understanding instructions can be even more critical. Yet such vital information is still not always provided in French. The root of the problem is seniority provisions in the collective agreements of some of the Crown corporations

concerned, which sometimes make it impossible to have bilingual employees in the right place even when they are obviously needed. If the Government and individual corporations cannot ensure that the Act and the Constitution prevail in practice over such agreements, some citizen may have to compel them to explain their neglect before the courts.

Language of Work

Another often abused principle requires that, subject to reasonable conditions, public servants be able to work in the official language of their choice. Delinquent institutions either quibble on how this principle is to be applied or simply forget to apply it. For example, a Francophone employee of the Correctional Service complained that English was being imposed as the language of work in the Health Care Unit at Dorchester Penitentiary in New Brunswick, where close to 50 per cent of the employees are French-speaking. During our investigation, we learned that there were plans to make the unit bilingual at some unspecified future date; in the meantime, only English was to be spoken if a unilingual Anglophone employee was present. We found this position unacceptable, and the Commissioner met with senior officials to review the matter. The Department subsequently adopted a definite plan to have everything except medical charting done in both languages before 1987. Medical charting will continue to be done in English for the next five years, a period that should definitely be shortened.

Another case involved a unilingual working document distributed by the Office of the Comptroller General to other departments. The Office maintained that this was not a "final" document and that its translation would have caused delays. Such replies only make us wonder what would happen if the document were distributed in French only. In our view, if something is worth distributing, it is worth distributing in both languages; otherwise, someone — usually a Francophone — faces the thankless and time-consuming task of using a document drafted in one language to produce work in the other.

Then there was the complaint against the Department of Environment, which developed a course on ice survey technology in English only because very few of the 10 or 12 candidates attending every year are Francophone. In our view, this is a typical chicken-and-egg argument — the course was not offered in French because there were few Francophone candidates, and there were few Francophone candidates because the course was not offered in French. The Department agreed to offer the course in French in 1986.

Last year we noted that the newly created Canadian Security Intelligence Service had problems dealing in French with its Quebec Regional Office. We were told that the situation would improve as the Service became better organized. Instead, things seem to have deteriorated. In 1985 we received some 15 complaints containing almost 200 examples of unilingual English communications, on matters of considerable importance, sent from head office to Quebec. In light of such evidence, we concluded, that language is very low on the Service's list of priorities and will launch a full-scale audit of the Service early in 1986.

These are only a few of many examples showing that the right of employees to work in their preferred language is still sacrificed to a warped concept of efficiency. To set matters right, a number of organizations will have to take a long, hard look at their methods and come up with something more than laissez-faire solutions.

The Planning Process

Too frequently, language considerations are overlooked when events are in the planning stage. Consequently, when we receive the inevitable and predictable complaints, we are told either that the matter will soon be set right or that things will be better next time. Annoyance at such responses springs from having heard them all many times before and from a well-founded suspicion that service in the minority language is considered a frill to be dealt with only after everything else is in place.

This year, a major oversight of this kind marred the planning of the Canada Games at Saint John, New Brunswick, an event sponsored in part by Fitness and Amateur Sport. We received 10 complaints about unilingual English or sub-standard French press releases and about the unavailability of service in French at the media centre and at the dispatch centre for transportation to and from the various sites. The faulty French texts were singled out in an article in Montreal's *La Presse* on August 15, which gave a number of choice examples, including the following: "When the race is finish, the film is to process, to clean and to insert into a spectator." (Our translation.) Given the short duration of the games, there was really no time to correct matters before they ended; however, the Commissioner later met with authorities to ensure that such incidents do not occur at the Cape Breton Games in 1987 and the Calgary Winter Olympics in 1988.

Every year we receive complaints that one version of the income tax form, usually the French one, is not available in certain post offices across the country, despite the fact that the forms are printed in vast quantities in both languages. The reasons offered vary: one year, it was a printers' strike; another year, a postal strike. In 1985, we received about a dozen such complaints, all from Francophones, and we insisted that a lasting solution be found. Canada Post and Revenue Canada (Taxation) studied the problem jointly and adopted measures to improve the forms distribution system. Revenue Canada (Taxation) will send more French-language forms to post offices, streamline the internal distribution process and mail personalized tax forms as early as possible. How effective these measures prove will be seen when tax time comes round in 1986.

Non-Federal Jurisdictions

Although the Official Languages Act applies only to federal institutions, we also receive complaints about the provincial and private sectors. Since Manitoba, Ontario and New Brunswick have set up offices to ensure the availability of services in French, we refer complaints to them. In other cases, we try to find the right door to knock on. By and large, the response is good. We also handle complaints about the private sector, on the assumption that firms want to know what their customers think of their

services. While both the complainant and the company are reminded that we have no legal authority in the matter, we bring the complaint to the attention of company management and offer to pass on any comments to our correspondent. Most firms respond positively, try to help the complainant if possible and usually apologize if not. A few, of course, are not so user-friendly. Two almost identical complaints concerned companies that had refused to accept cheques filled out in French. In one case, the company simply ignored our letter. In the other, a representative asked us to convey his apologies to the complainant and a directive was sent to all company stores in the province indicating that cheques were not to be refused because they were filled out in French. The second example is more typical of the responses we receive.

Conclusion

Although we recognize that mistakes are bound to happen, perennial repetition of the same blunders points to deep-seated systemic or attitudinal problems, if not both. And that, in our view, must change. If "public service" means anything, it means that Canadians are entitled to receive service in their preferred official language and that government is legally bound to provide it. In Verlaine's words: "All the rest is mere literature."

PART III

Equality in Operation

Federal Institutions: In Word and Deed

This year we have devoted most of our attention in this chapter to the central agencies, larger organizations, those experiencing difficulties with their language programs and those of symbolic importance to Canadians, such as the House of Commons and the Residence of the Governor General. Departments and agencies that have been the subject of an audit or our recently instituted procedure of systematic follow-ups are indicated by an asterisk. Of course, those that do not appear this year have not gone unchecked; we continue to review the progress of all federal institutions, many of which will re-appear when we next conduct an audit or follow-up, or when other circumstances bring them to our attention.

During the year we concentrated our activities on the strategies for renewal discussed in last year's Report: the importance of letting clients know that service is available in their language; the unfailing offer of service in both official languages by federal agencies whose functions include coercive powers; and the recognition of the cultural as well as linguistic needs of the minorities — needs which go well beyond the provision of basic services and require the active involvement of minority groups in socio-economic decisions that affect them directly.

Regular activities

The information included in our assessments has been collected throughout the year by our Complaints and Audits Branch. Our portfolio officers are in regular communication with all the departments or Crown corporations for which they are responsible: they meet periodically with official-languages staff to review progress, and sometimes deal directly with managers to resolve complaints received by our Office. They conduct audits, sometimes on a national scale, during which they deal with such difficult questions as the effect of collective agreements on language rights and responsibilities, the impact of less-than-bilingual supervisors on language of work, and the degree to which the nature and location of the institution may influence the requirement for services and the recruitment of staff. Their recommendations must be reasonable, practicable and cost-efficient.

In addition to conducting audits and monitoring implementation of our recommendations, officers are often asked to provide on-the-spot help and advice. Their knowledge of successful initiatives taken elsewhere can frequently help an organization

resolve a particular problem. They also keep abreast of significant national and international events at which lack of service in both official languages could potentially give rise to complaints or difficulties. In such cases, they try to forestall problems by alerting the organization and helping it make suitable linguistic preparations. The officers are tuned in to our regional offices, from which they receive first-hand news about the linguistic situation outside Ottawa, and are in touch with members of the public and public servants who file complaints. Meetings of the Joint Committee on Official Languages provide additional grist for the mill, since situations are seen in a different light and officers sometimes need to do more in-depth examination and then follow up through special reviews. In short, through their various activities, officers are called upon to listen, observe, discuss, counsel, praise and, when necessary, censure.

Special studies

In addition to these interventions, we conduct special studies and cross-sectional analyses that help put the pieces of the puzzle together and provide an overall portrait of the linguistic situation in federal institutions. We examine the systems government institutions use to promote the effectiveness of their language programs, and encourage managers to make improvements. This year, in addition to our regular audits, we studied the policies, plans and guidelines, and the capabilities, professional and linguistic, of departmental and Crown corporation audit staff who include official languages program implementation in their internal audits. Information on this study may be found in Part III, Chapter 2, "The Federal Machine".

General trends

In terms of general trends this year, we found that, while few institutions have problems providing bilingual publications across the country, service in primarily Anglophone regions is too often sporadic, or supplied by means of telephone referrals. We also noted little progress in the use of the employee's preferred language for supervision, and determined that the proportion of supervisors who do not meet the requirements of their position is far too high. Persistent participation problems include few Anglophones in Quebec, a high proportion of Francophones in the Administrative Support category in the National Capital Region, and generally weak Francophone representation in the Public Service outside the bilingual belt.

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In addition to the topics mentioned above, the following texts cover the traditional areas of language of service, language of work, guidelines and control mechanisms and equitable participation. In plain English, we analyse whether the organization can serve its clientele in the language of its choice; whether employees are able to

offer service spontaneously in both languages; and whether public servants have the opportunity to work in their preferred language. We also comment on the participation rate of both language groups in overall terms and, where possible, in the various employment categories and geographical areas.

Despite our recommendation last year that all agencies collect and report participation figures using standard criteria, some of the many data compilation systems do not yield sufficient information for thorough analysis and some institutions continue to supply spotty data. We again urge all organizations to provide meaningful information, and elsewhere in this Report specifically suggest how better accountability can be achieved.

Complaints are often linked when they occur in similar locations or situations; however, we supply details on individual cases where an infraction of the Official Languages Act has caused particular hardship. Readers will find more information about complaints in Part II, Chapter 4.

Agriculture

Our 1984 audit of the Department of Agriculture covered eight of its 11 branches and confirmed once again the weakness of the official languages program in its various sectors and activities. Even though the Department appeared to take its linguistic responsibilities more seriously in 1985 as it began to act on our recommendations, it still has a long way to go before its performance can be considered acceptable. Problems include low bilingual capacity in large parts of the country; low Anglophone participation in Quebec and Francophone participation elsewhere; and the fact that few Francophone employees outside Quebec are able to work in their language.

The slight drop in the percentage of bilingual positions last year (22.1% compared to 23.3% in 1984) was partly offset by the fact that more positions are occupied by linguistically-qualified employees (83.7% compared to 81%). One serious problem is the geographical distribution of the Department's bilingual resources. As one might expect, most of the 2,652 bilingual positions are concentrated in the National Capital Region, Quebec and New Brunswick; only 114 such positions are left to serve the French-speaking population in the rest of the country. To make matters worse, many are occupied by unilingual employees; in Ontario outside the NCR, for example, only 44 of the 61 bilingual positions (72.1%) have bilingual incumbents.

Our audit revealed that unilingual telephone reception appeared to be the norm outside the NCR. The Department took steps to correct the situation by offering special courses on how to handle calls in the minority official language and by distributing a handy procedures guide to secretaries and receptionists.

Most of the Department's publications are available in both languages. However, we came across instances in which the French version was made available only long after the English version. Many of the publications of the Research Branch, which produces approximately 80% of all departmental publications, are highly scientific or technical and have a limited readership; an advisory committee determines the need for translation.

Francophone participation slipped from 22% to 21.1% (2,528 of 12,008 employees). Hierarchical and regional imbalances persist and have grown worse in some cases. In the Management category, only 13.2% (down from 14.7% in 1984) of employees are Francophone and, in Manitoba, all but 6 (0.9%) of the 696 employees are Anglophone. In addition, the Department's Anglophone representation in Quebec is unacceptably low at 4.1% (66 of 1,602 employees). The Department's official languages plan addresses these imbalances, but effective action is long overdue.

Generally, the working environment outside Quebec continues to discourage any use of French by Francophone employees. Even in bilingual regions, most documents are produced in English only. The reasons: a predominantly Anglophone clientele, the small number of Francophone employees, their long-established habit of working in English and, in many cases, unilingual supervisors. We found as well that the evaluation form does not enable employees to choose the language of their assessment, an omission the Department intends to correct. Having recommended that the Department conduct regular studies of language use and prepare appropriate action plans, we were encouraged by its decision to conduct a survey of bilingual positions in bilingual regions.

The Department was the subject of 13 complaints last year, six of which concerned language of service, by telephone or in person. Four others were due to unilingual publications or advertisements and two related to poor French in signage and internal documents. One complaint dealt with language of work. Six complaints remained unresolved at year's end.

Air Canada

Despite the turbulence caused by major labour disputes this year, Air Canada managed to maintain and, in some cases, improve upon its past linguistic achievements. However, much remains to be done before it merits top marks.

The Corporation made serious efforts to hire bilingual in-flight personnel. In the past, it had set its staffing target for bilingual flight attendants at 80%; in 1985, bilingualism became a requirement for all such positions. This excellent policy enabled Air Canada to hire 196 new bilingual flight attendants, raising the bilingual capacity of its in-flight personnel to 60.3% (1,966 of 3,260). However, this percentage is still not high enough to ensure impeccable in-flight service at all times and on all flights.

If unilingual flight attendants do not speak a passenger's preferred official language, Air Canada has asked them to seek help from a bilingual colleague; unfortunately, this procedure is rarely followed. Moreover, the presence of bilingual personnel aboard aircraft does not guarantee that passengers will be served in their language; passengers must be informed of this option. In this respect, we regret that the Corporation is not more insistent that its bilingual flight attendants actively offer service in both languages. Last year, the Corporation decided to announce the number of bilingual flight attendants on board at the beginning of each flight, thus inviting passengers to use the official language of their choice. Unfortunately, in-flight personnel generally fail to carry out this excellent procedure. However, announcements are usually made in both languages.

The Corporation also increased its bilingual ground personnel, and we are pleased to add that a bilingual employee has finally been assigned to Timmins airport. What is more, being served in French at the Winnipeg airport should henceforth be easier since 22 of 74 employees at this location are now bilingual.

Progress has also been made at Toronto airport: 125 of 509 employees are bilingual, compared to 95 of 470 last year. However, complaints about this airport's service counter clearly show that the Corporation still has difficulty getting its unilingual employees to call upon bilingual colleagues and ensuring that the lights used to indicate the location of bilingual agents are used systematically.

Despite the increase in bilingual ground personnel, French-speakers, as noted during the year by the Joint Committee on Official Languages, still cannot count on being served in French at a number of locations in the country. Indeed, Air Canada still fails to meet its own minimum bilingual capacity standards in 14 of the 31 airports (almost 50%) it serves in Canada. Some city sales offices, such as those in Saskatoon and Saint John, still have no bilingual employees. On the other hand, reservations offices are usually able to provide adequate service in both languages. On the whole, the situation in Europe is good; but in the United States and the Caribbean, 12 of the 35 ground service points have no bilingual capacity. Because it hires so few new employees, the Corporation depends heavily on passenger agent language training to correct these weaknesses; however, the effects of such a policy will only be felt over the long term.

As in the case of in-flight services, we strongly recommend that Air Canada be more insistent that its bilingual passenger agents greet customers in both official languages at all times. We also ask that the Corporation apply this policy throughout Canada and not only in certain regions.

Although the two recent collective agreements signed with flight attendants and passenger agents contain no new language clauses, some general provisions of the agreement with the latter should produce a better distribution of bilingual personnel in the various airports, city sales offices and reservations offices. With one important exception, written communications with the public generally pose few major problems. However, Air Canada's policy still allows the use of unilingual billboards in areas of high demand for service in the minority language, such as in Montreal and Toronto.

The language-of-work situation has not changed significantly. We are currently conducting a study to evaluate progress in this area in the Ottawa District, where the use of French has never been widespread. In general, language-of-work problems arise primarily in verbal communications, especially with respect to supervision. Most work documents are available in both languages and the Corporation is committed to making all computer data used by passenger agents available simultaneously in French and English in 1986.

This year, our Office will examine Air Canada's language situation in three major sectors: Air Operations (pilots), In-Flight Service (flight attendants) and Maintenance (mechanics).

With a total of 19,933 employees, Anglophone-Francophone participation within the Corporation stands at 78.1% and 21.9% respectively. Francophones make up only

18.9% of employees in the Management category. However, this figure increases to 30.9% in Quebec, where most headquarters' operations are located.

In 1985, we received 136 complaints against Air Canada. Of that number, 27 concerned service during the passenger agent and flight attendant strikes. The number of complaints shows that the language rights of the travelling public were particularly affected during the in-flight personnel strike. In one case, for example, French-speakers were unable to obtain service in French during a flight from Mirabel to Paris. Measures taken by the Corporation to ensure bilingual service during this period were obviously inadequate. Only 35% of the substitute flight attendants were bilingual, compared to 60% of regular personnel. We have therefore asked the Corporation to bear this year's experience in mind when planning future action. Of the 109 complaints lodged during normal operations, 43 concerned ground services and 25 in-flight services. Publicity was the subject of 24 complaints, while written communications with the public generated 13 others. The last four complaints concerned language of work. At year's end, 56 of these cases were still under study.

Atomic Energy Control Board*

The follow-up to our 1983 audit of the Atomic Energy Control Board revealed that it consistently serves the general public and its clients in the official language of their choice. Major problems remain in the language-of-work area, but the Board has made serious efforts to encourage the use of French. Its long-awaited official languages policy appeared at year's end.

The Commissioner met with Board managers in November and complimented them on initiatives such as French-on-Wednesdays and designated centres of linguistic opportunity. There was general agreement that Francophone public servants should use their language at work more often out of pride in their heritage, and that managers had a duty to make this possible.

Our survey of Board employees in bilingual positions in 1985 indicated that Francophones tend to regard it as more efficient to use English rather than French at work, except in units where there is a significant Francophone clientele (e.g. in Gentilly). We also found that few Francophones produce substantial internal reports in French. However, the Board's commendable initiative to seek an arrangement with Hydro-Quebec for its staff to attend some of the utility's technical courses in French should help to correct this tendency.

Francophone representation at the AECB dropped from 25% to 21% (55 of 262 employees). The Board must make a special effort to rectify this imbalance.

No complaint was received against the Board in 1985.

Auditor General

During our audit at the end of 1984, the Office of the Auditor General of Canada carefully examined its official languages situation. In general, it responded favourably to our recommendations. In particular, the Office intends to refine the

management of its language program and improve the linguistic aspect of communications with client departments.

In early 1986, the Office will review its language policy and plan. Henceforth, managers will be give precise official languages objectives, and their accomplishments will be taken into consideration during performance evaluations. The Office will also establish better control mechanisms. It should be noted that the Official Languages Branch is well placed within the Office's hierarchy to influence the direction the program will take.

The Office continues to attach great importance to employee language training. It intends to review its language training program to ensure that it meets the needs of both language groups. Almost 100 employees took language training in the first 10 months of the year. We should add that, contrary to what our Report last year may have suggested, Francophones do have access to English-language training.

Fifty-eight per cent of the Office's positions (368 of 633) require a knowledge of both languages and over 90% of the employees occupying such positions (337) meet the requirements.
Moreover, the Office intends to consider the language needs of its client departments more carefully. It will continue to put together separate French- and English-language audit teams but, to enable employees of client departments to communicate in either language, will ensure that some bilingual auditors are included on each team. For this purpose, the Office intends to establish a back-up group of bilingual auditors to meet the needs of different audit teams as required.

The Office has also agreed to re-examine the matter of draft audit reports which are currently submitted to departments in one language only. In our view, such work documents are extremely important to a large number of government employees and should be submitted in both languages in both draft and final form.

Although English still dominates the workplace, especially at senior levels, French is slowly gaining ground. Several audit reports are drafted in French, as are sections of the Auditor General's annual report. Presentations at management meetings are also made in French with increasing frequency. However, French is still under-used in the Professional and Administrative Services sectors.

Overall participation rates for both language groups remain unchanged from last year at 69% for Anglophones and 31% for Francophones. Imbalances in certain occupational categories have also remained the same. Francophones account for only 16% of the Management category (32 of 144), and Anglophones only 51% of the Administrative Support category. However, the Office has agreed to set objectives to correct this situation.

We received no complaints against the Office in 1985.

Bank of Canada

The Bank of Canada remains one of the better institutions in terms of language performance. It has no problem providing service in both languages at headquarters and in its nine agencies (local offices). French is used increasingly in the workplace

as more and more supervisors reach the upper level of the Bank's language proficiency scale. Anglophones are slightly under-represented in overall figures, and there could be more Francophones in the upper echelons.

Service in both languages is available and actively offered at headquarters and in every agency. Furthermore, all forms, contracts and other documents produced for the Bank's various publics are bilingual. Correspondence is answered in the appropriate language and all signage is bilingual.

The Bank offers its employees a full range of opportunities to become proficient in their second language. Each agency has a language teacher on contract and, at headquarters, there are full-time teachers on site. All the agencies are reviewed each year to ensure that proficiency in both languages is maintained.

At present, 20% of all Anglophone employees have reached the upper half of the Bank's language-proficiency scale in their second language. This proportion increases to 30% for middle managers and to 76% for senior managers. Comparative figures for Francophones are much higher. As a result, both languages are used increasingly at meetings and in day-to-day operations. All work instruments are produced in both languages and common services are available in the language of the employee's choice.

Francophone participation is a high 33% of 2,999 employees due to the large number of Francophones (640 out of 1,707 or 37%) in the Operations and Administration category. In other categories, Francophone participation does not rise above 22%. On a regional basis, participation figures are quite acceptable.

No complaints were lodged against the Bank in 1985.

Canada Council*

The Canada Council's unfailing efforts to actively offer its clients service in their preferred official language continue to be its greatest attribute and are the source of its well-deserved service-oriented reputation. That said, it is unfortunate that some of this enthusiasm could not be carried over into other areas of the Council's language program. Despite reminders given during this year's follow-up to our 1983 audit, we still await action on some of our major recommendations.

Despite staff reductions, the Council has no difficulty offering services in both languages: just over 190 of its 225 employees are linguistically qualified incumbents of bilingual positions. In addition, client mailing lists carry a language designation code and the Council's directive that correspondence is to be in the language of the recipient is strictly observed. Many of the Council's activities have a potentially significant impact on the well-being of minority official language cultural groups, and concern was expressed at our October 1985 colloquium that the development of Francophone artists outside Quebec is being hampered by a lack of assistance from the Council. It might therefore be useful for the Council to review some of its special programs, such as the Touring Office and Explorations Program, to ensure that they provide all possible support for individual artists and groups in minority communities.

The Council has a well-established policy of receptive bilingualism for verbal communications within the office and employees can use the official language of their choice with no difficulty. However, the picture is somewhat less rosy for Francophone employees who wish to carry out other aspects of their work in their language. Although some minor improvements have been made in issuing bilingual memoranda to staff, it is disquieting to note that only 15% of internal reports, policy papers and other documents prepared for the Council's consideration are in French, even though 47% of the officers producing this material are Francophone. Furthermore, four seminars given during the year were presented to Council officers entirely in English, even though one in four of the participants was Francophone.

Anglophone participation has increased marginally (1.7%), but is still much too low at 38.7%. The outlook for the Administrative Support category, which constitutes almost 50% of Council staff, is as dismal as ever; only 18.5% of these employees are Anglophone. It is now five years since we first took the Council to task over this problem; although we recognize that the lack of staffing opportunities complicates resolution of this imbalance, the Council should at least acknowledge the problem and establish some long-range plans.

Unfortunately, the Council also has language problems of an administrative nature. Section heads are still not required to set linguistic objectives and cannot therefore be assessed on their performance in this area. The organization's 1979 official languages policy, which we had strongly recommended revising, has not yet come under review and does not even form part of the current Human Resources Manual. In addition, responsibility for administering the Council's language program has, in the past year, been shared by four separate officers, leading to a predictable lack of direction. The appointment of a new Council Director last fall could provide an opportunity to re-examine the Council's approach to language of work and equitable participation as well as to the allocation of authority for language matters.

We received no complaints against the Canada Council in 1985.

Canada Harbour Place Corporation*

The Canada Harbour Place Corporation, created in 1982, is responsible for a major development project on the downtown Vancouver waterfront. Our 1985 audit, which examined all facets of this agency's activities, was initiated primarily because the Corporation is responsible for building and managing the Canadian host pavilion for Expo 86. The Corporation's linguistic condition was found to be generally good.

The management of Canada Harbour Place is well aware of its responsibilities under the Official Languages Act. It would nevertheless be helpful if the Corporation had a brief policy statement on language matters.

The Corporation generally projects a bilingual image, with signage, reception, stationery and promotional material in both languages. However, its forms, cheques and receipts were in English only at the time of our audit and we recommended that they be replaced by bilingual equivalents as present stocks become depleted.

The Corporation has outlined comprehensive plans to ensure that the Canadian Pavilion at Expo 86 projects a bilingual image in all of its operations. At least one-third of the estimated 200 hosts and hostesses being recruited from across the country to assist visitors will be bilingual. A similar percentage of all public-contact positions will have bilingual staff, distinctively identified, and supervisors will be bilingual. All employees in public-contact positions will be given clear instructions regarding the active offer of bilingual service and the immediate referral of visitors, where necessary, to a bilingual colleague.

The elaborate program of live entertainment planned for the Canadian Pavilion will reflect the country's linguistic duality as well as its multicultural heritage. Communications and contracts with prospective performers are in the appropriate language and plans call for entertainers to be introduced in both English and French.

The language of work is almost exclusively English; considering the geography and the milieu, this is not surprising. At the time of the audit, 12 of the Corporation's 75 employees were Francophones, occupying managerial, secretarial and administrative positions.

We received two complaints dealing with the telephone answering service. One concerned a unilingual English receptionist and the other, a message recorded in English only. Both were resolved promptly.

Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation

Despite the closure of a sizeable number of field offices in 1985, the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation managed to maintain a more than adequate level of bilingual service. Language of work still presents problems, however, and Anglophones remain under-represented in Quebec.

The Corporation maintained its tradition of providing good services in both languages, both orally and in writing. It also continued to use stamped, self-addressed cards to gauge client satisfaction; again this year, the results were encouraging. Corporate publications are bilingual and the minority press is regularly used for advertising. Following the closing of 16 field offices, several toll-free telephone lines were installed to minimize any adverse effects.

Outside Quebec, English remains the only real language of work, mainly because a number of supervisors are not fluent in French. This situation was brought to management's attention as a result of an in-house survey in 1984, but as yet no solution to the problem has been forthcoming.

The latest report on the linguistic status of positions and employees contained a number of discrepancies. The following figures are therefore only approximations. The Corporation has close to 3,000 employees, roughly 32% of whom are Francophone, and distribution seems generally acceptable throughout the various categories. We did not receive a reliable breakdown by region, but in 1984 there were only 13 Anglophones among the 440 employees in Quebec.

We received eight complaints against the Corporation in 1985. Three concerned the unavailability of forms or brochures in either English or French; two referred to telephone reception in English only; another dealt with an English-only return address on an envelope; and the last two concerned advertisements published in English-language newspapers but not in French weeklies. As usual, the Corporation handled these matters promptly and efficiently.

Canada Post Corporation

Despite some slip-ups, the Canada Post Corporation is slowly but surely improving its ability to serve Canadians in both official languages. It managed this year to negotiate an agreement with the Canadian Union of Postal Workers regarding the staffing of bilingual wicket-clerk positions, even though seniority rights continue to complicate the issue. Moreover, it has regained some lost ground in its provision of bilingual counter service, which is now available from at least one postal outlet in 22 of the 24 significant-demand locations that were slated for bilingual service in the past 2 years. Service is expected to be in place at 12 additional locations by March, 1986. The Corporation has also instituted a formal monitoring system whereby department heads must report semi-annually on their implementation of official languages goals. However, as we mentioned when it appeared before the Standing Joint Committee on Official Languages Policy and Programs last May, the Corporation should redouble its efforts in order to accelerate implementation of these goals.

Even though the Corporation has committed itself to ensuring service of equal quality to clients of both language groups, translating this commitment into action still poses problems. Last autumn, we conducted spot checks at about 60 different postal outlets in eight provinces, both in person and by telephone. In 28 offices outside Quebec, including main post offices in cities such as Fredericton, Windsor and Winnipeg, we discovered a generally insufficient capacity to provide service in French. Despite the fact that a major publicity campaign had been undertaken earlier in the year, service was rarely actively offered in both languages, either visually or orally. During our visit to a Toronto postal outlet, for example, a simple question in French prompted one wicket clerk to throw her hands in the air, turn to her colleagues and cry "Are there any 'parlez-vous français' here?" so loudly that everyone in the post office could hear. In Edmonton, an employee who had recently taken language training had to resort to sign language when giving directions to one of our Francophone officers.

Situations such as these come as no great surprise to us, however. The Corporation's bilingual network comprises some 1,200 postal outlets across Canada, ranging from postal stations to small retail stores, but there is an acute shortage of bilingual positions in corporate post offices: only 2.4% of the 42,742 positions outside headquarters and Quebec. Although about 84% of the incumbents are linguistically qualified, almost half of these positions require only a minimal knowledge of the second language. We again urge the Corporation to identify, as vacancies occur, a larger number of bilingual positions in areas where they are needed and to seriously re-evaluate the linguistic requirements of all bilingual public-contact positions.

On the brighter side, the Corporation has developed a linguistic guide for telephone and visitor reception which is being published in all internal telephone directories. It is also looking into the possibility of installing centralized telephone lines in all divisional offices to provide general postal information to minority-language clients. While such a service, which already exists in Winnipeg and Toronto, would doubtless alleviate some of the Corporation's chronic telephone reception problems, it is not a substitute for on-site bilingual capacity at post offices.

With the exception of a few departments at headquarters and certain offices in the Rideau and Montreal Divisions, minority-language employees have little opportunity to work in their own language. Despite the general availability of documentation and central and personnel services in both languages, language-of-work problems arise from the unilingualism of a considerable number of supervisors and the relatively small proportion of minority-language staff in most areas of the country. The Corporation is planning to undertake, by April 1986, a language-of-work survey which should help to pinpoint specific problem areas. One of the main weaknesses is that not enough linguistically-qualified employees are being appointed to bilingual supervisory positions at headquarters.

This year we received more up-to-date and accurate personnel data from the Corporation; they revealed more clearly the participation imbalances noted in previous years, as well as the need for corrective action. Although the overall Francophone participation rate is 30%, Anglophones and Francophones are inequitably distributed by geographic area and hierarchical level. The latter group represents only 1% of almost 16,000 employees in the West and 0.3% of the 17,800 staff in southern Ontario. On the other hand, Anglophones continue to be under-represented in Quebec, where they number 301 (1.8%) of 16,285 employees, most at the junior level. Furthermore, only 12 of 78 executives and 18% of 247 senior-level staff are Francophones. This was one of the points raised when corporate officials appeared before the Joint Committee on Official Languages. In an effort to redress these imbalances, the Corporation is developing a five-year recruitment strategy, which is based on labour market statistics, and is intended to ensure that a representative number of minority-language candidates are referred to managers wishing to recruit from outside the Corporation. While tangible results may not be forthcoming for a year or so, especially during a period of low recruitment, we will be watching for signs of progress.

We investigated 82 new complaints in 1985. While this total is considerably smaller than in previous years, the nature of the complaints has remained unchanged: virtually all concerned aspects of service to the public, and over half involved such systemic problems as unilingual counter service, telephone reception and signage. About 73% of the infractions occurred in the Rideau Division, which covers Northern and Eastern Ontario, in the Atlantic Division, and in Alberta. At year's end, 78% of these complaints had been resolved, and there were 23 outstanding cases from previous years. Although the Corporation is still unnecessarily slow in dealing with complaints, recent signs indicate that the process may finally become more expeditious.

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*

Through its extensive regional programming, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation is in a position to enhance the well-being of minority official language communities across Canada. Again in 1985, the CBC has taken these responsibilities very seriously by playing a supportive role and maintaining its past high level of service in spite of significant budget cuts.

Financial restrictions cost the organization about 550 employees in 1985. The CBC is therefore to be heartily congratulated for its success in sparing official language minorities in all regions the expected reductions in local and regional services. Two previously announced projects were even completed: a stronger transmitter now gives Francophones in the Halifax/Dartmouth area much better access to French-language television programming from Moncton; and in the Rouyn/Noranda area, where there are some 2,500 Anglophones, installation of a new transmitter has allowed reception of the CBC's Montreal English-language signal.

Unfortunately, we have nothing to report on the fate of two long-standing proposals of importance to Francophone communities in the Maritimes: the first involves a Zenith line by which Francophones in Newfoundland would be able to obtain programming and scheduling information on French-language broadcasts; and the second, raised at our October 1985 colloquium on official language minorities, concerns the establishment of a French-language radio station in Halifax. This latter project finally received the go-ahead in 1984, only to be shelved later in the year following major budget cuts. The proposal has again received approval in principle, but unfortunately has been assigned no firm completion date.

Minority communities across the country are greatly concerned about the CBC's anticipated staff cuts in 1986, which could potentially undermine the level of national and regional radio and television programming. The Corporation's Accelerated Coverage Plan is winding down and some smaller and more remote communities are still receiving very few programs, if any, in their language. A case in point is the Temiskaming region, where the long-awaited installation of a transmitter for the Francophone community is now in danger of being cancelled. The CBC should make every effort to broaden access to programming for these minority communities. Along the same lines, we have urged the Task Force on Canadian Broadcasting Policy to recommend that the government respond to the needs of official language minorities, which can easily be overlooked in times of austerity.

CBC employees are able to work in the language of their choice in almost all parts of the Corporation. Even in the Engineering Division and headquarters, where English is unquestionably predominant, Francophones in some smaller sections are able to work almost entirely in French. Last year's language-of-work problems for Anglophone production crews in Montreal have been eliminated, and the English network is providing personnel and central services in French to Francophone employees in Toronto, Sudbury, Winnipeg, Edmonton and Vancouver. We commend the CBC for these improvements, but would also like to see the English network improve its ability to provide Francophone production crews with services in French. Several of our 1982 audit recommendations on technical training and manuals have not yet been implemented due to a shortage of funds.

Anglophone and Francophone participation has changed little since the end of 1984, despite significant staff cuts: Anglophones now make up 60% of the 11,619 employees, an increase of 1%. Generally speaking, both language groups are equitably represented in major organizational components such as head office, where Francophones account for 33.7% of staff. However, since detailed information is not available by region or hierarchical level, we are unable to comment further on the subject of equitable participation.

As part of a series of administrative reforms, the CBC has developed a new action plan to help it re-evaluate its policies, procedures and training plans, identify its need for bilingual capability and assess its current capacity. We trust that this exercise will lead to the development of a better personnel data collection and presentation system. Begining in 1986, managers will provide input to a corporate official languages plan and will be evaluated on their achievement of these objectives. However, at present there are no plans to include an appropriate section on the evaluation form as we have recently suggested.

Of the eight complaints received in 1985, four concerned the lack of bilingual capacity at the Windsor and Toronto offices and two, the absence of service in French over the telephone in Edmonton and Winnipeg. The other two dealt with the lack of service in French by a concessionaire in Regina and the scheduling of French-language programming in Moncton. Although the CBC's response to complaints was rather slow, it has nonetheless improved somewhat. We trust this trend will continue.

Canadian Human Rights Commission

The Canadian Human Rights Commission continued to chalk up points this year for language of service, and to improve the management of its official languages program. Language-of-work practices were not given proper consideration, however, and serious anomalies persist.

The establishment of an official languages co-ordination committee of senior managers was an appropriate addition to existing control mechanisms. Another major step was the publication and distribution to all staff of a sound official languages policy.

Of the Commission's 153 positions, 98 require a knowledge of both languages and 86 incumbents meet the requirements. Its bilingual capacity is satisfactory across Canada, and special efforts were made this year to actively offer bilingual service. The Commission publicized the availability of its services in both official languages at meetings with minority-language representatives and through notices published in the minority-language press. Its publications are available in English and French, and most after-trial decisions of its tribunals are published simultaneously in both languages. However, a number of decisions were issued in one language only because of translation delays. We have asked the Commission to take the necessary steps to speed up the translation process.

The Commission has been slow to move on the language-of-work front, where much remains to be done. The language of employee evaluations is not systematically monitored, and the evaluation form still does not ask employees to indicate their

preferred official language. Although most work documents are available in both languages, the regional office in Montreal sometimes receives unilingual English items. Moreover, English is still the language most often used during meetings. In short, the Commission should give more careful attention to the right of its French-speaking employees to work in their language.

Anglophones and Francophones account for 65.4% and 34.6% respectively of Commission staff. Only one of the six employees in the Scientific and Professional category is Francophone; on the other hand, there are 25 (52%) in Administrative Support. The Commission should set about correcting these imbalances.

The one complaint lodged against the Commission this year involved an officer who had questioned a Francophone complainant in English. The case was satisfactorily resolved.

Canadian International Development Agency

The Canadian International Development Agency maintained its record of linguistic excellence in 1985. Because of its high bilingual capacity, CIDA has no difficulty offering and providing service in both official languages or enabling its employees to work in the language of their choice. Its only problem is achieving a balanced representation of both language groups, especially in the Administrative Support category.

CIDA's official languages program is well managed. Improvements were made this year to the process by which managers are evaluated on their implementation of the program. In addition, the results of two internal audits, one of reception services and the other of central services, were extremely satisfactory.

Of its 964 bilingual positions (78.7% of all positions), 882 are occupied by employees who meet the language requirements. CIDA's extensive bilingual resources are a major advantage for language of service, particularly in verbal communications. All the Agency's publications are available in both languages, and improvements have been made to the procedures for drawing up contracts for aid to developing countries: detailed guidelines ensure that the language rights of both the supplier and the recipient of services are respected.

Employees are generally supervised in the language of their choice. Only 8.7% of supervisors fail to meet the language requirements of their positions and special measures have been taken to guarantee supervision in the appropriate language for the staff members concerned. Employees are encouraged to use English and French at meetings and to develop their second-language skills. As for work documents, only a few software programs used by Personnel Services remain to be translated.

Francophones and Anglophones continue to represent 53.5% and 46.5% respectively of CIDA's 1,225 employees. A slight improvement occurred in the Administrative Support category, where Anglophone representation rose from 33% to 35.2%. The Agency should continue its efforts to correct the situation.

Two complaints were lodged against CIDA in 1985. The first, concerning unilingual English documents used in a staffing action, was promptly resolved. The second was received towards the end of the year and involved a memorandum circulated in English only.

Canadian National

Canadian National Railways underwent some fundamental changes this year: CN Marine became independent, some 1,200 shop employees were transferred to Via Rail and staff was reduced across the system. On the language front, there was the usual mix of ups and downs.

In general, CN achieved its self-appointed official languages goals. This would delight us if certain issues — always the same ones — did not remain unresolved: talks with the union on the language of service aboard trains produced no concrete results, French is still not recognized as a language of work in CN facilities in New Brunswick, and collection of data to establish the first official language of employees has been postponed once more.

Members of the public and industrial clients are able to correspond with CN in either official language; however, Quebec suppliers occasionally encounter delays in receiving French-language documentation. Francophones can only expect satisfactory verbal service in their language in bilingual regions or aboard trains operating in Quebec. CN conducts periodical language-related customer satisfaction surveys and anyone who intends to visit Expo 86, in Vancouver, will be happy to learn that CN's exhibit will be in both official languages.

On the other hand, Francophones arriving at Hotel Vancouver — or, at the other end of the country, at Hotel Newfoundland — have no certainty of being served in French. However, the situation has continued to improve at the other hotels and at the CN Tower, which hired a significant number of bilingual students during the summer season and, for the third year in a row, received Employment and Immigration Canada's certificate of merit for its participation in the summer employment program.

CN continued its efforts to provide bilingual work instruments, internal training programs, and central and personnel services. However, the use of French as a true language of work is, to all intents and purposes, still limited to the St. Lawrence Region. Nonetheless, the Atlantic Region chalked up a few points: bilingualism spread to train orders in three additional subdivisions and to timetables throughout the Region.

The participation rates of the two language groups remained approximately the same as last year in the three sectors for which CN has data: head office, the St. Lawrence Region and the Atlantic Region. Nine (38%) of the company's 24 senior executive officers are Francophone. Francophone representation in the network's top 300 positions is 21%, but in senior management positions at head office (19%) and in the Atlantic Region (11.1%) it is still low. In Quebec, Anglophone participation is 33.9% and that of Francophones in the Atlantic Region 33.3%.

During the year, we received 24 complaints that directly concerned CN and nine others lodged against CN employees working on Via Rail trains. Seventeen related

to language of service; seven of them dealt specifically with lack of service in French at the Hotel Beauséjour in Moncton and at the CN Tower in Toronto, five the failure to use the minority press and two, language of work. Only 14 of the complaints received in 1985 have been settled. CN's method of dealing with complaints is still too often burdened by a legalistic approach and slow-moving bureaucratic machinery.

Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission*

In 1985 the linguistic situation of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission remained very good as regards service to the public. However, French cannot be used as a language of work by a large number of Francophone employees at headquarters and the participation rate of Anglophones and Francophones lacks balance.

The CRTC has continued to support Anglophone and Francophone minorities living in small communities by calling upon existing as well as newly licensed broadcasting and cable distribution firms to provide programming in the minority language in such localities.

Canadians across the country can obtain information from the CRTC in the official language of their choice. However, the public might make more use of this option if bilingual greetings were consistently offered by telephone receptionists, especially in Ottawa.

The number of employees who fail to meet the linguistic requirements of their position has dropped from 31 to 17. However, four of 20 employees in the Management category are not linguistically qualified, and this has a serious impact on the language-of-work situation: English still predominates in report writing and supervision. Francophones represent a high 51% of the 400 employees, and are over-represented in all but the Scientific and Professional category (6 of 36).

Measures need to be taken to resolve these problems. The CRTC has annual goals, but no medium or long-term objectives, responsibility centres or control mechanisms. Managers are evaluated on their contribution to the official languages program, but should also be involved in setting linguistic goals.

The four complaints received against the CRTC in 1985 concerned the lack of advertising in the French-language minority press.

Canadian Security Intelligence Service

The mandate of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, created in 1984, is to safeguard Canada's national security. Because the Agency has not yet had time to develop a complete official languages program, the picture we are drawing here is necessarily incomplete. Nonetheless, the complaints received against the Agency in 1985 already reveal some problem areas.

The Agency has established some of the elements vital to an official languages program. It has prepared an internal policy giving a precise description of principles governing service to the public and language of work, and has created mechanisms to evaluate employee language skills and ensure appropriate language training. It intends to appoint an official languages co-ordinator early in 1986.

Employees have regular contact with the public during investigation and information-gathering activities. The Agency's policy clearly stipulates that communications must take place in the language of the citizens involved, and bilingual telephone reception is provided on public telephone lines.

The most serious difficulties arise in the language-of-work area. We have received many complaints from Francophone employees in the Quebec region who stated they received a considerable number of communications in English only — in this instance, some 200 telex messages. Despite plainspoken reminders from senior management to the managers involved, the problem has not been fully resolved. Following our involvement, at the end of the year senior management reiterated its firm commitment to its policy. We will therefore examine this matter in depth during our first audit of the Agency in 1986, along with the language requirements of positions at headquarters, which complainants have stated are not high enough to ensure adequate supervision in French.

Staff training also came to our attention. We found that basic recruit training is available only in English. Moreover, other courses are occasionally taught in English only because, we were told, the demand for such courses in French is low. The Agency should follow the example of other federal agencies which have addressed this problem by actively offering courses in French.

Twenty-four complaints were lodged against the Agency in 1985. Fifteen concerned English communications with Quebec. The others concerned the language requirements of positions, staff training, and the lack of work documents in English. The Agency's co-operation in investigating complaints was good, but it will have to take firmer action if it wishes to set its house in order.

Cape Breton Development Corporation

The Cape Breton Development Corporation implemented the first two recommendations of our May 1984 audit report by adopting an official languages policy and appointing a co-ordinator responsible for the program. The Corporation still has much to accomplish where bilingualism is concerned, but should now concentrate its efforts on ensuring that its Francophone clientele, for the most part tourists, are served in their language.

Of its 3,579 employees, almost 3,000 work in the coal mining industry; the others work at head office or in the Industrial Division, whose duties include promoting the Cape Breton Island tourist industry. Currently, only the concessions at the Fortress of Louisbourg and, to a lesser degree, the Dundee tourist resort offer bilingual services. Service is available only in English at the Island Crafts boutique and other tourist centres jointly operated by the Corporation and local businesses. At head office in Sydney, and in some of the Coal Division's facilities, signage is bilingual.

However, visitors to head office are greeted only in English, and French services are available on a very intermittent basis.

Although the Corporation does not have precise language data on its employees, it estimates the number of Francophones on staff at less than 1%, in a region with a Francophone population of 5.5%. Very few positions have language requirements and, for all intents and purposes, English is the only language of work.

No complaints were lodged against the Corporation in 1985.

CN Marine*

CN Marine saw itself transformed into an autonomous Crown corporation in 1985 and ceased to be part of CN. The new body will be known as Marine Atlantic Inc. CN Marine underwent a large-scale re-organization during the year and began to develop its own official languages policy. This opportunity to start afresh by tackling its persistent language-of-service problems is promising, but the organization has a long way to go.

Responsible for six ferry operations and a freight service in the Atlantic region, CN Marine has a high public profile. It deals directly with the public, selling tickets, making reservations and controlling the flow of people and cars. Little wonder, then, that with only 32 of 3,374 positions (0.9%) occupied by bilingual employees, the organization has serious problems serving the travelling public in both languages. Many other services are provided at terminals and aboard vessels by concessionaires (e.g. restaurants, gift shops, news-stands), whose contracts do include language provisions, but service in French remains anemic.

Where there is little or no French-language capability, CN Marine has established interim arrangements for clients to be served in French at the terminals or aboard vessels via a telephone link or bilingual staff. However, its failure to monitor the situation closely has left Francophones to rely more on luck than on such "arrangements" if they wish to be served in their language. Telephone reservation services are available in French at designated numbers.

In the high season of 1984, only 3% of staff was French-speaking. Of 486 management staff, only 28 were Francophone (5.8%) and among unionized employees the percentage was 2.1% (62 of 2,898).

Of the 19 complaints received against CN Marine last year, 17 related to the lack of service in French and unilingual announcements at terminals and aboard vessels, and two the failure to advertise in the minority press. Only three of the complaints had been resolved by year's end.

Communications*

The Department of Communications restructured its official languages organization in 1985 to place more responsibility in the hands of managers. Sectorial plans will be emphasized in the new scheme of things. Although substantial benefits are expected from the changes in the long term, administrative problems in the transition

because everything was bilingual. The Department's phone-in information system for the Budget gave excellent bilingual service to thousands of callers across Canada.

The Department is to be congratulated on its performance — a success story due in large part to the fact that, of its 867 employees, 550 are in bilingual positions and 494 of these meet the language requirements.

The latest in-house survey indicates that Francophones used their language 38% of the time, up from 35% last year. In order to help Anglophones perfect their second language skills, the Department has set up an in-house language-training program tailored to the working environment. This is part of the departmental effort to upgrade the linguistic capability of employees who have achieved the intermediate level of language proficiency.

Overall Francophone participation was a high 34% of 867 employees, due mainly to the fact that Francophones accounted for 52.4% of the 265 employees in the Administrative Support category. Participation rates are generally acceptable in the other categories, but the proportion of Francophones is very low in the executive group (eight out of 63). This situation bears watching.

We received one complaint dealing with the phone-in on the Budget. While service was immediately provided in French, initial contact was in English only. We also received a complaint about commissionaire service at Place Bell Canada. This was still under examination at year end. Our examination of 1984 complaints regarding advertisements in French-language weeklies indicated that they were unfounded.

Fisheries and Oceans*

In 1985, the Department of Fisheries and Oceans continued its excellent work of the past few years to improve language of service, especially in Eastern Canada. However, it still has a few weaknesses to overcome, particularly in achieving a balanced participation of both language groups.

If the Department's survey of the Scotia-Fundy Region and the small number of complaints received this year are any indication, service to the public has certainly improved in the Maritime Region, where its largest concentration of clients is located. However, although the Department's overall bilingual capacity (15.4%) is strongest in the National Capital Region, Montreal and New Brunswick, it is still practically non-existent in British Columbia, where a single employee among 1,576 is expected to provide services in French to the entire West Coast clientele.

On the language-of-work front, Francophones are able to work in French in Quebec, New Brunswick and the National Capital Region; Anglophones in Quebec can use English in the Montreal Region.

Of the Department's roughly 6,450 employees, only 998 are Francophone (15.5%). This low participation rate is reflected in all occupational categories except Administrative Support, but particularly in the Scientific and Professional category (11.5%). The Department will have to find a means of increasing Francophone participation in the West (0.4%) and Anglophone participation in Quebec (7.2%).

We received seven complaints against the Department in 1985. Six related to various aspects of service to the public and the seventh concerned the language requirements of a position. Four of these complaints have been resolved.

Governor General*

In 1985, our Office conducted its first linguistic audit of the Governor General's Residence. Rideau Hall has a good bilingual capacity and its staff is well aware of the need to serve the public in both languages. However, French is under-used as a language of work even though Anglophone participation is rather low. To maintain its language-of-service accomplishments and correct weaknesses, Rideau Hall should set itself precise language objectives and develop a policy better suited to its strategic and symbolic importance.

The Residence has a staff of 96; 54 of the 61 bilingual positions are occupied by employees who meet the language requirements. Service is usually provided in the appropriate language. However, too many bilingual positions (28) require only basic language proficiency. Sometimes commissionaire-porters are unilingual, a factor which must reflect on the bilingual image that the Residence of the Canadian Head of State should at all times project. Efforts should also be made to increase the frequency of guided tours in French.

Although 65% of employees are Francophones, English often dominates meetings and day-to-day duties, mainly as a result of old work habits. Only one of the five employees in Financial Services is bilingual and some courses are not always available in both languages.

In addition to achieving a fair balance in the use of both languages as languages of work and internal communications, Rideau Hall will have to correct the imbalance in the participation of the two language groups: only 35% of employees are Anglophones. This situation is particularly apparent in sectors such as the Press Service, where all four employees are Francophone.

No complaints were lodged against Rideau Hall this year.

House of Commons*

Judging from the results of our audit last spring, the House of Commons is in good linguistic health. In addition to a sterling performance on the service front, the House Administration made some progress resolving language-of-work and participation problems we have pinpointed in the past.

The Administration introduced some major changes in the management of its language program. Language planning at the House will no longer be carried out as a separate exercise — a procedure which we believe has contributed significantly to managers' awareness of this question. Instead, language questions will be dealt with in regular operational plans. We will be watching this development closely to ensure that the reduction in paper burden does not lessen the importance accorded to official languages.

period produced an initial setback and, consequently, progress this year was not as good as we had hoped.

As its annual surveys of client satisfaction show, the Department continues to provide services to the public in the language of its clients' choice. Even so, we must draw attention once again to the fragility of the Department's bilingual capability in areas where the official language minority is less visible. For example, the Department has designated only seven bilingual positions out of 161 to serve the Francophone population of Toronto and southern Ontario.

In addition to its scientific and technical responsibilities, the Department plays an important role in the cultural field. We are pleased to note that it maintains approximately equal numbers of Anglophones and Francophones in its Cultural Affairs Branch, ensuring that the special features of each of the two major language groups are fully taken into account.

Three developments during the year, two of which relate directly to the Department of Communications, point to a brighter future for French-speaking communities outside Quebec. The Minister announced federal financial support for TVOntario's plan to increase its French-language broadcasts from the present 19 hours a week to 70 hours in 1986. Secondly, a committee set up by the Minister and his counterpart in Quebec reported on the future of French-language television and recommended, among other things, that cable companies serving French-speaking communities outside Quebec be obliged to carry at least two French channels. Finally, municipalities may now apply to the CRTC for permission to retransmit television over the air or by cable in places where such services are not available; this could be a boon to isolated official language minority communities.

The participation of Anglophones and Francophones within the Department changed little during the year. Overall, the ratio of Anglophones (1,558) to Francophones (700) is 69:31, which is satisfactory, but the distribution continues to be uneven. The percentage of Francophones at the executive and senior levels is 19.6%, and 36.3% among junior staff. The official language minorities are still very poorly represented among employees outside the National Capital Region and New Brunswick; for instance, there are only four Anglophones among the 156 employees in Quebec, and five Francophones among the 161 in southern Ontario. On the other hand, the Department now reports seven Francophones in Winnipeg out of 74 employees.

Employees are encouraged to work in their own language, and opportunities to work in French are increasing. Employees are invited to bring language-of-work problems to the official language director's attention so that appropriate steps can be taken to resolve them — an initiative which other departments might well follow.

Five founded complaints were received in 1985 (telephone answering, entries in telephone directories and unilingual forms). All these complaints, plus one outstanding from the previous year, were resolved. In most cases, the Department was very slow to take action.

Comptroller General

In 1985, the Office of the Comptroller General was more involved in planning a reorganization than in making any real progress on the language front. In fact, the Office made little effort to solve the problems raised in our previous reports concerning the level of bilingualism required of employees and the need for a more balanced participation of both language groups.

Although 113 of its 156 positions are bilingual, and 108 incumbents (95.6%) meet the language requirements, only six positions (5.3%) call for superior second-language skills. It is time the Office took concrete action and raised the language requirements of a number of officer positions, as most federal agencies have done in recent years. This would enable it to provide the same quality of service in English or French and encourage the use of both languages in the workplace.

Overall Francophone participation dropped from 26.9% to 24.4%. Although Anglophone participation in the Administrative Support category improved slightly (51.4% compared to 45.7% last year), the number of Francophones at senior levels has been diminishing steadily: eight of 67 positions (12% compared to 22% in 1982). The Office should take immediate steps to correct this continually worsening situation. Only one of 13 officers and managers hired during the first 10 months of 1985 was Francophone. The Office has now set an objective to increase Francophone participation in the Management category to 20% by 1988.

The Office is participating in a language-of-work pilot project with the Treasury Board Secretariat to help employees chair meetings in both languages. Furthermore, senior management has agreed to study the availability of bilingual software and the reasons why a large number of Francophone employees are evaluated in English (60%). Unfortunately, the section in charge of official languages postponed the annual language-of-work survey, a valuable program management tool.

The one complaint received against the Office in 1985 concerned the distribution of a work document to government departments and agencies in English only. Recognizing that the document in question was important and given wide distribution, the Office promised that all such documents would be published in both languages in the future. Another complaint, dating back to 1984 and concerning the provision of French-language training to program evaluators, is now being satisfactorily resolved. The Office has agreed to offer three French courses early in 1986 — a very commendable initiative.

Consumer and Corporate Affairs

The linguistic situation at the Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs remained stable in 1985. With few exceptions, the Department continues to serve the public in both languages. However, efforts to promote French as a language of work need to be stepped up and, as in many other departments, Anglophone participation in Quebec is still much too low (4.7%).

Some 48.5% of the Department's 2,476 employees occupy bilingual positions, and 89.9% of these meet the language requirements. Bilingual staff are generally well distributed throughout the Department; headquarters as well as district offices are

able to provide service in both languages; unfortunately, telephone reception service is not systematically provided in both official languages.

The Department should strive to achieve a more widespread use of French as a language of work. In 1985, it conducted a study of one branch to develop a methodology which would better assist managers in integrating language of work into their official languages plan. Considerable improvements were made this year in written communications between headquarters and Quebec offices.

Overall Francophone participation stands at 37.7% and is high in almost all the occupational categories; in the Scientific and Professional category, it rose by 2% in 1985, to 20.5%. However, Anglophone participation in the Administrative Support category is unsatisfactory (51.4%), and is much too low in Quebec, where it stands at only 4.7% (13 of 275 employees).

Of the 11 complaints lodged against the Department in 1985, two concerned notices not published in the French-language minority press; six, the lack of telephone service in French; one, unilingual labelling; one, correspondence sent in English to a Francophone client; and the last, unilingual English documents issued to Francophone candidates during a competition for a bilingual position. By the end of the year, 10 of the complaints had been resolved and, thanks to the Department's cooperation, the last should be settled shortly.

Correctional Service

Largely because of a major re-organization that placed certain official languages projects on hold, the Correctional Service of Canada did little more than mark time in 1985. Nonetheless, the number of bilingual staff in the Pacific and Prairie regions increased significantly.

The current re-organization will mean a transfer of certain administrative responsibilities from headquarters to the regions. Regional official languages responsibilities must therefore be clearly defined. Work begun a year ago to establish service standards in all of Canada's penitentiaries should continue, and mechanisms should be established to ensure the standards are met.

The Service has now followed through on more than half the recommendations of our 1983 audit, but little was accomplished during the year regarding health services or the active offer of services to inmates. Employees are still relatively unaware of the language rights of inmates who, in turn, are not fully aware of the availability of services in both languages.

Approximately 10,500 employees work for the Service in 60 penitentiaries and 75 parole offices across Canada. Its bilingual capacity increased slightly in 1985 from 14% to 15% (1,588 of 10,498 employees), and most penitentiaries are now able to offer case review services in both languages. However, the health services situation is more disappointing; despite concerted efforts to hire bilingual nurses and doctors, deficiencies persist in several penitentiaries. In light of the importance of such services, the Service will have to make a special effort to resolve the problem.

Serious efforts in the Prairie and Pacific regions to recruit bilingual employees have increased their number from 71 to 108 and 46 to 99 respectively. These efforts should be maintained, given that several essential services are not available in both languages in a number of institutions in these regions. The proportion of bilingual employees at headquarters and in the Quebec Region is relatively high at 62% (372 of 604 employees) and 24% (706 of 2,967 employees) respectively. However, almost 30% of positions require only a minimal knowledge of the second language. In some Quebec institutions with several Anglophone inmates, we noted deficiencies in the provision of services in English. Similarly, although the proportion of bilingual staff in Ontario rose slightly to (6.5%), a number of basic services to the province's almost 10% Francophone inmate population are not assured. One complaint we received clearly reveals the gaps in service in Ontario. A Francophone inmate, transferred from an institution in Quebec, had to wait three months before being assigned the cook position he wanted because the security officer could not read his file, which was written in French.

During the year, the Service lowered its target for bilingual staff at the new penitentiary in Renous (New Brunswick) from 50% to 34%. However, at our request, the Service agreed to review this objective. It should be noted that bilingual staff at Dorchester penitentiary increased substantially (from 15% to 26%) between 1982 and 1985.

Progress on the language-of-work front remains slow. At headquarters, French is used regularly in only a few work units, even though 37% of staff are Francophone. In all likelihood, this situation is partially due to the fact that 38% of supervisors fail to meet the language requirements of their positions. Establishing French as a language of work in bilingual regions such as New Brunswick is also difficult, and a delicate situation has been brought to our attention: at the Dorchester penitentiary health centre, where 40% of the staff is Francophone, management decided that English would be used in medical reports and discussions held in the presence of unilingual Anglophones. As a result of our involvement, the centre prepared a plan to encourage the use of French in all activities. This plan and agreements reached recently lead us to believe that the problem will be solved in 1986.

Some progress has been made with respect to participation. The Prairie region almost doubled the number of Francophones on staff, which now stands at 45; in the Atlantic region, almost 14% of employees are Francophone. However, little has changed in Quebec, where Anglophones account for only 0.5% of the region's 3,000 employees; and, in Ontario, only 2% of 2,300 employees are Francophone. Overall Anglophone and Francophone participation rates in the Service remained the same as last year (67% and 33%).

We received 14 complaints against the Correctional Service in 1985, eight of which related to the lack of inmate services in the minority language. Because inmates may hesitate to lodge complaints, we believe their complaints warrant very careful examination. Two other complaints concerned unilingual documents relating to competitions and a third, unilingual telephone reception. Two concerned the language-of-work problem at Dorchester penitentiary mentioned earlier, and one dealt with the reduction of bilingual staff at Renous. The Service's co-operation in investigating complaints improved, but headquarters sometimes encounters difficulty correcting matters in the regions.

Employment and Immigration*

Although the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission continues to maintain its high ranking among federal institutions for service to the public, our audit at headquarters revealed some areas that require attention, notably the use of French in the workplace.

The Commission is proud, and rightly so, to have established a good official languages management system in the regions, primarily through memoranda of understanding included in management contracts between the Deputy Minister and regional directors. Although the same procedure applies at headquarters, we found that some fine-tuning is necessary. The memoranda contains no easily measurable performance indices, and only fragmentary control mechanisms. Management responsibility for achievement of objectives is not clearly established. Similarly, language considerations have not been adequately integrated into some administrative systems and procedures. Thus, two major projects designed to upgrade the Commission's services make no mention of active offer of service in both languages.

Bilingual positions account for 6,211 (23%) of the Commission's 27,020 positions; 87% of employees occupying bilingual positions meet the required standards. In Quebec, New Brunswick and Northern and Eastern Ontario, the level of bilingualism is acceptable. It increased in British Columbia, where the number of bilingual employees went from 21 in 1984 to 47 in 1985. We were especially pleased with efforts made this year in Newfoundland where the number of bilingual employees increased from three to nine. The Commission also agreed to create a bilingual capacity in one of the employment centres in St. John's. The important progress made by the Commission in the regions in the last years should serve as an example to several organizations which drag their feet.

Most regional offices have frequent contact with the official language minorities and regularly use the minority-language media, but the Commission would be well advised to define a better co-ordinated strategy for such activities. Because the Commission has frequent contact with the public on matters of importance (employment, immigration, unemployment insurance), it should place greater emphasis on evaluating customer satisfaction with the language aspects of its services.

An adequate proportion of staff at headquarters is bilingual, but only 3% of bilingual positions require a superior knowledge; this, for supervisory purposes, is particularly unacceptable. Language-of-work problems there are numerous, particularly with regard to supervision and meetings.

According to results of the survey conducted during our audit, almost two-thirds of Francophones use French less than half the time, whereas 80% of Anglophones use English three-quarters of the time. Approximately 80% of meetings are held in English and 40% of Francophones indicated that they did not receive central or personnel services in their language.

Overall, Anglophones represent two-thirds of staff, Francophones one-third. In most occupational categories, the balance is adequate, the exception being Administrative Support where Francophones are over-represented at 36%. To the Commission's credit, Francophones are well represented in all Anglophone majority provinces. They account for 7% of staff in Manitoba, 3.5% in Alberta and 35.5% in

Northern and Eastern Ontario. The other side of the coin is less satisfactory: of the 6,000 employees in Quebec, only 148 are Anglophones. The Commission has taken some steps this year to correct this imbalance, in particular by increasing the proportion of Anglophone applicants in its candidate inventory. Given the scope of the problem, the Commission should pursue its efforts.

Fifty-five complaints were lodged against the Commission this year. Most concerned service to the public, and were usually caused by administrative oversights, not a lack of bilingual capability. Six related to Student Employment Centres that did not offer service in both languages. The Commission's co-operation and dispatch in resolving complaints was very good.

Energy, Mines and Resources

The Department of Energy, Mines and Resources this year continued its long haul toward providing better services in both official languages, but will have to increase its efforts to improve the status of French in the workplace and participation rates in certain categories.

On the language-of-service front, the Department seems to be on the verge of solving its telephone reception problem. Measures have been taken to ensure that at least one bilingual officer per customer-service point is on duty at all times. However, if the number of complaints received about telephone reception this year is any indication, the Department should make an additional effort and encourage its employees to actively offer bilingual service.

Of the Department's 5,105 positions, 40.6% are bilingual, and 79.5% of employees occupying these positions meet the requirements. Bilingual employees are primarily concentrated in the National Capital Region (95%) where most of the Department's activities take place. The remaining few are distributed throughout the rest of the country; for example, no bilingual positions exist in Northern or Eastern Ontario, although these regions have a significant Francophone population.

The Department's employees do not often work in French except in Quebec and in some units in the National Capital Region and New Brunswick. Employees occupying bilingual positions can opt for performance evaluations in the language of their choice, and central and personnel services are bilingual. Outside Quebec, scientific publications are generally drafted in English, but work documents for general distribution are available in both languages.

Anglophones comprise 75.8% of the Department's staff and Francophones 24.2%. This overall balance between the two language groups is far from evident in the Management category, where Francophone participation is a mere 11.5%. On the other hand, although Francophone participation in the Scientific and Professional category is still too low, it climbed from 13% in 1984 to 15.3% in 1985, an encouraging improvement. Anglophone participation in Quebec barely exceeds 5%, a situation that calls for immediate corrective measures.

We received 14 complaints against the Department in 1985. Twelve, including four about telephone reception, related to service to the public. Of the remaining two,

one involved language of work and the other a pre-retirement course offered in English only. Twelve of these matters were resolved thanks to outstanding co-operation on the part of the Department.

Environment*

Despite certain weaknesses, the Department of the Environment continued to provide its clientele with services of high linguistic quality. However, a few problems persist with language of work and the participation of both language groups, and, although the Department has tackled these problems, it must increase its efforts if it is to resolve them once and for all.

Parks Canada made a special effort to treat both official languages equitably at events held to celebrate the National Parks Centennial. On the whole, language services to the parks' approximately 25 million annual visitors are good, although reception at park entrances still leaves something to be desired and publications are not systematically offered in both languages. Lastly, Parks Canada is on the verge of completing a review of its road-sign language policy. In the future, road maps published by the Department and signs used in the national parks will indicate place names and geographical features (such as lakes, rivers, roads, etc.) in both languages.

The Atmospheric Environment Service provides bilingual weather information by telephone in major cities across Canada. However, its telephone listings did not specify which number to call for information in French or English. The Department has already taken steps to correct this shortcoming.

The Department has 10,152 employees, 2,387 of whom occupy bilingual positions. Over 86% of employees occupying bilingual positions meet the language requirements, compared to 82% last year. Bilingual employees are properly assigned to ensure that a range of services is available in both languages across Canada.

With the exception of Quebec and a few work groups in the National Capital Region, the status of French as a language of work has improved very little. Draft versions of work documents are usually distributed in English only, even in Quebec. The Department should correct this situation by encouraging Francophones to write their texts in French.

Only 20.1% of the Department's staff are Francophone, a percentage that has remained static for the past three years. They are under-represented in the Management (16.8%), Scientific and Professional (19%) and Operational (13.4%) categories. However, Anglophone participation in Quebec was up slightly this year, from 6% to 7.5%.

Of the 40 complaints we received against the Department in 1985, 19 concerned signage or reception in national parks, 18 related to various aspects of language of service and three to language of work. Thirty of these complaints have already been settled.

Export Development Corporation*

The Export Development Corporation has maintained its good rating for 1985. Service to the public presents no problems, both language groups are well represented in the Corporation, and efforts have been made to improve the language-of-work situation.

The Corporation's official languages objectives are integrated with its operational plans and are closely scrutinized by senior management. Managers at all levels are rated on their performance in achieving linguistic goals. The program is monitored by the Human Resources Division and, since 1984, language matters have been included in the Corporation's internal audits. The high profile given the program is responsible in no small part for its success.

The Corporation has a well-defined clientele. Upon first contact, clients fill out a general enquiry form, whereupon they are asked to identify their preferred language. All offices have some bilingual capacity; in 1985, an in-house survey of a representative sampling of Canadian client companies revealed that all were happy with the linguistic aspects of the service offered by the Corporation.

To facilitate the use of French in the workplace, the Corporation is working to increase the number of bilingual supervisors, and all work-related documents are produced in both languages. While there have been no complaints and no obvious constraints on the use of French as a language of work, it is difficult to determine to what extent Francophones feel free to work in their language. In our view, a language-of-work survey would shed some light on the situation and help the Corporation focus its efforts on this important area.

The 562 employees are 70% Anglophone and 30% Francophone. Both groups are also well distributed throughout the various organizational levels.

We received no complaints against the Corporation in 1985.

External Affairs

For some time now, the Department of External Affairs has been unduly complacent about its linguistic achievements. The weaknesses previously identified in language of work and participation have been joined this year by several shortcomings in the Department's administration of its official languages program.

Our two audits of the Department, at posts abroad in 1982 and at headquarters in 1984, revealed that managers generally have no clearly defined responsibilities for official languages. The Department agreed with our recommendations, but its methods of implementation fall short of our expectations. For example, as noted in last year's Report, posts abroad were to develop official languages programs adapted to their circumstances and the Department had agreed to carry out a pilot project in this regard in five major embassies. A year and a half later, at least two of the five embassies had not been informed of the results of our audit and none of the embassies we visited was aware of the Department's commitment.

During our follow-up to the audit of posts abroad, we learned that the official languages co-ordinators at each post, responsible for implementing many of our

recommendations, do not receive the necessary guidance. Individual Posts have assigned this responsibility to staff members of various levels, who, in the best of circumstances, find it difficult to give the necessary attention to language matters. And, since headquarters has not yet supplied training to co-ordinators, it is not surprising that the situation at posts abroad has changed little in the three years since our study.

We had hoped that the enlarged scope of regular Post inspections, which now include official languages, would help the Department rationalize its efforts. However, at year's end, the Department re-organized its internal audit programs, and even this ray of hope is fading.

The situation is somewhat better at headquarters. In response to a suggestion we made last year, official languages staff conducted an exhaustive and timely study on the use of English and French in computerized information systems. We hope to see their suggestions put into practice.

External Affairs' clients are generally able to obtain service in either English or French, since over 60% of the Department's employees are bilingual (2,608 of 4,197). Among foreign service officers, this percentage rises to 80% (1,100 of 1,400). Rotational administrative support staff, who are usually the public's first point of contact with the Department, still have an unacceptably low rate of bilingualism (46%). The availability of service in both languages is therefore not immediately evident. After working hours and on week-ends, the availability of service in both languages is even less certain. The Department's efforts to recruit bilingual secretaries have not been successful, and the percentage of bilingual employees in this group declined this year from 53% to 51%.

The Department is well aware of its responsibility to provide service in both languages to the travelling public, and attempts to assign some bilingual staff to each post abroad. This year it started to review the linguistic capability of each sector, beginning with consular officers. It would do well to examine carefully the French-language capability of its commercial sector, which has been the subject of two-thirds of the complaints we received this year.

Despite the high level of bilingualism among its staff and an acceptable percentage of Francophone employees, French remains under-used as a language of work at headquarters and abroad. Fewer than one-fifth of the 121 Posts abroad use French as the principal language of work, and these are obliged to communicate in English with certain sectors at headquarters. At headquarters, a few units dealing with social and cultural affairs work primarily in French, but English is by far the dominant language in the commercial and trade sectors, in most of the political sector and everywhere at the most senior levels.

Our 1984 audit identified major central services, such as Operations and Maintenance and Telecommunications, as weak in French. The Department has accepted in principle all of our recommendations on fostering the use of French as a language of work, but remains vague about how it will implement them. We intend to pay close attention to the implementation of these recommendations in 1986.

Anglophone and Francophone participation rates are unchanged from last year, at 71% and 29% respectively. Francophones are under-represented at the executive

and senior levels, at 21% and 15%, and significantly over-represented in the Operational category (44%). All four of the Department's most senior officials are Anglophone. However, participation is better balanced at least globally among heads of missions: Anglophones account for 75% of 110 ambassadors and other representatives, and Francophones for 25%. Appointments made in 1985 have contributed significantly to achieving this equilibrium, since 15 of the 33 new heads of post named last year are Francophone.

The trend toward polarization, whereby Anglophones dominate technical, commercial and political sectors, and Francophones social and cultural programs, has continued unabated. Overall participation rates are unlikely to change, since the Department is cutting back on staff. It should therefore seriously examine means of achieving a better internal balance among present staff.

In 1985, we received 11 complaints against the Department. Six concerned lack of service in French or difficulties working in French in the Department's commercial sector. Although the Department co-operates in alleviating symptomatic problems in this sector, we have yet to see any action to cure the basic ailments. Two complaints concerned unilingual English commissionaires. Two more dealt with passports: the fact that French versions of new Canadian passports are printed without accents, even on proper names, and a temporary absence of service in French at the Winnipeg passport office. The last complaint referred to a note which was sent to the Paris Embassy staff in French only. All complaints were settled by the end of the year.

Federal Business Development Bank*

Despite significant staff cut-backs (from 2,000 to 1,207 employees in three years), the Federal Business Development Bank continues to spontaneously meet the demand for bilingual services at its various branches, at least in bilingual regions. However, French is still under-used as a language of work, even at the Bank's head office in Montreal. The participation of both language groups is balanced in the various occupational categories.

Approximately 25% (297) of the Bank's employees claim to be bilingual and each of the five regions has an adequate complement of bilingual staff. However, some branches, notably two of the four located in metropolitan Toronto, have no bilingual employees, and French-language service is available only on request through another branch. Nonetheless, better controls and a more rigorous evaluation of employee language skills are enabling the Bank to assign its bilingual personnel more appropriately. In the Atlantic region, branch managers have contacted minority associations to gain a better understanding of minority needs, and the Bank intends to extend this practice to the other regions.

The use of French as a language of work is still limited to Quebec and northern New Brunswick. At head office, the language-of-work situation is unique because the Bank rotates employees among its various regions and head office. For this reason, the Bank's head office staff almost always includes a number of unilingual employees who never remain long enough to learn French. Nevertheless, the use of French at head office seems to have made some progress over the past year.

Francophone employees account for 27.4% of staff and their representation in the various occupational categories is equitable. However, the geographical distribution of employees is uneven: while 152 of 250 head office employees in Montreal are Anglophones, there are only seven Anglophones among the 209 employees in other Quebec offices. Outside Quebec, the number of Francophone employees is still slightly lower than the percentage of Francophones living in the various provinces.

Nine complaints were lodged against the Bank in 1985. Four concerned unilingual publicity distributed by a branch, while the others dealt with the following points: non-use of the minority press, unilingual telephone reception, lack of service in French, seminars offered only in English and, lastly, an information kit sent in English to a Francophone. Thanks to the Bank's co-operation, most of the complaints have already been settled.

Federal Court

The language situation at the Administration of the Federal Court of Canada continued to improve in 1985, especially with respect to language of service and language of work. However, the Court has still not tackled some of the language program management and participation problems noted in our 1983 audit.

Of the Administration's 173 employees, 118 are bilingual. Its bilingual capacity in Calgary, Winnipeg, Toronto and Montreal has increased, but has yet to be established in Halifax and Vancouver.

Two important improvements took place in 1985. First, Court registry services provided in New Brunswick will henceforth be available in both languages. Second, the Department of the Secretary of State agreed to assign a translation unit to the Court, thereby enabling it to deliver most judgements of public interest or importance simultaneously in both languages, and to reduce translation delays for other judgements.

The Administration distributed its official languages policy to all employees, informing them, among other things, of their language rights and responsibilities. All work documents are now translated and the performance appraisal form provides a space for employees to indicate the language in which they wish to be evaluated. Moreover, employees are increasingly taking advantage of their right to draft reports in their language.

The Court has been slow to establish mechanisms to monitor implementation of its official languages program, and has not yet addressed the problem of Anglophone participation, which by and large hovers around 50%.

At year's end, we received three complaints against the Federal Court concerning delay in publishing the French version of a judgement of public interest. The Court explained that it had made every effort to publish both versions simultaneously, but had been unsuccessful. Although we understand that judges must sometimes deliver such judgements quickly, without waiting for the translation, we believe they should be required to justify their action. In this regard, we have suggested an amendment to the Official Languages Act (a matter discussed in greater detail elsewhere in this Report).

Federal-Provincial Relations Office

The Federal-Provincial Relations Office this year assumed greater responsibility for the government's official languages programs, while maintaining an above-average performance in most of its operations. However, despite the Office's impressive linguistic assets, French is under-used in the workplace, and Anglophone participation is low.

The FPRO is acting as secretariat to a committee of deputy ministers charged with overseeing the federal government's progress in official languages. It is well-equipped to provide such services, since 39 of 48 staff members are bilingual. The Office calls for a high level of bilingualism from its employees: all positions at FPRO require a knowledge of both languages and 25% require a superior level of speaking skills. This year, all new employees appointed to the Office met the language requirements on entry.

The official languages program at FPRO directly involves managers, who are now supposed to assume greater responsibility for correcting the Office's language-of-work weaknesses. Their success in this endeavour will be measured in their annual performance appraisals.

Considering that 42% of staff are Francophone, French is not as widely used as a language of work as might be expected. Anglophone employees are supervised in English most of the time, whereas over a quarter of the Francophones on staff are never supervised in French. Several internal services, including pay, library services, printing and stores, have difficulty providing adequate service in French. The Office should seek innovative ways of encouraging greater use of French as a language of work.

The participation rates of the two language groups improved somewhat this year. Anglophones now account for 58% of staff (28 out of 48) compared to 49% last year. The distribution is equitable among managers and officers, 69% of whom are Anglophone. The latter remain under-represented among administrative support staff, where they account for only four of 13 employees.

We received no complaints about the FPRO this year.

Finance

The Department of Finance made steady progress in 1985. Service to the public was handled well and the use of French increased in the workplace. The overall participation rate of Francophones is high because of their heavy concentration in the Administrative Support category.

Management of the official languages program has been incorporated into personnel services, a move that should facilitate closer monitoring of staffing and departmental planning. Managers up to and including the senior level are directly involved in the planning process, from goal setting to reporting, and all managers and supervisors are appraised on their performance in language matters.

The Department has no problems with service to the public. The Canada Savings Bonds campaign, the main source of complaints in the past, went smoothly in 1985

Our audit revealed that the language knowledge tests used at the House tend to be sketchy, throwing doubts on the Administration's ability to assign adequately bilingual staff where they are needed. We have asked the House to review its language testing methods, and will report on its progress next year.

The House Administration is generally well able to meet demand for service in either language. Nearly three-quarters of the 1,603 positions require knowledge of both official languages and the Administration rates 74% of incumbents as fully meeting these language requirements. A significant proportion (17%) of the bilingual positions at the House require advanced knowledge of the second language. For example, all senior management positions require superior speaking skills in both languages, and over 90% of incumbents at this level have an intermediate or superior level of knowledge.

The recurrent problem of security guards greeting visitors in English only appears to be well on the way to a solution, thanks to the high number of bilingual recruits who joined the security service this summer. Of the 179 guards, 142 now have at least intermediate second-language speaking skills. The number of complaints we received about the security service dropped from five in 1984 to two this year.

A language-of-work survey that formed part of our audit revealed that most employees receive their performance appraisal reports in their preferred language, and that central and personnel services are readily available in both languages. Additionally, the House has taken some interesting initiatives to promote greater use of French as a language of work. Many reference documents used in Parliament come from Britain and are available in English only. The Clerk's sector has undertaken the ambitious project of preparing a comprehensive text on Canadian parliamentary procedures, the English and French drafts of which are being developed simultaneously.

Recent cuts at the House have slowed the Administration's efforts to establish a more equitable representation of Anglophones and Francophones. The percentage of Anglophones remained stable this year at 37%, even though they make up over half of the 98 new employees hired in 1985. Anglophones are better represented at the higher echelons (52% of the Management category and 59% of the Scientific and Professional) than among the two support groups, where two-thirds of employees are Francophone.

We received eight complaints about the House of Commons this year. Four concerned the failure of Parliamentary committees to use both the French and English media to announce their activities. A House employee complained about being dropped from a competition for a bilingual position as a result of a language test given over the telephone. Two complaints dealt with English-only reception by security guards, and the last one, resolved within days, concerned an error in the French version of a plaque.

Indian Affairs and Northern Development

Other than developing an official languages policy and implementing some administrative measures, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development did little to improve its less-than-impressive language situation in 1985.

The language policy drawn up this year was inserted in a manual of directives for managers, and the Department should now ensure that this information is disseminated to all employees. Policy objectives were integrated into operational resource plans, but have been put on hold due to the Department's current re-organization. Monitoring and control mechanisms to measure progress have not yet been developed.

Of the Department's 5,538 employees, 1,156 occupy bilingual positions and 85.5% of these meet the language requirements, an increase of 3%. In many parts of the country, the demand for service in French from the Department's mainly native clientele is very low. The survey of the language preference of Indian bands is still being conducted, but preliminary results indicate a higher number of bands who wish to be served in French or in both languages (22 in Quebec and New Brunswick) than was previously thought. In the Province of Quebec, the National Capital Region, Fredericton and Sudbury, the Department estimates the demand for service in French to be 10% or more. However, in Fredericton, only one of the four employees in bilingual positions is linguistically qualified; while the Department plans to rectify this situation, it does not expect immediate results. In Sudbury, bilingual capacity has increased slightly and the Department is verifying demand to see if this capacity is sufficient. In the West, only 11 of 2,756 positions are bilingual, and no plans have been made to measure demand from the public or increase bilingual capacity. The INWATS telephone line that enables Francophones to obtain service in their language by calling headquarters has still not been adequately publicized. Further studies and planning are obviously necessary, and these must be followed by concrete action.

On the language-of-work side, the only change seems to be that the Department has finally distributed its new performance appraisal form in bilingual regions, allowing employees to choose the language in which they wish to be evaluated. English remains the language of work at headquarters and no steps appear to have been taken to encourage the use of French. Employees in Quebec find that documents from Ottawa are still occasionally sent to them in English, or in French of an unacceptable quality, sometimes after undue delay.

Anglophones continue to represent 84.8% of the Department's staff and the only objective set is to have a 16% overall Francophone representation and to achieve the same proportion at the middle and senior levels in each branch. Francophones are now under-represented in all employment categories and in most regions. In Ontario, for example, there are 12 Francophones (1.5 %); in New Brunswick, eight (14%). This situation may in part be explained by the largely Anglophone clientele and, in the case of the Operational category, which is 2.6% Francophone, by the fact that more than half the positions (55%) are in the Yukon and Northwest Territories. In Quebec, Anglophones represent 16.2% of employees; however, 87% are at the junior level. It is high time that the Department took its language program seriously and set about some concrete reforms.

We received no complaints about the Department this year.

Justice

At the Department of Justice, language matters were for the most part left on hold during 1985. As a result, most of the problem areas we touched on last year have yet to be attended to. The Department hired a new Director of Official Languages during the summer, who has expressed many good intentions. We trust that these will be translated into concrete action in the coming months.

In overall terms, 53% of the Department's 1,627 positions are designated bilingual and 92% of incumbents meet the language requirements. The Department has relatively few contacts with the general public; it deals mainly with government institutions at the federal, provincial and international levels. Since most of these contacts are effected by legal advisors, it follows that their level of bilingualism has important implications for both language of work and language of service. At present, 17% of the legal advisors in bilingual positions are expected to possess superior language skills, a slight improvement over last year's 15%. At head office, 235 of 263 advisors satisfy the present linguistic requirements, while in the regions the proportion is 77 out of 78.

In the longer term, the Department intends to improve the situation further by requiring, as of April, 1987, that legal advisors appointed to bilingual positions at the management level possess the necessary language skills. The other language-of-service problem we alluded to last year concerns contractual agreements with private sector lawyers; it lingers on, with the result that such agreements still do not specify the language regime to be followed with regard to third parties.

On the language-of-work front, there is little to report except good intentions; the Department has indicated that it plans to address the problems raised in our 1984 audit and will take action to increase the use of French in meetings and in the preparation of written material. It will also monitor the language of performance appraisals and supervision, while stepping up the practice of staffing bilingual positions at the management level with linguistically qualified employees.

Participation figures remain quite similar to those reported in 1984. In overall terms, Anglophones represent 66% of staff, Francophones 34%. In the legal advisor category, Francophones still account for 27% of the total, but outside the National Capital Region and Quebec, the percentage of French-speakers is now only 1%, compared with 2% last year.

No complaints were lodged against the Department in 1985.

Labour

The Department of Labour is definitely holding its own on the official languages front. Service to the public is generally offered in both languages where demand is significant, and efforts are being made to provide adequate service elsewhere. It is still somewhat unclear to what extent French is used in the workplace, but both language groups are well represented.

Of the Department's 816 employees, 371 are qualified incumbents of bilingual positions. While this number appears sufficient, there is no bilingual capacity in Winnipeg,

either at the Regional Office or in the two district offices. Present plans call for two bilingual employees there by the end of 1986. All documents intended for the public are bilingual and all publications are issued simultaneously in both languages, including the monthly *Collective Bargaining Review*.

While there appear to be no constraints or complaints with respect to the use of French as a language of work, experience has shown that this does not mean that all is well. In our view, the Department should conduct a survey of its employees to ensure that they in fact feel free to work in their preferred language. Work instruments and central services are available in both languages.

Overall Francophone participation stands at 31%, mainly because of the high Francophone presence in the Administrative Support category (132 out of 331 employees or 39.8%). Francophones are under-represented in the Scientific and Professional category (9 out of 48 or 19%) and among the staff of the Women's Bureau where all 10 officers are Anglophone. There is only one Francophone among the 110 employees in the western provinces and only two Anglophones among the 62 in the Province of Quebec.

We received two complaints against the Department in 1985, both concerning the absence of bilingual telephone reception in Winnipeg and Edmonton. As mentioned above, the Winnipeg office is expected to have two bilingual employees by the end of 1986, and in Edmonton, a call-referral system is presently being set up. The Department was co-operative in handling these complaints.

National Arts Centre*

As dedicated as ever to making the arts accessible to members of both official language communities, the National Arts Centre has maintained an excellent level of bilingual capability throughout its entertainment and educational sectors. Early in 1985, the follow-up to our 1983 audit demonstrated that 11 of the 15 audit recommendations had been implemented. Unfortunately, responsibility for administration of the official languages program has been juggled from hand to hand and, as a result, implementation of the four remaining recommendations has been put off until later this year.

A 17% reduction in full-time staff in 1985 (54 employees) and a significant re-organization seem not to have adversely affected the Centre's overall ability to serve the public in both official languages. According to the Centre, of the 352 bilingual positions involving direct contact with the public, 87.5% have incumbents who meet the language requirements. The operational sectors (box office, restaurants, ushers, etc.) have most frequent contact with the public and are well known for their active offer of service in both languages. However, despite our 1983 audit recommendation, none of the administrative or management employees has been tested; this should be a priority activity for 1986. As for the problematic bilingual capacity of stage crews, we had urged the Centre to raise the question during negotiations with the subject union, IATSE. Although the Centre made a proposal during the most recent bargaining talks, it did not form part of the final agreement.

There has been little change in the use of English and French by employees, when not dealing with the public. Francophones can work in their language in certain sectors, such as Public Relations, Personnel and the Box Office. Most meetings, including those of senior executives, are held in English, although general staff meetings are conducted in both languages. The Centre's training for employees is available in both English and French. However, as we reported last year, a project to catalogue work instruments and identify those that are still unilingual has not yet been completed, and one-third of supervisors in bilingual positions do not meet the language requirements. The Centre has been providing language training and we expect to see improved supervisory bilingual capacity in the near future.

There has also been little evidence of any movement since last year in the Centre's Anglophone-Francophone participation rates; overall, Anglophones occupy 43.6% of 243 permanent positions and 41.8% of part-time positions. Nevertheless, Anglophone participation has improved in two areas over the past couple of years: an increase from 21 to 30 (51%) in the Managerial and Professional Services category and from 31 to 64 (39.5%) in Administrative and Operational Support. The Centre must continue its efforts to improve upon these results and try to make more headway in other categories.

We received no complaints about the Arts Centre in 1985.

National Capital Commission

Given the symbolic importance of its role, the National Capital Commission should be a leader in bilingualism. Although it successfully meets the challenge of service to the public, its performance in the use of French as a language of work leaves much to be desired. In fact, English is to all intents and purposes the language of work in most of the NCC's divisions and offices.

Of the Commission's 832 employees, 389 occupy bilingual positions and 79.4% of these meet the language requirements. With such bilingual staff and a healthy linguistic organization, the Commission can be proud of its active offer of good bilingual service through its posters, information services and participation in various events. However, its concessionaires do not always live up to the language obligations contained in their contracts. The NCC should establish control mechanisms to correct this situation.

Carving a place for the use of French as a language of work at the Commission is a difficult proposition. Several work instruments (operations manuals, internal documents, memoranda, security papers, forms) are available in English only, and meetings at almost all levels are usually held in English. The problem is most evident at the supervisory level, where 26% of supervisors fail to meet the language requirements of their positions, and only a small portion of Francophone employees are able to obtain their performance evaluations in French. The situation is particularly unacceptable in Hull where despite the fact that the majority of employees are Francophone, communications between managers and employees are in English. Three of the five complaints lodged against the NCC this year related directly to this situation.

Although Anglophone representation is rather low overall (52.7%) and especially so among Administrative Support employees (47%), it is higher among managers (71%). The Commission should increase its efforts to achieve more balanced participation.

In addition to the three complaints concerning the language of work at the Hull district office, we received one about a unilingual English telephone listing and another referring to unilingual telephone reception by the Property Division. These complaints were still under investigation at year's end.

National Defence

The Department of National Defence has 115,000 military and civilian personnel, and is by far the largest employer within the federal government. Its role as a symbol of Canadian sovereignty imposes a special obligation on it to be representative of the country's two official language communities. In 1985, however, the Department's progress in language matters was disappointing.

Over the past ten years or so, the Department's military recruitment policy has increased the number of Francophones to the point where they now constitute 27.4% of the Forces. However, the proportion of Francophones among generals and senior officers is only about 15%, while the proportion of Francophone officers as a whole is 23%. Action is also needed to attract Francophones to move into classifications (such as meteorology officer, dental administration officer) and trades (such as marine engineer technician and search and rescue technician) where they are currently under-represented.

The burden of bilingualism continues to weigh more heavily on Francophones. The fact that half of the Francophones in the Forces are officially bilingual compared to one in 20 of the Anglophones reflects the unequal status of the two languages in the workplace. The bilingual capability of Anglophone officers deteriorates from lack of regular use, while their Francophone colleagues are obliged to do much of their work in their second language.

Francophones do not fare particularly well on the civilian side. The proportion of Francophones among civilian employees is 20.1% overall, but is only about 14% in the upper levels. The proportion of Anglophone employees in Quebec is 10.3%.

For the past two years, the Department has been working on a new official languages plan, and the end of the process is not yet in sight. In the meantime, the Department must take action where the need is obvious.

National Defence Headquarters in Ottawa should be a model of bilingualism, but French is regularly used in few of its activities. About a year and a half ago, an attempt was made to identify the sectors which could most readily become bilingual, but so far we have seen no tangible results.

The Department has bases and installations in every province. Base commanders are responsible for all activities on their base, including the linguistic aspects; their appraisal form, which does not require specific comments on how they carry out their language responsibilities, should be amended.

The monitoring of the language program also leaves much to be desired. Current official languages co-ordinators find themselves in the embarrassing position of having to monitor and report on their own performance. Among the myriad of inspectors and auditors who visit military installations, none is charged with systematically checking official languages matters, but we understand that this should change in the near future.

The Department's administrative manuals are, with very few exceptions, bilingual. Some progress has been made in increasing the availability of technical work instruments in French, mainly by reissuing maintenance manuals in both languages when they are updated. Even so, 95% or more of technical work instruments are still available only in English. Public documents are bilingual, and the Department makes jthe commendable point of advertising military careers in the media serving official-language minorities across the country.

In general, the Department has sufficient bilingual capability to provide service to the public in the appropriate language. The problem is that bilingual service is often not actively offered, particularly by the people with whom the public first comes into contact, such as switchboard operators, commissionaires and guards. The Department should also remind employees who provide services to military dependents that they must take into account the needs of each language group.

We received 110 complaints in 1985, more than double the number in the previous year and an all-time record for the Department. Fifty-seven of them were resolved, together with 19 carried over from former years; in 13 cases the complaints were judged to be unfounded.

Twenty-six complaints related to aspects of service to the public, including notices, printed matter and documents, advertising and communications of various kinds.

Two of these complaints referred particularly to lack of service in French at the National Defence Medical Centre in Ottawa. As a result of our intervention, the Department has translated the offending forms and reminded staff to offer service actively in both languages.

We received 30 complaints about internal memos and circulars which had been distributed in English only, even though their contents were equally important to Francophones. The number of such complaints was a matter of special concern to us, and we are glad to report that the Department reacted promptly.

The language designation of civilian positions was the subject of 38 complaints. Three of them referred to a block of 40 development positions for administrative trainees in the purchasing group. As a result of our intervention, the Department suspended the competition. Most of the others related to technical positions. In each instance, only a knowledge of English was required; our correspondents maintained that the duties called for competence in both official languages. Examination of these cases will be completed early in 1986.

Finally, 16 complaints were received about training and various other aspects of language in the workplace.

National Health and Welfare*

While it suffered no serious linguistic setbacks in 1985, the Department of National Health and Welfare will have to closely monitor its official languages program to ensure that it does not deteriorate. While one or two specific improvements were made, ground was lost in several areas.

The Income Security Programs Branch, which administers the Canada Pension Plan, Family Allowances and similar programs, has a high profile with minority official language communities, as does the New Horizons Program, which provides financial support and consultation for groups of retired people. Both programs are generally serving minority clients in their language; for example, a senior official from New Horizons met this year with Francophone associations for the retired in Western Canada to explain the program's services. That is not to say, however, that everyone is well treated: as the result of a phone call from a clerk who spoke only English, a Francophone family living in New Brunswick, who had simply wanted to notify the Department of a change of address, had their Family Allowance payments cut off.

The Department's capacity to offer services in both languages remains relatively unchanged. There was a very slight increase in the number of occupied bilingual positions (now 2,665 of 8,663), but the proportion of linguistically qualified incumbents has declined marginally to 81%. Unfortunately, no improvement has been brought about in the bilingual capability of the western offices, a concern we raised last year: there are now only 14 linguistically qualified employees in bilingual positions west of Manitoba (1.1% of the total). In addition, we question the adequacy of the bilingual capability in the Medical Services Branch, where only 65% of employees in bilingual positions meet the language requirements.

The language-of-work situation remains much the same as last year. Outside Quebec, French is not commonly used as a language of work, exceptions being certain sectors of the Income Security Programs Branch. We were hopeful that a step in the right direction had been taken when, after much prodding, the Department finally included in the employee appraisal form a section to record the employee's preferred language for evaluation purposes. Unfortunately, the progress thus achieved is too limited: as the provision now reads, only incumbents of bilingual positions in designated bilingual regions or at headquarters may make use of this new section. For example, a Francophone employee located in the National Capital Region, but not in a bilingual position, cannot use the form to ask to be evaluated in French. Surely the Department could afford to be a little more generous.

The Department's overall Francophone participation has slipped just a little to 22.2% (1,927 of 8,663). In the Medical Services Branch, however, where a large proportion of the staff works in unilingual areas of the West and in the North, Francophone participation did rise slightly to 12.6%. On the other hand, Anglophones have lost ground in the Department's Quebec operations and now represent just 3.7% (28 of 749) of employees. While recognizing the constraints imposed by a staffing moratorium, we urge the Department to do everything possible to achieve a better balance throughout the organization.

In terms of its particular official languages objectives, Fitness and Amateur Sport seems to have been running on the spot. This one sector alone accounted for 17 complaints in 1985, 10 of which stemmed from the poor handling of events connected

with the Canada Summer Games in Saint John. In addition, a conference of national sport associations was addressed in English only by all the departmental representatives making presentations. Finally, in a replay of the concerns we expressed last year, very little progress has been made in establishing official languages plans in almost half of the 22 national sports associations. We hope the Department is poised to make a concerted attack on this problem.

In addition to the 17 cases which concerned Fitness and Amateur Sport, we received 24 complaints against other sectors of the Department. Eight involved lack of service to the public in French and 11 concerned signage and forms in one language only, poor translation and unilingual English telephone reception. In addition, two involved advertisements which should have appeared in the minority press. There were also three language-of-work complaints regarding headquarters: two concerned English-only courses given to telephone information clerks and occupational health nurses; and the other involved the fact that, in one entire division, Francophones had no opportunity to work in French. Most of these complaints could easily have been prevented with a little care. The Department should put more energy into treating the source of the problems.

National Parole Board

Despite valiant efforts, the National Parole Board still does not have all the resources it needs to provide services in both official languages. Also, the Board should more actively encourage federal inmates to voice their language preferences in dealings with it. The language rights of its own employees, however, seem to be generally well respected.

Because of the coercive nature of penitentiaries and their limited bilingual capacity it is difficult to convince inmates that they have the right to use their preferred official language when dealing with the Board. Thus, in spite of its efforts to actively offer bilingual service, the Board receives few requests for hearings in French outside Quebec. Consequently, like other institutions whose employees have considerable powers of intimidation, the Board should take particular care to regularly inform inmates that they may communicate with its representatives in English or French.

Ottawa headquarters and the Quebec and Atlantic regional offices have a high bilingual capacity, but this does not hold true for other locations where, even according to some Board members, a request for a hearing in French causes administrative confusion. None of the 50 employees in the Pacific and Prairie regions is bilingual, and only two of 26 Board members can speak both languages; in Ontario, only 7.7% of employees are able to function in English and French. The Board must therefore continue its recruitment efforts, and the government should immediately acknowledge the need for more bilingual Board members. Currently, outside of Quebec and headquarters, only 10 of 57 Board members are bilingual.

Both languages are frequently used at work by employees at headquarters in Ottawa, where work documents are available in both languages and the sole supervisor not meeting the language requirements of his position is currently taking language training. The Board would nonetheless be well advised to conduct a more in-depth study of language-of-work practices.

Anglophone and Francophone participation rates are 60% and 40% respectively. Significant regional imbalances still require correction, especially the low participation of Anglophones in Quebec (three of 34) and Francophones in Ontario (two of 24).

No complaints were lodged against the Board in 1985.

National Revenue (Customs and Excise)*

The Department of National Revenue (Customs and Excise) has not yet fully accepted the recommendations of our 1983 audit concerning its official languages policy and control and evaluation mechanisms. Service to the public in both languages is generally available spontaneously in Quebec and in the National Capital Region; elsewhere, few offices provide an adequate level of service in French. Problems still exist with regard to language of work, but participation levels are by and large acceptable.

The Department has issued a new policy and guidelines which go a long way toward defining its linguistic obligations. We would nevertheless still like to see the special status accorded the travelling public in the Official Languages Act given more prominence in the departmental policy.

Service to the public in both languages is well assured in Quebec where all customs inspector positions are bilingual. The National Capital Region is also generally well provided for, although weaknesses have been noted. Of the Department's 3,189 employees in bilingual positions, a full 2,714 (over 85%) are in the National Capital Region and Quebec. This does not leave a strong bilingual contingent elsewhere. Since many of the Department's activities involve the travelling public, it should not unduly limit its bilingual services to areas of high demand. Futhermore, given the fact that customs officers have broad coercive powers, it is all the more important that service be offered spontaneously in both languages since few clients feel comfortable demanding it. The Department is taking measures to monitor public satisfaction. A business reply card will soon be displayed in all customs offices; this card, along with publicity in the minority language media, will refer the public to regional and head office contacts to whom comments may be relayed.

French is not used as often as it should be as a language of work in bilingual areas outside Quebec, although various units are making honest efforts in this regard. Some head office committees, for instance, hold meetings entirely in French or discuss certain agenda items in that language. Central and personnel services are available in both languages, as are training and development courses and major work documents. Some work-related information is still, however, distributed in English only.

Of the Department's 10,052 employees, 26% are Francophone. Distribution is generally adequate except in the Management category where only 15% of the 72 employees are Francophone and in Quebec where only 6.7% of the staff of 1,940 is Anglophone.

We received 13 complaints concerning the Department in 1985. Of these, five referred to the absence of telephone service in French, mostly in Winnipeg, six

others had to do with poor service at border crossings, one dealt with a unilingual display at a trade show and the last concerned language of work. The Department was generally co-operative in handling complaints but those regarding two problem areas — employee conduct and language of work — are still outstanding.

National Revenue (Taxation)*

Each year, the Department of National Revenue (Taxation), which processes over 15 million tax returns, has many and varied contacts with the public. Apart from a few snags, the Department provides very good service in both languages to Canadian taxpayers. In general, the official languages situation has constantly improved since our 1982 audit. For example, the Department distributed brochures to all employees describing their language-of-service and language-of-work rights and responsibilities. Also, planning methods for the official languages program were improved to provide better controls.

With 2,918 (17%) of its 17,155 employees bilingual, the Department is generally able to answer requests for information from taxpayers in the appropriate language. However, in regions with large Anglophone majorities, the Department's offices do not have bilingual auditors or collection officers and Francophone taxpayers are often obliged to deal with the Department in English. The Department should do everything possible to increase the bilingual capacity of its audit and collection services; this deficiency is particularly unfortunate in a department with coercive powers.

Although French is still rarely used as a language of work except in Quebec and, to a lesser degree, the National Capital Region, the Department has taken measures to encourage its use at headquarters and in bilingual regions. It has sought to promote a higher level of bilingualism among senior staff and has forbidden the circulation of unilingual directives to employees in bilingual regions. Moreover, all employees have been informed about their language rights and obligations.

Francophones comprise 26.9% of staff and are well represented in all occupational categories; their ranks at senior levels have increased by almost 2% (to 22.7%) since 1982. In the regions, the number of minority-language employees remains low except in New Brunswick, where the percentage rose from 21.3% to 25.9%. Energetic measures are needed to correct the particularly critical situation in Quebec, where only 12 of 1,825 employees are Anglophone.

Complaints against the Department declined from 49 in 1981 to 30 this year. Fifteen dealt with the lack of bilingual telephone services, seven with correspondence sent to taxpayers in the wrong language and the remainder with other aspects of service such as counter service, use of the minority-language press and the unavailability of French-language tax forms in some post offices. Several complaints originating in the National Capital were the result of an error in the 1985 Ottawa-Hull telephone directory, which gave an English-language service listing in the French section. Most of the complaints have already been settled thanks to the Department's co-operation.

Petro-Canada*

As far as official languages are concerned, Petro-Canada made only moderate progress in 1985. Its main achievement was to install bilingual signs at another 81 service stations in Quebec serving a significant English-speaking community.

Stations with bilingual signage in Quebec now number 121 out of a total of 856. Elsewhere, the number with bilingual signage changed little: 151 in Ontario, 22 west of Ontario and 49 in the Maritimes. Petro-Canada's acquisition of Gulf's operations west of Quebec increased the number of service stations by two-thirds, and it intends to apply the same bilingual signage criteria to these stations as to previous acquisitions. At our insistence, it will also correct anomalies at stations where the signage is supposed to be bilingual already.

Petro-Canada's policy is to provide bilingual signage where there is a significant minority-language presence (10% of the population served). We have accepted this principle but reserve the right to raise special cases, and have persuaded the Corporation to go beyond its criteria in a number of instances, notably in the Winnipeg area.

Service is frequently, but not always, available in both languages at stations with bilingual signage. We have recommended that Petro-Canada include a bilingualism clause in leases with dealers in bilingual areas, beginning with stations where the need for bilingual service is most pressing. Petro-Canada has replied that it will encourage these dealers to provide services in both languages, but has not decided whether to include such a condition in their lease. In our view, Petro-Canada's increased presence in the market makes it all the more important for it to meet its obligations and fully recognize the language rights of its customers.

Petro-Canada offices in Montreal, Ottawa, Moncton and Winnipeg readily serve the public in either language. Some bilingual capability exists at head office in Calgary, and in Toronto, but service is not actively offered in both languages and the demand for French is low. Calls regarding billing and accounts are switched to billing centres where service is provided in the appropriate language.

Petro-Canada asked all its suppliers for their language preference and recorded it in its files. We did a survey in Montreal and found that the company had respected this preference, with few exceptions.

We commend Petro-Canada for sponsorship of social and cultural events organized by official-language minorities across Canada, and for using minority-language newspapers to inform them, in their own language, of the Corporation's activities and sales promotions.

English is the usual language of work in offices and plants outside Quebec. Both languages are used in Quebec, Ottawa and Moncton. Forms, manuals and directives issued by head office in Calgary or Petro-Canada Products headquarters are in both languages.

In the fall, we checked the Corporation's response to the recommendations of our 1984 audit. At that time, four of the 20 recommendations had been implemented and substantial action had been taken on a further six. However, little progress had been made in the previous 18 months in several important areas: Petro-Canada

had not developed general criteria for designating bilingual functions or positions; it was unable to provide pertinent statistics on the bilingual capability of its employees or the number of Anglophones and Francophones; and it had not yet compiled comprehensive official-language guidelines for managers or produced a handbook to explain the linguistic obligations of station operators in bilingual regions. The problem, in most cases, seems to be that Petro-Canada does not allocate sufficient time and people to its official languages program. Indeed, for about six months, we had great difficulty obtaining replies to our correspondence.

Petro-Canada currently has a staff of 6,400, plus 3,500 employees acquired from Gulf. We have no official figures on participation but, from what we do know, we would estimate the proportion of Francophones in the combined workforce to be between 10% and 15%. If this is the case, Petro-Canada must increase its efforts to ensure that Francophones play a significant role in the Corporation, despite the westward shift of its centre of gravity.

We received 15 complaints in 1985 concerning signage, advertisements and promotional materials. Seven were resolved. Twenty-one complaints carried over from previous years (most relating to lack of English on service-station signage in Quebec) were also resolved.

Prime Minister's Office*

In light of its importance in the federal administration, the Prime Minister's Office should be a leader in official languages matters. Our recent audit revealed that, in general, employees are sensitive to their role, especially in terms of service to the public. We nevertheless noted some language-of-work and equitable participation problems.

To tighten up management of its language program, the PMO accepted our major recommendation and decided to adopt a tailor-made official languages policy. However, the Office should now define the language requirements of its positions more rigorously and establish mechanisms to evaluate the language skills of its staff more precisely.

Of the approximately 100 employees, 54 are bilingual and another 20 or so are enrolled in language training. The Office is thus able to serve the public and the federal apparatus in both languages, and management attaches great importance to the linguistic quality of its correspondence and press releases. However, public reception services provided by commissionaires at various buildings occupied by the PMO are not bilingual. Given the importance of creating a good first impression, this situation is particularly unfortunate.

Because of the large number of unilingual employees and managers and the low participation of Francophones at senior levels, the use of French at the PMO is rather limited. In several sections, meetings and communications between employees and supervisors take place in English only. Furthermore, candidates for positions are not always allowed to choose the language of their staffing interviews. Work documents and central services are, however, bilingual.

At the time of our audit, 60% of employees were Anglophone and 40% Francophone. The high percentage of Francophones is explained by their strong presence among Administrative Support staff (22 of 42). Anglophones, on the other hand, occupy 10 of the 11 senior management positions. The PMO should work toward correcting these imbalances as quickly as possible.

We received no complaints against the Prime Minister's Office in 1985.

Privy Council Office*

In 1985, the Privy Council Office generally maintained its good overall official languages performance. However, our recent audit revealed some weaknesses, particularly with respect to language of service and equitable participation.

The Office's language program is managed efficiently and managers participate in planning and monitoring its implementation. The Office continues to hire officers with intermediate-level second-language skills and requires that they achieve the superior level within two years. It sponsors a language training program well suited to the needs of participants.

The proportion of bilingual positions remained stable this year at 83% (332 of 400 positions), but the number of employees meeting the language requirements increased by 4% (287 or 86.4%). The problem of unilingual commissionaires stationed at entrances to PCO buildings has not been entirely resolved. In view of its strategic importance and prestige in the federal administration, it is essential that the Office offer bilingual reception services.

Employees are evaluated in the language of their choice and generally have access to bilingual work documents. However, our audit revealed a few roadblocks to the use of French: the inadequate bilingual capacity of a number of managers hinders communications with their Francophone employees in French, and meetings are often conducted in English only.

Imbalances in the participation of both language groups persist. In general, Francophones are over-represented on PCO staff (49%), partly because they occupy 129 of the 223 Administrative Support positions (58%). On the other hand, they account for only 11 of 58 employees (19%) in the Management category. Clearly, there is a need for energetic involvement by senior management to correct these long-standing imbalances.

The two complaints we received against the Office in 1985 concerned two commissions of inquiry that failed to use the minority official language press. To avoid such complaints, the Privy Council Office should establish clearer language guidelines for such commissions.

Public Service Commission

As in the past, the Public Service Commission continues to be a strong and steady performer in the language field. The few complaints about the quality of its service or its language-of-work environment seem to be largely the result of mischance.

However, the level of Anglophone participation throughout the organization, never the Commission's strongest suit, shows no signs of having received any particular attention in 1985.

With 82.2% of its 2,465 employees in bilingual positions, 90.8% of whom meet the language requirements, the Commission is able to actively offer a full range of services in both languages right across the country. With very few exceptions, telephone and personal reception are bilingual, as are all publications available to the general public. The Commission's recruitment activities are of interest to members of minority-language communities seeking employment with the federal government: all 15 regional and district offices are well-equipped to serve the minority public and the Commission regularly uses the minority-language press to advertise any openings. Agency representatives visit English- and French-language university campuses and attend meetings of minority associations to make the public more aware of its recruiting activities.

The Commission is proud of its language-of-work milieu, and employees may work in the language of their choice in Moncton, Montreal and the National Capital Region. Several manuals were newly issued this year in bilingual format and the internal telephone directory was revised to improve the language quality. With regard to employee appraisal forms, review committees now compare the language indicated by the employee with the language used by the supervisor and, over the past year, have asked supervisors to re-do, or have translated, certain of the written evaluations. Most of the Commission's courses, whether for its own or other federal employees, are available in both languages, but a few offered in the minority language continue to be cancelled due to lack of registration. The problem is more acute outside the National Capital Region. It is therefore all the more disappointing that a newsletter from the Commission's Winnipeg office, ostensibly intended to drum up interest for courses in French, should be available only in English.

Anglophone participation, even excluding the largely Francophone body of language teachers and Career Orientation Programme (COP) employees, stands at a poor 45.3%, a minimal improvement over last year. By employment category, the story without the teachers and COP employees is as follows: the Scientific and Professional category has a slight Anglophone majority (57.3%); Technical employees are 46.9% Anglophone; and Anglophone participation in the Administrative Support category remains extremely low at 35.3%. If one adds the language teachers and COP employees back into the figures, overall Anglophone participation plummets to 36.8%. Although we have regularly urged the Commission to put greater effort into establishing a more representative mix of employees, there has been no substantial improvement over the years and the Commission will clearly have to come up with an imaginative action plan to contend with this chronic problem. The report on our audit of the agency, conducted at the end of 1985, will examine this topic, among others, and provide appropriate recommendations.

The Commission's current official languages plan outlines some special projects but does not contain any quantifiable objectives. Senior managers are held accountable for any goals contained in their integrated plan and their progress is evaluated on a twice-yearly basis. Investigating language aspects of the Commission's internal operations is part of the mandate of the internal audit group, but there has not been

much activity in this area over the past two years due to a re-arranging of responsibilities.

As a central agency with an important monitoring role, the Commission is involved in several activities which help uncover weaknesses in departmental language programs: the Official Languages Secretariat reviews departmental language plans and this year for the first time has sent written comments directly to deputy heads; and the Audit Branch carries out regular evaluations of departments' staffing practices, including language aspects. Early in the year, in order to promote the notion of renewal in the federal language program, the Commission circulated to all deputy heads a discussion paper which touched on such topics as imperative staffing and linguistic profiles. The long-term effects of this venture will not be known for some time, but the Commission is to be congratulated for having taken this initiative.

We received 12 complaints about the Commission in 1985 and, as usual, it was very prompt in responding. As a result, only the most recent complaint has yet to be settled. Five cases were the result of unilingual English documents sent to Francophone correspondents and one arose over a unilingual French brochure sent to an Anglophone. Two others concerned telephone reception and another two the quality of French in course presentations. Of the remaining two, one concerned a unilingual internal document and the other the use of accents on place names in English-language texts.

Public Works*

The follow-up to our 1983 audit revealed that the Department of Public Works should be congratulated for progress in implementing the recommendations despite staff reductions. Service to the public is well assured in both languages, and improvements have been noted in language of work. However, participation problems remain to be resolved.

The Department's official languages objectives are appropriate and have been integrated with management's operational plans. However, internal arrangements for monitoring their implementation are unsatisfactory. The auditing of official languages matters has been assigned to internal audit staff, but so far very little has been done.

The Department is generally capable of communicating in both languages with its various publics. Problems with telephone and person-to-person contacts, as well as with signage, have been resolved. All departmental publications for the general public are bilingual. Some 21% of the Department's 8,411 employees occupy bilingual positions, and of these 78% meet the requirements.

Response to our follow-up questionnaire suggested a slight improvement in opportunities for Francophones to work in their language, particularly in the National Capital Region; the same holds true for Anglophones in Montreal. While most work documents are available in both languages, some (contract documents, technical literature on electronic equipment, and certain internal directives, among others) still exist in English only. Central and personnel services are not always available in English in Quebec or in French elsewhere. When the Minister appeared before the

Joint Parliamentary Committee on Official Languages in May, he assured members that the Department would continue to strive to improve the language-of-work situation.

Francophones account for 26.4% of the 8,411 employees, mainly because of their strong presence in the Operational category (31.5% of 3,543 employees). Francophone representation remains low in the Management and Scientific and Professional categories — 17.6% of 119 employees and 18.6% of 636 respectively. Anglophones, on the other hand, are particularly under-represented in Quebec (32 of 1,138 employees).

We received 11 complaints against the Department in 1985. One dealt with a staff meeting held in Ottawa in English only, another with unilingual commissionaire services, a third with a lack of telephone service in French and a fourth with unilingual course documentation distributed to employees. Two dealt with the poor quality of texts — one in English and one in French — and the remaining five pertained to unilingual English signage, three of them inscriptions on fire-alarm boxes. The Department was generally co-operative in handling complaints, but not unduly expeditious.

Regional Industrial Expansion*

The major failing of the Department of Regional Industrial Expansion, like that of many others, is the limited use of French as a language of work. Frequent unilingual telephone reception and low Anglophone representation in Quebec are other deficiencies. Although the Department is generally able to provide bilingual services to clients, service in French is not always actively offered. This is particularly true of telephone reception.

As noted above, French is seldom used as a language of work outside Quebec, the unilingualism of many members of the Management category being a contributing factor; at headquarters, for instance, 55 of 172 do not meet the language requirements of their positions. However, the Department is aware of the situation and is offering second-language training to over 400 employees. On the other hand, communications between headquarters and the Montreal office are still conducted in English, something we consider unacceptable.

Overall Anglophone participation is under 70% (2,051 of 2,981) due, in part, to the low percentage of Anglophones in the Administrative Support category (61%). In Quebec, it remains a low 8%. Francophones in the National Capital Region, on the other hand, account for only a small proportion of those in the Management category (16.9%) and among commerce officers (19.5%). In short, the Department has much to do in the language field; as a leader of the economic recovery, it should set a good example.

We received five complaints against the Department in 1985. Four concerned unilingual telephone reception and the other an advertisement not published in the minority press. The Department responded quickly and effectively in each instance.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police*

Where official languages are concerned, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police has a long way to go before its troubles are over. Its review of language policy threatens to slow the current pace of reform even further. Nonetheless, some positive points are worthy of mention: the RCMP's official languages program monitoring system has improved and the Force has continued its efforts to recruit bilingual personnel.

Our repeated request that the RCMP establish better monitoring mechanisms has now been answered. The Official Languages Branch conducted audits of five divisions and intends to monitor implementation of its recommendations carefully. Also senior officers' performance evaluations now include an appraisal of their achievements in official languages.

The proportion of police officer positions designated as bilingual declined from 19.4% last year to 16% this year, and only 70% of incumbents meet the language requirements. In general, percentages for civilian staff remained the same as last year: 25.4% of positions are designated bilingual and 84.4% of incumbents meet the requirements.

The percentage of bilingual police officers is satisfactory in the National Capital Region, Northern and Eastern Ontario (53%), Quebec (44%) and New Brunswick (50%). We are also pleased that these divisions plan to increase their bilingual capacity even more; more than 85% of the 320 police officers appointed to bilingual positions during the first 11 months of 1985 already had the required language skills.

With the exception of Manitoba, where bilingual police officers account for 7% of the Force, the RCMP's bilingual capacity in the Prairies is low. Over the past two years, the number of bilingual staff in Saskatchewan and Alberta declined from 50 to 33 (out of 1,239) and from 75 to 64 (out of 2,108). However, the British Columbia Division is continuing its efforts to respond to the needs of the French-speaking population, in particular by maintaining contact with Francophone associations.

The situation at headquarters is worrisome; bilingual police officers account for barely 12% of staff. In these circumstances, it is difficult to explain why the RCMP decided during the year for all practical purposes to eliminate the superior language proficiency requirement for incumbents of bilingual positions. Even if the old requirements may have somewhat limited the promotional opportunities of officers without such skills to the 30 positions at the three most senior levels of authority (deputy commissioner, assistant commissioner and chief superintendent), in our view they posed no serious obstacle at other levels; only 13.5% of the other 780 positions at headquarters call for advanced language skills. This policy change should therefore be reviewed.

Two positive developments are that 100 of the 168 police officers assigned to bilingual positions at headquarters during the first 11 months of 1985 met the bilingual requirements, and that, of the 123 recruits hired in 1984-85, 57% were bilingual. Needless to say, we encourage the RCMP to continue its efforts in this direction.

Anglophone and Francophone representation remained unchanged from the previous year at 85% and 15% respectively. As indicated in our 1984 report, the high percentage of Anglophone officers can be explained by the fact that nearly 60% work in the West, where the RCMP performs the duties of provincial and sometimes

municipal police. For this reason, the RCMP's target for Francophone participation is 20.8%, an objective which it will review given the continual increase of personnel assigned to Western Canada. However, the question of geographical distribution should not make the RCMP lose sight of the fact that it is a national agency which should reflect the linguistic duality of Canada. We should also note that the RCMP has struck a relatively even balance in recruitment over the past four years, when 29% of recruits were Francophone. However, in 1983-84, probably to compensate for past weaknesses, over 60% of 84 recruits were Francophone.

Little progress has been made in the language-of-work area. The use of French is widespread in Quebec and is gradually extending to New Brunswick and Northern and Eastern Ontario. However, RCMP divisions in these areas are regularly obliged to revert to English when they communicate with headquarters. We also learned of a practice we consider unacceptable: certain headquarters units "request the agreement of the Quebec Division" to hold meetings and training sessions there in English only. This situation is hardly surprising in light of the fact that over 40% of employees occupying bilingual positions at headquarters are not linguistically qualified. In these circumstances and given that nearly 60% of supervisors are not bilingual, it is hardly surprising that French is under-used at headquarters.

Twenty-two complaints were lodged against the RCMP in 1985. Thirteen concerned service to the public, most involving unilingual English police officers. The nine others concerned language of work, especially internal directives issued in English only. Half of the complaints are still under investigation. In general, the RCMP was co-operative in settling complaints.

Secretary of State

As defender and prime promoter of official languages throughout Canada, the Department of the Secretary of State continued in 1985 to contribute funds and advice to further the opportunities for both official language communities to live in their language. It supported minority-language education, second-language instruction, teacher training and student exchanges; and encouraged non-federal public administrations and private organizations to develop language policies and improve their bilingual services. It assisted official language communities in their struggle to obtain equal access, in their language, to federal, provincial and municipal services in such areas as education, health, justice and culture. At our colloquium on Canada's official language minorities, held last October, the Secretary of State reiterated the government's commitment to achieving equal opportunity and access to public services. He outlined initiatives he and his Department were contemplating to bring this reality closer, and we will be following their progress with great interest.

As for its own achievements, the Department maintained top marks for serving members of the public in the language of their choice and providing its employees with an opportunity to work in English or French. Among its approximately 3,300 employees, some 2,548 occupy bilingual positions and 94% of them meet the requirements. Even excluding the Translation Bureau and the Promotion of Official Languages Branch, the proportion is 91%. In staffing actions last year, 133 positions (92%) were

staffed with incumbents who were bilingual at the time of their appointment. We must congratulate the Department for maintaining such high standards.

Nonetheless, two gaps remain in the Department's service: Citizenship Court judges and the voluntary sector. Although six new judges were appointed this year, still only nine of the 33 are fully bilingual. Another 15 have taken a short French course. We have raised this matter repeatedly over the past two years in various forums, including Parliament's Joint Committee on Official Languages, to little or no avail. In the voluntary sector, the Promotion of Official Languages Branch has, in the past decade, funded some 70 national voluntary associations such as the Canadian Red Cross Society and the United Way. Although we have seen considerable progress in the ability of some associations to provide services in both official languages, too many that benefit from funding still fail to take into account the existence of the two linguistic communities. Unfortunately, the Department made no headway in establishing controls over the linguistic aspects of grants and contributions.

The language-of-work situation merits praise: employees can work in their preferred language throughout the "bilingual belt" from New Brunswick to Manitoba. Both languages are routinely used at senior staff meetings and when headquarters and regional managers get together. The one flaw was that an English-only form for subscribing to Quebec Savings Bonds was sent to over 200 Francophone employees in Montreal and the National Capital Region — the second year that this problem has arisen. The Finance Branch must take effective action to ensure that employees receive the information in their preferred language.

The overall participation rates of Anglophones and Francophones, excluding the Translation Bureau/Promotion of Official Languages Branch, has remained the same: 56% and 44% respectively. Anglophone participation in the Administrative Support category is only 47%, and in the Management category the figures have dipped to 57%. In Quebec, the Anglophone participation rate now stands at 4.3% (three of 70). The Department must increase its efforts to achieve a better balance.

Fourteen complaints were lodged against the Department in 1985. In addition to the three concerning the English-only form for Quebec Savings Bonds, two others dealt with language-of-work problems: Security Services sent a memo in English to a Francophone employee who had completed his personal history form in French and a sharp-eyed individual noted the English-only keyboards on the Terminology Bank terminals. Four more concerned the lack of telephone service in French from offices in the National Capital Region and Halifax; one the lack of service and written information in French at the Department's booth in a shopping centre in Peace River, Alberta; and one related to a delay in sending out the French versions of documents for a competition. The remaining three dealt with lack of French service from a collection agency in Saint John under contract to the Student Assistance Directorate; an English-only press release sent by the Ontario Canada Day Committee to a Francophone association; and the freelance interpreters' boycott. We received a consistently high level of co-operation from the Department.

The boycott of the Translation Bureau, started in April 1985 by about 80 freelance interpreters who refused to accept contracts at the approved Treasury Board per diem rate, placed the Department in a very difficult situation. Our investigation revealed that the boycott had a negative effect on service to the public in both

languages at many conferences. However, the Department coped as well as it could, and at year's end about three-quarters of the interpreters were again accepting contracts at the approved government rate.

Senate

This year, the Senate administration gave some indication that it was finally ready to bring in the reforms needed for an effective official languages program. Although the administration has been slow to implement the recommendations of our 1984 audit, some progress was nevertheless visible by the year's end.

Our audit found that the Senate's official languages program needed a major overhaul, beginning with assignment of full responsibility to one person. The Senate moved quickly on this recommendation, and also revised its official languages policy to incorporate our suggestions. By the end of the year, the administration had formally designated language requirements for its 394 positions and determined how many employees meet these requirements. Progress has been slow on several other problems, particularly a proposed review of language knowledge tests and employee language training.

Senate employees are generally aware of their obligation to provide service in the language chosen by the client, and the administration has adequate bilingual capability to meet most demand. Although Senators themselves are the administration's primary client group, we found that service to the general public was more consistently available in both official languages than were services to Senators. Deficiencies noted last year in the French-language capability of the personnel and financial sectors have not yet been corrected. Of 241 positions requiring a knowledge of both official languages, only 159 are occupied by bilingual staff. The weakness is particularly pronounced at the most senior levels, where three of the six executives are not bilingual. This situation can only improve, as all new employees must meet the language requirements of their positions on entry. The Senate expects to have all bilingual positions filled by linguistically-qualified staff by 1990.

The Senate administration has yet to take the measures we prescribed to encourage greater use of French as a language of work. Although almost half of administrative support staff are Francophone, the word-processing system installed just before our audit had operators' manuals in English only. The staff member assigned to help other employees learn the new system was a unilingual Anglophone. Although we raised this issue with the Senate administration late in 1984, nothing has been done to improve the situation.

At the most senior levels, there are seven Francophones and 10 Anglophones. Overall, 41% of employees are Anglophone and 59% Francophone. Anglophones remain under-represented in the Operational category, where they account for fewer than one-third of all security guards, messengers and cleaning staff. The Senate administration has not developed any strategies for improving the participation rates of the two language groups.

We received no complaints about the Senate this year.

Statistics Canada

As it approached completion of a major re-organization in 1985, we noted that Statistics Canada attached great importance to its language program. Language objectives are now integrated with operational plans, its language policy has been clarified, and the performance evaluations of managers now take account of achievements in this area.

The proportion of employees meeting the language requirements of their positions rose from 83% to 85.1% in 1985. With almost 1,970 bilingual employees, the agency is able to provide better service to its clientele in both languages.

The 1981 census, while a distinct improvement over previous ones, was marred by a few minor flaws; as a result, Statistics Canada, in consultation with our Office, took special steps to recruit bilingual enumerators and develop bilingual questionnaires for the 1986 quinquennial census. A short, bilingual version will be distributed to 80% of homes, and an unabridged version to the remaining 20% in French or English, as appropriate.

Francophones are able to work in French in Quebec and a number of units in the National Capital Region and Ontario, but rarely anywhere else. In 1985, Statistics Canada conducted a study of French as a language of work among managers in the National Capital to find new ways of stimulating the use of French in the workplace. The findings of the study will be made available in 1986.

Of Statistics Canada's 4,788 employees, 36.2% are Francophone and 63.8% Anglophone. The over-representation of Francophones is most apparent in the Administration (35.4%) and Administrative Support (41%) categories, whereas Anglophone participation in Quebec is only 7.1%.

We received two complaints against Statistics Canada this year for oversights that were quickly rectified. The first concerned unilingual English telephone reception at the inquiries number for the Prices Division, and the other, the distribution of a unilingual English work document

Supply and Services*

In 1985, the two administrations of the Department of Supply and Services were placed under the authority of a single deputy minister and staff was gradually reduced. We trust this re-organization will not slow the Department's implementation of its official languages program, but instead enable it to create an infrastructure that takes account of the recommendations of our most recent audit and leads to an improved internal language regime.

Our audit revealed that when attitudinal or administrative problems arise with respect to administration of the official languages program — for example, obstructions to the use of French as a language of work — the Department rarely musters all its available expertise to solve them. We therefore recommended that it review its action plan and develop innovative management methods. We also noted that the Department failed to attack the underlying causes of problems detected during its internal audits, and that follow-up was superficial.

The linguistic quality of services provided to its various publics, primarily through the Superannuation Division and the Telephone Referral Service, which refers citizens to various federal institutions, was satisfactory. The Department assured us that authorized agents responsible for the sale of federal government publications in bilingual regions would henceforth be required to offer bilingual service at all times.

Our audit also revealed a serious deterioration in the second-language proficiency of employees occupying bilingual positions. To get to the root of the problem, the Department decided in 1984 to require its 3,400 bilingual employees to take the new second-language proficiency test developed by the Public Service Commission, and has continued the testing in 1985. The Department also re-evaluated the language requirements of all positions relating to the purchase of goods and services on behalf of the federal government.

Of the Department's 10,350 employees, 60.4% are Anglophone and 39.6% Francophone. The under-representation of Anglophones is particularly evident in the Administrative Support (58.1%) and Operational (38.1%) categories. Francophones represent only 19.3% of the Management category. And in Quebec, Anglophone participation is still a mere 3.5%.

In bilingual regions, Francophones occupying bilingual positions have too little opportunity to work in French and still do not receive central and personnel services in their language. The Department hopes that the merger of its two administrations and the re-evaluations of bilingual-position language requirements will create a work environment that provides for a more balanced use of both languages.

Of the 14 complaints received in 1985, 13 dealt with service to the public and one with language of work. Five concerned telephone reception in English only, another three were related to lack of advertising in minority-language newspapers, and two involved correspondence sent in English only to Francophones. By and large, the Department's co-operation in settling complaints was good.

Supreme Court of Canada

In 1985, the Supreme Court of Canada by and large made little progress on language-of-work problems or in managing its official languages program. However, it was preparing to adopt a language policy toward the end of the year which should finally allow it to follow through on the principal recommendation of our 1983 report. The Court will also have to give its managers a clear indication of what it expects of them in this respect.

On the whole, the Court is able to serve the public well in both languages. Of its 61 positions, 43 are bilingual (7% more than last year), and 37 incumbents (86%) meet the language requirements. Receptionists and commissionaires responsible for greeting the public are bilingual, and actively offer their services in both languages. Moreover, the Court Administration continues to follow its policy of simultaneously publishing judgements and related documents in both languages.

As in 1984, Francophones account for 57% of staff and occupy over half the positions in each occupational category. However, Anglophones were appointed to 13 of the

22 positions staffed in 1985. To achieve the desired balance, the Court should establish precise objectives in this regard.

Despite the strong presence of Francophones, English is still the predominant language of work in several sectors of the Court. Obviously, the fact that some managers are unilingual and that old work habits die hard are major obstacles to change. Although the Court's employees have access to bilingual work documents and may write in the language of their choice, they are often obliged to bend to the supervisor's choice of language in oral communications and even during performance evaluations. In addition to clarifying its position in a policy currently being finalized, the Court should carefully examine the actual situation and make the necessary corrections.

We received no complaints against the Supreme Court in 1985.

Transport*

With over 20,000 employees, the Department of Transport is a large department that provides important services to the Canadian travelling public. Over the years, its linguistic performance has gradually improved and, in 1985, it took further steps toward achieving equality for our official languages. Major surveys measured the linguistic preferences of airport users and the use of English and French in the workplace. But the Department's performance continued to be compromised by innumerable unilingual and badly translated airport signs, and the solution to ensuring bilingual safety announcements on board aircraft was as elusive as ever.

Last year, the Department began a series of passenger surveys at several airports, including Vancouver, Toronto, Moncton, North Bay and Timmins. Results were unavailable at year's end, but during our own visits to several airports across the country, we were struck by the extent to which unilingual signage persists in some airport terminals. While Francophones would generally feel at ease with signage at Calgary's international airport, they would despair over the state of French signage in Vancouver. After years of delays in correcting unilingual and poorly translated signage in Vancouver, the Department assured us at the end of 1985 that all would be set right for Expo 86 visitors.

In August, the Department announced the introduction of bilingual air traffic control at Ottawa International Airport. Once implemented, Francophone pilots will be able to communicate with the Ottawa control tower in their own language. This will be the first time that bilingual air traffic control has been extended beyond the Province of Quebec, and we consider it appropriate that the service be provided in French as well as English in the Capital.

At the Marine Administration, the Newfoundland and Western regional operations of the Coast Guard also conducted language demand surveys; their findings will be made available in 1986. We were pleased that the Newfoundland Region decided not to wait to set up a translation service at the vessel traffic services centre in St. John's to enable it to handle French-language written communications. On the other hand, the Central Region (Ontario and Manitoba) has been inexcusably slow to act on its 1983 demand study. It was only last fall that attention was given to

improving French-language services; plans were made to hire more bilingual summer students, a program was undertaken to identify and correct unilingual signage, and information sessions on official languages were held with managers.

The percentage of bilingual positions at the Department rose slightly to 21.6% and more of those positions were filled by bilingual employees (86.6% in 1985 compared to 85.6% in 1984). In addition, employees in various offices across Canada were offered short language courses specifically designed to improve bilingual telephone reception. The Department's airport information services are consistently bilingual.

Services provided by airport concessionaires (e.g. restaurants, news-stands, security, car rental) are a different matter. Since 1983, Transport has included new language requirements accompanied by enforcement provisions in its contracts with airport concessionaires and tenants as leases come up for renewal. Many leases have a rather long life (five or 10 years) but the bulk of them now contain the appropriate clause. Notwithstanding these requirements, concessionaires have not always been able to meet them, particularly when there are few employees and little turnover, and when the number of bilingual job-candidates living near the airport is limited. We believe that such circumstances warrant special attention from the Department above and beyond simple contractual arrangements. We urge the Department to work more closely with airport concessionaires and provide assistance to meet the objectives.

Unlike other airport tenants, airline companies are still without contractual obligations to provide bilingual services. Airlines have been exempted from the Department's program to improve bilingual services pending the results of the language demand surveys being conducted at airports. In the meantime, the Department relies on the airlines' co-operation which, it should be acknowledged, has often proven sufficient. It is nevertheless anomalous, in our view, that the local operator of a small business in an airport terminal may have legal official languages obligations that the major airline company across the aisle has somehow managed to avoid.

Having received several complaints in the past two years about the Department's unilingual billboard advertisements, we were pleased with its decision to use a bilingual format in all such future advertising. However, the problem of unilingual safety announcements on board aircraft dragged on for another year. Although several major air carriers require safety instructions to be delivered in English and French, there are many lapses and in-flight safety-related information is often not covered. A committee of departmental officials and airline industry representatives, created in 1983 to study the issue, met for the first time in 16 months in September but the session ended with no means in sight of resolving the situation.

Last year, the Department asked 8,000 employees in bilingual regions about the use of the official languages in their work. By year's end the results were not yet available. We are nonetheless pleased by the increased attention and importance the Department appears to be giving to the issue, and look forward to 1986 for whatever necessary action may be prescribed by the survey's results.

Despite the Department's ongoing efforts to increase Francophone participation, there was little change last year (from 22.8% to 22.9%). Only 16.8% of the Department's senior employees are Francophone. Anglophone participation in Quebec is

no success story either. After remaining for two years at 7.5%, the percentage of Anglophone employees in Quebec decreased to 7.1% (243 of 3,443). The situation is poor and will remain so until the Department commits itself to taking more effective measures.

The number of complaints dropped dramatically from 67 in 1984 to 30 in 1985, although the latter is more in keeping with previous years. In 1984, over 20 complaints had concerned unilingual billboards, and advertisements not placed in the minority press; only a couple of such complaints were lodged in 1985. Also, fewer complaints (11) dealt with airport services and signage. However, our own review of airports last year shows once again that complaints can be a poor indicator of a particular situation. By year's end, 18 of the complaints had been resolved.

Treasury Board

The Treasury Board Secretariat emerged from a round of staff cuts this year with enhanced linguistic capability and a good performance in official languages.

Following its own recommendation to departments, the Secretariat has integrated its official languages program more fully into its personnel operations. For some years now, managers have been responsible for establishing linguistic objectives in their areas of responsibility, and their achievements in this regard are evaluated as part of their annual appraisals.

The Secretariat now has 749 employees, of whom 566 occupy positions requiring a knowledge of both languages (76%), up 4% from last year. The proportion of staff who meet the language requirements of their positions has increased to 90%. To complete the tableau, the Secretariat raised the language requirements of a significant number of bilingual positions: 17% now require superior skills in both languages, compared to 9% last year.

This year, the Secretariat resolved a complaint which we have had on our books since 1983 and, in so doing, assisted other government departments in similar situations. It addressed the problem of unilingual English commissionaires, who are not public servants but are nevertheless the first point of contact with government departments for many members of the public. A clause has been added to the contract with the Corps of Commissionaires to allow departments to specify more clearly their language knowledge requirements. The Board has also been working on a pilot project designed to give commissionaires access to after-hours language training offered by the Public Service Commission, but paid for by the Corps of Commissionaires. To date, one training session has been given and the results seem encouraging.

The Secretariat has modified its approach to language-of-work questions by suspending its annual in-house survey in favour of projects aimed at redressing particular problems. This year, staff have focussed on the use of both languages in meetings, and are developing information and guidelines for use in chairing such meetings. If the project is successful, this material will be offered to other departments.

The Board's Administration Branch resolved a problem that has perplexed many other departments: courses on word-processing and use of computers are offered to employees at Treasury Board, Finance and the Comptroller General's Office in both English and French. This is a welcome relief from the universal lament that computer technology is dominated by English to the exclusion of French.

Anglophone and Francophone participation rates are virtually unchanged from last year, at 67% and 33%. We noted the same hierarchical imbalances as last year: 80% of senior managers are Anglophone while 54% of administrative support staff are Francophone. The Financial Officer group still has only seven Francophone employees out of 47 (15%), and the Scientific and Professional category four out of 35 (11%). These rates are clearly too low.

We received six complaints against Treasury Board Secretariat this year, four of which concerned unilingual English reception either in person or by telephone. A fifth complaint concerned a statistical report on access to information which was sent in English only. The last complaint, which is still under investigation, dealt with the use of audio-visual material in English only during an information session for public servants.

Veterans Affairs

The Department of Veterans Affairs is not in line for any linguistic medals this year. Advances on the fronts of language of service and information to employees were unfortunately off-set in part by a decline in the number of Francophones at headquarters in Charlottetown, and this could lead to future loss of ground in terms of language of work.

Some improvements in serving the public included increased bilingual telephone reception across Canada, a prerequisite to a consistent active offer of service, and a bilingual field officer in the Pacific region. However, the Department has still not conducted a nation-wide survey on the linguistic preferences of its clientele, as recommended in our 1983 audit. As a result, it lacks detailed knowledge of the preferred language of veterans and their families. The Department has 3,461 employees, about 150 less than last year. The proportion who meet the language requirements of their positions increased by 3% to 86.5%. Nevertheless, in some bilingual areas, Francophone veterans are still served in English. This is hardly surprising, considering for instance that only 70% of employees occupying bilingual positions in Ontario are linguistically qualified.

The participation rates of Anglophones and Francophones remain out of kilter. While 1,463 employees are Francophone, over 1,000 are employed at the Ste. Anne-de-Bellevue Hospital near Montreal. The proportion of Francophones at headquarters in Charlottetown dropped for the third year in a row, from 21% in 1982 to 13.8% this year. Clearly the Department will have to take firm measures to reverse this trend. Francophones are also under-represented in several regions; for example, there are nine Francophones of 336 employees in the Prairie Region, and 23 of 296 in the Atlantic Region. They are also under-represented in the Management and Administrative and Foreign Service categories, and Anglophones are under-represented in the Scientific and Professional, Technical and Operational categories.

One positive step the Department took was to hold information sessions on official languages with managers and employees at headquarters and in the regions. It also conducted an official languages audit this year, whose main recommendations dealt with a redefinition of the role and responsibilities of managers vis-à-vis official languages and the implementation of monitoring mechanisms to ensure that its official languages policy is respected. While the audit group developed a control and analysis system, as well as a planning module for official languages, a few specific suggestions in the language-of-work field might have been useful, as English is used overwhelmingly at headquarters.

We received two complaints against the Department in 1985, both of which concerned unilingual English telephone reception. One has been resolved. An additional complaint regarding a unilingual English visitor's register at the Dieppe cemetery was received against the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. The Department is presently investigating the matter.

It appears that the linguistic performance of the four associated agencies, the Canadian Pension Commission, Bureau of Pensions Advocates, War Veterans Allowance Board and Pension Review Board, has continued to improve. Next year we will conduct a systematic follow-up to our audits and will report on the situation in these agencies in more detail.

Via Rail*

Despite major changes at Via Rail in 1985, the Corporation was able to maintain its language performance in areas where it had made progress in previous years: program management, written communications with the public and bilingual work instruments. However, the absence of language clauses in collective agreements still hampers bilingual service to passengers.

The Corporation's official languages objectives are integrated with its management procedures. Its accomplishments this year included the fact that steps have been taken to ensure that it participates in Expo 86 in both languages and that language considerations still form part of its customer satisfaction surveys.

Although people may use either official language at Via Rail's information and telephone reservation service, it is an entirely different story for contact with employees at stations and on board trains *outside Quebec*. Francophone passengers are still too often obliged to speak the employee's language or, at stations, to obtain assistance by telephone through an interpreter — even in French-speaking areas of New Brunswick. However, correspondence, publications and signage are generally available in both languages.

Recent union-management talks, on which we had pinned high hopes, only resulted in the establishment of a joint committee to recommend measures acceptable to both sides for improving the availability of bilingual passenger services. We wonder how much longer passengers will have to wait before they can receive quality services in both official languages.

Via generally lived up to its language-of-work responsibilities quite honourably, particularly with respect to work instruments and internal technical and professional

training. The next challenge is to make French as much a language of work (drafting, supervision, meetings, etc.) as English, especially in establishments with a large number of Francophone employees.

Via Rail has 4,549 employees, 32.5% of whom are Francophones. The Francophone participation rate among station employees and train crews is 28.9%, and 42% for administrative staff. We should note, however, that the vast majority of administrative staff is concentrated in Quebec at head office and at Via Quebec, factors which partly explain the large number of Francophones in this category. In fact, 46.1% of executives (6 of 13), 34.2% of senior managers, 42.4% of middle managers and 62.9% of non-unionized administrative support staff are Francophone. However, 68 Francophones (6%) work for Via Ontario; 35 (3.5%) for Via West; and 152 (32.8%) for Via Atlantic. In Quebec, Via employs 713 Anglophones (36.8% of staff).

We received 30 complaints against Via Rail in 1985. Twenty-four concerned the lack of service in French on board trains and in stations, nine of which related to CN employees taking tickets and making announcements on trains on Via's behalf. Only two complaints involved trains operating in Quebec, in both cases on the Montreal-Toronto line.

As a result of Via's excellent co-operation, we were able to settle 17 complaints.

The Federal Machine: A House and Its Head

A recent critic charged that Canadian bilingualism is a sacred cow. "Many Canadians", he went on, "honestly believe that bilingualism is for real and in the long run will save the country from breaking up. . . Unfortunately, it is an illusion — and a costly one."[1] Such sweeping judgements may not stand up to close scrutiny, either on a factual or a judgmental basis, but their continued currency may help explain why governments and bureaucrats enjoy such a love-hate relationship with the official languages program and why, when the mood is on them, they have a tendency to go whoring after administrative novelties.

The state of our investment

A more objective review of the last 10 years or more of Canada's record in administering official bilingualism by no means reflects the unrelieved and costly failure of the sacred-cow theory. What it does quite often reflect is the lack of single-mindedness and continuity of application which this program's complex ambitions require. As we pointed out in our reply to the above criticism, those who may have thought that effective official bilingualism would be in place on some undifferentiated, coast-to-coast basis within the space of 15 years — and after 100 years of a rather different national language policy — are largely the victims of a self-created illusion. The sort of official bilingualism that we are actually interested in achieving is based on a perfectly practical recognition that there are millions of Canadians, in Quebec, New Brunswick, Ontario, Manitoba and you name it, who have been born into a bilingual or plurilingual situation that is none of their making, but who will certainly *choose* to use their own official language just as much as social circumstances and enlightened governments will allow. And this applies just as much to English-speaking Quebecers as to French-Canadians throughout the land.

To a steadily increasing extent, that is exactly what has been happening: opportunities for linguistic choice have been growing considerably; and we see no reason why Canadians should be ashamed of contributing to the upkeep of a milk-giving cow of that order. There are questions to be asked, but they are of a different kind. They boil down to two.

- Is our investment of financial and human resources to provide ourselves with useful linguistic choices really commensurate with the task, i.e. is the investment really big enough, in any sense, to make a decent job of it?

[1] Dr. Isaac Bar-Lewaw, York University, in an article published in the *Globe and Mail*, January 6, 1986.

- Taking into account the diversity of objectives and interests that are a necessary part of Canada's language reform program, is the investment well thought-through, well-structured, well-placed and well-maintained?

Such management questions seem to us to go to the heart of the "economics" of language reform in Canada, and if we are just a touch impatient with Government's lengthy cogitations on the subject of official languages administration, it is for two reasons. First, there is not all that much evidence that government officials have really been spending much thought on those broad questions, at least until rather late in the year; and second, the policies and practices already in place have not been pursued with as much consistency and vigour as the situation requires. This means that even our present investment is being less than ideally managed. Government has more than once declared its intention to "take measures" to improve delivery of federal services in the minority official languages. Bravo! Unfortunately, while it has been figuring out what they might be, a number of perfectly obvious measures that are already well enough defined within existing policies have tended to wither on the vine. The promise of jam tomorrow scarcely makes up for today's thinly spread peanut butter.

Throughout 1985 and, more particularly in its closing months, Government let it be known that, while generally sympathetic to the plight of the official-language minorities and to the view that language reform is the business of all sectors of Canadian society, its first order of business was to put the federal house in order. We concur. To that end, it undertook a process of reviewing and adjusting the official languages policies as well as the corresponding management processes.

Far be it from us to prejudge the outcomes of Government's review and adjustment process; what must, however, be of concern to Parliament and to Canadians is how much really happened in 1985 by way of administrative progress, and how much remained a rhetorical illusion and a promise of future goodies.

Illusions and Progress

Senior-level review and co-ordination

We readily confess that a full-scale review of both the framework and the moving parts of the program was an idea we canvassed in last year's Annual Report, along with the suggestion that some senior level policy co-ordination under the auspices of the Privy Council Office would not come amiss. It is also true that a committee of deputy ministers *was* struck last spring and continued to oversee the review process throughout the year. We wish we could also say that the labours of that committee (which perhaps did not meet with all the regularity one might have hoped) had succeeded in communicating, before the end of the year and to managers at large, a clearer idea of Government's operational priorities in this field. But that was not the case. Specific manifestations of a spirit of political renewal and national reconciliation in Canadian bilingualism were, alas, too few and too widely scattered to impress the hardened bureaucrat with any particular sense of public urgency. Such specific intentions as have been mentioned at various times by the President

of the Treasury Board[1] seem to have produced few material changes. As a result, one had the impression in 1985 that, for the moment, the forceful pursuit of official languages objectives had largely been confided to the linguocrats of Treasury Board, the Public Service Commission, the Secretary of State's Department and, of course, to individual federal institutions themselves, with orders to keep things moving as best they could but not to give way to paroxysms of zeal.

Central agency activities

In reporting the activities of central agencies with responsibility for official languages, it has to be remembered that they operate in an environment where many competing demands are being made on public servants, and within an atmosphere of general financial restraint and some uncertainty about future policy directions. Given those conditions, the central agencies went about their job pretty much as usual, trying to tighten some of the screws in the existing systems and to project the message that "the show goes on." Following are some of the highlights of their year's work.

- After conducting a 1984 telephone survey, Treasury Board held a major bull-session with regional managers in Winnipeg to have them produce action plans to correct the manifold deficiencies in French-language service in a city that has been designated bilingual.
- An 'envelope' system of control was applied to language training and translation as a means of sharpening the departmental sense of priorities.
- Visits were made to the management committees of 10 departments to discuss operational weaknesses, seek specific corrective plans, and give them an idea of changes that might be forthcoming in 1986.
- Various parties contributed to an in-depth review of the Official Languages Act.
- There were some notable improvements in building up the stock of Anglophone candidates for federal jobs in Quebec.
- Treasury Board reported some success in persuading subsidiaries of Crown corporations to abide by the principles of the Official Languages Act, at least where service to the public is concerned.
- A new official languages planning system for departments was developed, to be based on commitments set out in "letters of understanding" between the department and Treasury Board.
- A number of studies, audits, and meetings with departmental officials were conducted, to look at such topics as the use of imperative and non-imperative[1] staffing of bilingual positions, the development of linguistic performance indicators, the impact of English-based computer software on the use of French,

[1] Those intentions included: a policy to produce appropriate federal-provincial agreements in both official languages (done); acceleration of technical procedures to give all constitutional statutes equal value in both official languages (in progress); definition of uniform criteria of "significant demand" for language services (not yet in effect); adjustment of the access rules for language training to distinguish corporate needs from individual career aspirations (partly implemented); an 'envelope'-based control system for the use of translation (in place); and a review of the position identification process (no specific recommendations yet public).

[1] "Imperative" means that the successful candidate must be bilingual on appointment; "non-imperative" means that he or she need not necessarily be so.

and the definition of "significant demand" as the term is used in both the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom and the Act.

Much of this is both sensible and necessary as part of the ongoing process of applying the Act. It is, however, the stuff of a pretty average central-agency year. What it lacks, in our view, is the sort of drive and sense of overall direction and urgency which would reflect a major government priority and create some living space among the many competing bureaucratic considerations. It certainly does not strike us as an adequate answer to the two overriding questions we raised above.

The Cost of Operating in Two Languages

For those many Canadians who have been brought up to consider that Canadian bilingualism is nothing but an expensive boondoggle, it will probably seem more than usually quixotic on our part to be telling a government dedicated to doing "more with less" that the official languages program as a whole is probably *under* rather than *over*-funded. A 1985-86 budget of $250[1] million may not strike the reader as a particularly modest price for doing federal business in English and French, but as a proportion of public spending, total official languages expenditure has shrunk from 0.75 per cent in 1979-80 to slightly less than 0.50 per cent in 1985-86. And while it would be nice to think that politicial priorities and public funding enjoy a purely platonic relationship, everyone who knows anything in and about the Public Service understands the unsubtle semiotics of the dollar sign. The plain truth of those statistics is that, while government spending as a whole has increased over one hundred per cent in absolute figures in the last six years, total official languages spending, *including education*, has increased by only 30 per cent, or considerably less than the general cost-of-living index. We have always taken the position that there are some savings to be made by more efficient use of such necessary devices as translation, language training and even the beloved bonus, but only with a view to reapplying the money to better ends. It would be a major mistake to think that relatively picayune administrative trimming is, in itself, an adequate budgetary attitude to the situation in which the official languages program now finds itself.

Planning, Implementation, Monitoring and Accountability

The various program components on which those funds are spent — everything from translation, language training and central agency monitoring right down the publication of bilingual forms — are no different from any other federal, or indeed private-sector activity. They share the same basic administrative functions of planning, implementation, monitoring and accountability. To the extent that the policies themselves are sound, their impact and success are, in large measure, a reflection of these classical aspects of public administration.

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[1] Another $250 million of federal funding goes to the provinces to help finance minority-language and second-language education as well as assisting the minority-language groups.

Planning and Implementation

The general structure of Government's planning approach to the "operationalization" of the Official Languages Act has not changed dramatically in the dozen or so years since Treasury Board, through its Official Languages Branch, assumed overall responsibility for managing the program within the federal administration, although there has been a steady trend toward the decentralization of responsibilities. True, the Board has not as yet been able to bring many Crown corporations, which represent about half of the federal Public Service, into line with its own management systems, but its writ has been a powerful one with respect to the roughly 70 institutions for which it is the employer. The Public Service Commission, the Department of Justice and the Privy Council Office have also had some say in matters touching their responsibility — staffing, amendments to the Act, general co-ordination, and so on — but, when you come right down to it, whatever honour or ignominy attaches to Government's management performance in this area must lie squarely at Treasury Board's door.

It is our contention, supported by the evidence presented in Parts II and III of this Report, that that performance has become increasingly non-interventionist in recent years, and that this is reflected — even from the Board's own audits and studies — in, for example, Government's relative failure:

- to raise the availability of bilingual service from all bilingual offices in bilingual regions to a standard of reliability across institutions that could be fully consistent with Canadians' constitutional and legal right to be actively offered service in either official language;

- to act in any marked or decisive way to enforce its own language of work policy or to follow through on the recommendations of our own 1982 study on that subject;[1]

- to develop a general strategy for tackling the four or five problems of equitable participation (senior management, Anglophones in Quebec, etc.) which have featured annually in our Report since at least 1980;

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[1] Specifically, we recommended that:

"in addition to raising the second-language requirements of bilingual supervisory positions, Treasury Board direct that all federal institutions under its control develop a language-of-work plan which spells out in detail:

- steps to complete implementation of the basic organizational arrangements (bilingual supervision, documentation, etc.) by no later than December, 1984;
- the normal communication requirements for (a) senior management meetings; (b) internal working groups; (c) communications with predominantly Francophone units; (d) submission of project documents; and (e) all aspects of written and oral supervision;
- in-house arrangements whereby Anglophone and Francophone public servants collaborate in fostering each other's use of French (e.g. specialized functional training, mixed-teams, partner-systems, etc.);
- the ways in which the institution will monitor and report on the results of both organizational and collaborative arrangements for increasing the use of the minority official language;" and that:
- "a straightforward guide to all senior managers be developed and put at their disposal, outlining ways in which they can effectively change the language-of-work environment in the National Capital Region and other bilingual regions by setting a consistent example and seeing that it is followed; and
- federal institutions that have not already done so inaugurate in-house sessions (a) among Francophones; (b) among bilingual Anglophones; and (c) with both groups together to develop a team approach to upgrading and increasing the use of French in all forms of work and social contacts."

- to even present to Parliament and the Canadian people a detailed and, to the extent bureaucratically possible, critical analysis of the entire process of implementing the Act and the extent to which that process is meeting both its spirit and intent.

In short, we regret to say that the Board seems to us too little a force to be reckoned with as far as *active promotion and organization* of language reform within the federal apparatus is concerned. The more so, if one remembers that the Board was given the lead responsibility in this area precisely because of its unique position for making itself heard. For what it may be worth, the Official Languages Branch of the Treasury Board Secretariat has been gradually declining in size and importance for the last seven or eight years, and, while that is not intrinsically inconsistent with greater efficiency, it has very much coincided with the emphasis on a low-profile, 'let the managers manage', decentralized approach to linguistic problem-solving. But even decentralization should not preclude either a promotional stance to the program or a severely critical monitoring eye. Not to put too fine a point on it, Treasury Board is no longer at the leading edge of reform. Its action plan for fulfilling the official language rights and obligations prescribed by the Constitution and the Official Languages Act often appears to boil down to two or three points:

- minimize, for government and public consumption, those aspects of the implementation process which fall short of any normal definition of adequacy;
- turn all the house-cleaning and home improvement duties over to departmental managers; and
- try to ensure accountability and progress through general monitoring of departmental official languages plans and reports, a certain amount of number-crunching, some policy-compliance audits, and giving an occasional deputy head what is supposed to be a *mauvais quart d'heure* before Treasury Board ministers.

Departments and agencies themselves, meanwhile, have been pressed "to simplify and integrate" their official languages functions within other standard administrative functions, thus, in theory, freeing the official languages director to act more as a freelance policy advisor and promoter of innovative methods. However, the experience of 1985 tends to confirm what we suspected when this approach was first canvassed in 1982-83, namely that there are more things in heaven and language reform than are encompassed by your average MBA course. It is true, as we have pointed out above, that certain aspects of this program (particularly its service and participation requirements) *are* by way of becoming part of the normal bureaucratic mores of enlightened public servants. But it is equally or more true that the official languages program, in general: is a rather more integral and important aspect of effective "public service" than, shall we say, information processing, records management or many other routine administrative concerns; is often one of the first things to get lost in the bureaucratic shuffle when lumped in with all the other administrative demands on operational managers; and is still in sore need of promotion, co-ordination and close, critical scrutiny.

Monitoring and accountability

It is hard to say with precision what the effects of "simplification and integration" have been on program outputs, although overall progress in 1984 and 1985 hardly bears out the thesis that productivity would either increase or at least be maintained

under a system in which official languages was "de-specialized", if we may coin a term. In order for it to do so, it seems reasonable to presume that "integrated" operational managemert of the program will work best if public servants are kept aware that both their efforts and their accountability in these matters are being closely monitored. So far as we can ascertain, however, there were relatively few extraordinary efforts by Treasury Board, or by a majority of departments, to check that official languages concerns were receiving their due in local operations in 1985.

Official languages and internal audit

To test our hypothesis that gradual integration of official languages auditing into the general process of internal auditing common to all federal institutions was better in theory than in practice, we carried out a study of our own in 1985, covering 27 departments and Crown corporations, to see how much language auditing is done and whether those who do it are appropriately equipped. We also tried to find out what directives departments and agencies may have received from Treasury Board, the Comptroller General or other audit agencies in the matter of linguistic auditing.

Interviews with internal auditors in departments and agencies, as well as with responsible officials in central agencies such as Treasury Board, the Auditor General, the Comptroller General and the Audit Service Bureau of Supply and Services, led us to the following general findings:

- official languages issues are seldom specified in the audit policies of individual institutions and are generally given a low priority in their audit plans;
- there is, on the whole, even less linguistic auditing done in Crown corporations than in departments;
- some internal audit groups do not have enough bilingual auditors, and the language preferences of auditees are not automatically respected in the audit process; and
- while the central agencies have taken some significant steps to promote more official languages auditing, stronger guidelines are still required in such documents as the Comptroller General's "Standards for Internal Audit in the Government of Canada".

It was our overall conclusion that internal auditors are not always well placed or well equipped to carry out linguistic audits, and, even if they were, there are significant deficiencies in the audit guidelines provided by some central agencies in this regard.

Adjusting the Machinery

In our *1984 Annual Report* we made a number of general and specific recommendations for improving the planning and evaluation of official languages management across Government. By our calculation, out of a total of some 55 recommendations, less than a quarter were fully or promptly acted upon in 1985. Among the recommendations which were picked up was the proposal that the central agencies undertake a general review of the machinery for applying the Act. They have done so and are expected to present their administrative options before very long. The fact remains that, whatever measures may have been canvassed, relatively few have

been taken, which means that the issues we raised last year — about the deployment, language abilities and first official language of employees in bilingual jobs, for instance — are still with us and still awaiting an appropriate response.

Rather than reiterate last year's observations and recommendations on the various support systems whereby language reform is managed in the Public Service (see pp. 165-168 of our Annual Report for 1984), we will limit ourselves here to a statistical comparison of the 1985 situation with that of 1979.

Language requirements of positions

The federal system of specifying for each and every job in the Public Service whether it requires a knowledge of either official language or of both has been in place for 12 years now. Some of the tables below also illustrate how this position-identification system *interacts* in significant ways, not only with program objectives like service to the public or equitable participation, but also with other systems like imperative staffing, language training or even translation. This is not a new observation. Its importance lies in the fact that *bits* of the overall management system tend to affect the two language groups, both outside and inside the Public Service, in different ways, for reasons that may be sociologically explicable but which may not strike the casual observer as the epitome of "equality". Let us bring the reader up to date on present trends.

Table III.1

Language requirements of occupied positions in the Public Service, by major geographic region, 1979 and 1985

Region		Bilingual		English-essential		French-essential		Either/or		Total	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
West and	1979	628	1.1	64,107	38.2	26	0.1	20	0.1	64,781	24.0
North	1985	1,321	2.1	51,403	38.4	8	0.1	27	0.2	52,759	23.5
Ontario	1979	2,064	3.7	52,939	31.6	113	0.4	601	3.8	55,717	20.7
	1985	2,591	4.1	33,205	24.8	27	0.2	332	3.0	36,155	16.1
National	1979	34,645	62.2	23,582	14.1	2,297	7.5	13,382	84.7	73,906	27.4
Capital Region	1985	40,139	62.9	24,097	18.1	824	5.1	9,674	86.3	74,734	33.2
Quebec	1979	16,166	29.0	302	0.2	28,054	91.6	394	2.5	44,916	16.6
	1985	16,117	25.2	122	0.1	15,175	94.4	485	4.3	31,899	14.2
New	1979	1,773	3.2	5,108	3.0	100	0.3	1,234	7.8	8,215	3.0
Brunswick	1985	2,548	3.9	4,531	3.4	35	0.2	456	4.1	7,570	3.4
Other	1979	462	0.8	21,574	12.9	27	0.1	172	1.1	22,235	8.3
Atlantic Provinces	1985	1,135	1.8	20,359	15.2	8	0.1	238	2.1	21,740	9.6
Total	**1979**	**55,738**	**100.0**	**167,612**	**100.0**	**30,617**	**100.0**	**15,803**	**100.0**	**269,770**	**100.0**
	1985	**63,851**	**100.0**	**133,717**	**100.0**	**16,077**	**100.0**	**11,212**	**100.0**	**224,857**	**100.0**

Source: Official Languages Information System, March 1979 and December 1985.

Table III.2

Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone public servants by language requirements of positions, by major geographic region, 1979 and 1985

		Bilingual		English-essential		French-essential		Either/or	
Region	Year	Anglo-phone	Franco-phone	Anglo-phone	Franco-phone	Anglo-phone	Franco-phone	Anglo-phone	Franco-phone
West and	1979	75	25	99	1	8	92	100	0
North	1985	63	37	99	1	13	87		4
Ontario	1979	70	30	99	1	11	89	69	31
	1985	58	42	98	2	7	93	69	31
National	1979	55	45	92	8	6	94	66	34
Capital Region	1985	48	52	92	8	3	97	67	33
Quebec	1979	11	89	90	10	3	97	30	70
	1985	9	91	84	16	2	98	15	85
New	1979	52	48	95	5	23	77	64	36
Brunswick	1985	36	63	94	6	6	94	63	37
Other	1979	75	25	99	1	35	65	77	23
Atlantic Provinces	1985	61	39	99	1	13	87	68	32

Source: Official Languages Information System, 1979 and December 1985.[1]

Table III.3

Occupants of, and appointees to, bilingual positions, by first official language, 1979, 1984 and 1985

	1979				1984				1985			
	Anglophones		Francophones		Anglophones		Francophones		Anglophones		Francophones	
A. All Regions	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Occupants	23,156	44	29,633	56	24,524	39	38,662	61	24,671	39	39,219	61
Appointees	7,048	40	10,703	60	5,788	33	11,749	67	4,188	37	7,010	63
B. National Capital Region												
Occupants	18,530	55	15,110	45	19,379	48	20,810	52	19,294	48	20,845	52
Appointees	5,730	50	5,746	50	4,653	40	6,910	60	not yet available			

[1] Includes determinate and indeterminate positions.

Source: Occupants: Official Languages Information System, 1979 and December 1984 and 1985; appointments: Public Service Commission.

Table III.1 reflects changes in the regional distribution of Bilingual, English-essential, French-essential and Either/or positions over the last six years. Even when allowances are made for the overall decline in Public Service numbers, owing in part to Canada Post's becoming a Crown corporation, the relative growth or decline in the four categories is striking, as is its regional breakdown. Bilingual positions are the big growth stock, most markedly in the National Capital Region. Unilingual positions of all descriptions have declined almost everywhere, but most notably in the English-essential category in Ontario and in the French-essential in Quebec. Some small gains in bilingual positions outside New Brusnwick, Quebec and Ontario still leave total bilingual capacity in the other provinces below the 2,500-position mark.

Given the rather odd distribution of the various types of position, one might suspect, and rightly, that the designation of positions has something to do with the availability of employees with the desired characteristics, as distinct from linguistic needs in the abstract. This suspicion tends to be confirmed by Table III.2, which shows changes in the distribution of the two language groups in the Public Service (excluding Crown corporations) since 1979 in relation to position types.

When these data are examined more closely on a regional basis, a number of curiosities emerge:

- in the West, a substantial number of Francophones continue to work in English-essential positions while more than half the *bilingual* positions are occupied by Anglophones, who have presumably received language training;
- Anglophones in Quebec have a diminished share of all kinds of positions, *including* those identified as English-essential.

Occupants and appointments

Table III.3 updates last year's table on this subject and shows that the trends we noted in 1984 have changed only slightly. We are not aware of any official reaction to these trends thus far, but we would expect to see some account taken of them in Government's eventual statement of revised policies and procedures.

Language training

Last year we commented on the fact that a surprisingly small proportion of the occupants of bilingual positions seem to owe their second-language skills to prolonged periods of publicly funded language training, and we wondered to what extent such intensive — and expensive — training was capable of making public servants, particularly Anglophones, genuinely and competitively bilingual. No doubt this and other questions related to the accessibility and productivity of language training are also being scrutinized as part of the general review exercise. In 1985, the language training machine underwent only minor adjustments and its statistical outputs remained generally comparable with those of recent years (see Table III.4). In June, however, the President of the Treasury Board let it be known that Government was examining the possibility of privatizing a sizeable part of the training task and that the load itself would be more critically defined. Whether this will actually increase either the relevance or the productivity of the operation one can only guess at this point, but the premises strike us as reasonable.

Two things catch the eye in this table. The first is that a rapidly diminishing proportion of Public Service language training is of the intensive, continuous kind reserved for top-priority candidates, and, as a result, lower-priority and volunteer candidates have been taking up the slack. The second is that while the success rate for continuous

Table III.4

Numbers of public servants enrolled in continuous and other forms of language training and numbers who qualified at the required level, 1983, 1984 and 1985

	Continuous language training			Other forms of language training
Year	Number enrolled	Number tested at required level	Number successful at required level	Number enrolled
1983	3,229	1,768	1,712	8,978
1984	2,717	1,590	1,544	9,908
1985	2,208	1,251	1,200	14,846

Source: Public Service Commission.

trainees who are *tested* is always over 95 per cent, for reasons unexplained less than 60 per cent of these trainees are *presented for testing*. How many of the many thousands of public servants who have been in *other* forms of training do more than pad the ranks of the passively bilingual remains equally obscure. We do not know what confidential analyses are made available to the managers of these programs, but the data that are made public are just enough to arouse misgivings.

Language testing

New second-language tests came into effect in October 1984, and, after their first full year in operation, they appear to have met with a high degree of acceptance among employees tested. Among those sampled, only about 2 or 3 per cent of candidates had a negative perception of some aspect of the new tests. At the same time, there is no gainsaying the fact that the higher the level of second-language proficiency required, the more the success rates of the two language groups diverges. Whereas, at the elementary or 'A' level, both Anglophones and Francophones succeed at a rate around 90 per cent, at the advanced or 'C' level, Anglophone success drops below 60 per cent while Francophone success remains close to 85 per cent. There is no reason to suppose this is other than a fair reflection of the inter-linguistic realities of the Public Service, but its impact on the kind of "institutional bilingualism" we are building will bear watching.

Translation

Successive governments have been concerned for some years to contain the apparently relentless increases in the use and costs of translation. The introduction in 1985 of an envelope system, whereby departments and agencies that feel compelled to go beyond the prescribed limit for translation must make a special submission, seems to have had a sobering effect on users. Since translation, necessary as it may be, is still to a considerable extent used as an aid to bilingual employees who need to draft in their second official language, we also note with encouragement that quite a few departments are now providing a revision facility to those who are prepared to take the initial plunge in their second language. The following table presents a statistical overview of developments in translation since 1981.

Table III.5

Volume and cost of translation and interpretation in the Public Service, 1981-82 to 1985-86

Items		1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85
Cost of translation					
• Number of words translated	(000's)	276,000	260,000	290,000	268,000
• Average cost per word	(¢)	20.92	24.79	23.31	25.24
• Total	**($000)**	**57,781**	**64,458**	**67,562**	**67,687**
Cost of interpretation					
• Number of interpreter days		13,178	13,246	14,181	13,536
• Cost per interpreter day	($)	370.42	412.73	446.79	469.62
• Total	**($000)**	**4,882**	**5,467**	**6,336**	**6,357**
GRAND TOTAL	**($000)**	**62,663**	**69,925**	**73,898**	**74,944**

Source: Secretary of State.

The pattern which we discern in the data tabulated above is that the volume of translation and interpretation is being held back or curtailed while their unit costs either edge or jump upward. Since Government's raw need for these services is probably continuing to grow, this throttling back effect might, over time, seriously affect either their responsiveness or their quality or both. Once again, we urge Government to distinguish carefully between budgeting principles that improve efficiency and those which may damage the prompt and effective implementation of the Act.

Bilingual bonus

The President of the Treasury Board announced last spring that the bilingualism bonus would be a subject of discussion with the public service unions concerned, but there has been no further announcement on its fate.

PART IV

The Minority Challenge

Minorities Colloquium: Face to Face

Some 20 years ago, Canada embarked on a language reform whose principal goals were to create a bilingual public service and to protect the official-language minorities. That reform remains incomplete. The survival and, even more so, the development of the official-language minorities are far from being assured. Even if the new climate of co-operation that appears to have emerged in recent years between Canada's two majorities offers some hope for improving the lot of the minority communities, fundamental problems persist that require firm action by all concerned.

In our last Report, we analysed the critical situation faced by these communities and suggested general ways in which the various levels of government could do something concrete to help them, within their respective jurisdictions. As a next step, we thought it important to offer representatives of such groups a forum where they could express their vision of Canada and their expectations. The Office therefore organized the first national colloquium on the French- and English-speaking minorities in the National Capital last October 17 to 19. Taking as its theme "The Minorities: Time for Solutions"[1], its aims were: to give representatives of the various minority groups an opportunity to better define their common interests; to analyse the shortcomings of existing official language programs; and, finally, to explore ways of creating an environment more conducive to their development. More than a hundred prominent men and women, including representatives of the major provincial minority-language associations, took part.

The colloquium

In their official messages, the Governor General and the Prime Minister stressed several key points in understanding the difficulties encountered by minorities in an officially bilingual country. The Governor General described the situation this way:

> The problem of Canada's minorities is a concern that cannot be addressed by legislation alone. It requires the consensus of Canadians and the will to devise solutions which will bring justice and fairness to this strategic area of our society.

[1] The proceedings of the colloquium were published in March 1986 in a special issue of our magazine *Language and Society*.

The Prime Minister's message was in the same vein: while it is essential that language rights be based on legal and constitutional foundations, community and cultural development are "a truly joint endeavour" requiring the co-operation of both levels of government and all interested parties.

Unfulfilled hopes

Participants started from the observation that language reform had not succeeded. Fifteen years after implementation of a program to establish linguistic equality in the federal apparatus, the official-language minorities are still declining and are often the first to fall victim to jurisdictional squabbles or poor planning. At the same time, as the Honourable Gérard Pelletier noted in his speech, "we have come a long way", and it is important to acknowledge that certain programs have met with some success. In all honesty, however, the need to examine the requirements of all minority groups systematically, as the B and B Commission suggested, has not produced a political, judicial or administrative grounds well, even though the federal authorities have endorsed the principles involved. As a result, in the words of the President of the *Fédération des Francophones hors Québec* (FFHQ), Mr. Gilles Le Blanc, the linguistic partnership is still an "undertaking in trouble", at least from the minority perspective.

As was to be expected, a first meeting between language groups with different histories, situations, concerns and needs gave rise, especially in the beginning, to some reservations and required a number of clarifications. A clear distinction had to be drawn between the English-speaking communities, which are often fairly well off and have access to considerable institutional support, and the French-speaking communities, most of which are less well provided for. It was agreed that the most urgent task was to provide immediate help to those whose need is greatest.

While acknowledging the special nature of the problems facing Francophone minorities, Alliance Quebec and other English-speaking associations pointed out that they, too, face real problems. As Joan Fraser, editorial writer for *The Gazette*, aptly noted: "there is still, in some quarters, a certain sense that because English Quebecers have more than Francophones outside Quebec, a little injustice to them does not really matter somehow. But injustice is contagious." The participants also focussed on several issues of vital importance to all minorities: the constitutional separation of powers; Quebec's key role vis-à-vis Francophones outside Quebec; and the need to adapt programs designed for the majority to the specific needs of the minorities. Is there some common denominator for both minority groups? The answer is to be found in the common synthesis presented at the end of the colloquium by the presidents of the FFHQ and Alliance Quebec, a summary of which appears as an appendix to this Report.

Proposals

The proposals submitted by participants can be generally summarized as follows:

- a national development plan should be prepared to ensure that the rights of official-language minorities are recognized and respected throughout Canada;
- the efforts of various federal institutions should be better co-ordinated, and there should be more sustained co-operation between the Federal Government and provincial governments, voluntary organizations and the private sector;

- the mandates of the Commissioner's Office and the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Official Languages should be reaffirmed, and their activities, especially as spokespersons for the minorities vis-à-vis various government authorities, diversified;
- there exists a need for political will and majority support in defining a national approach to the development of the minorities;
- various activities, such as community radio, federal advertising in the minority-language press, self-help among the communities and the upgrading of existing means of support, should be actively pursued.

Participants unanimously stressed the importance of all federal institutions accepting their responsibilities toward the minorities and for the various official languages programs of the Department of the Secretary of State to be better co-ordinated. Léo LeTourneau, former President of the FFHQ, noted that "it is now vital that the entire federal apparatus accept responsibility for language reform as its own." Everyone agreed that development of a detailed plan would enable in-depth examination of the administrative choices open to government, and that specific centres of responsibility and co-ordination mechanisms on official minority issues should be established both at the federal and provincial levels. Quebec's MLA for Argenteuil, Mr. Claude Ryan (now Minister of Education), put it this way: "if we opt for linguistic duality, we must accept that it cannot exist at the top of the building alone; it must exist at all levels of the social structure".

Turning their attention to legal matters, participants seemed to agree on the need to broaden the constitutional guarantees to our minorities. The point was made that anomalies in the wording and implementation of section 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms with respect to minority-language education should be cleared up immediately. Ontario's adherence to section 133 of the Constitution Act, 1867 (or its equivalent), and the granting, both in Ontario and Quebec, of minority language guarantees were also considered top priorities. As Mr. Michael Goldbloom, President of Alliance Quebec, said, "protection of minority-language rights must reside in the most secure home available in a democratic society — in the Constitution, where those rights are beyond the reach of any single majority."

It was also argued that the private sector and voluntary organizations must be persuaded to recognize minority needs in tangible ways. Participants further stressed the importance of significantly enlarging the scope of official-language information and promotion programs aimed at the majorities. As Mr. Le Blanc explained:

> It is important to try to implement the *spirit* of the Official Languages Act, to demystify the notion of bilingualism, to calm apprehensions and change mentalities. No law or court decision can replace such indispensable "changes from within".
>
> To succeed, implementation of official bilingualism must not allow either language group to lose sight of the profound aims which inspired it. The "why" of concrete measures is just as important as the "how". This assumes that each group involved can negotiate in a peaceful and logical way, come to terms with those who think differently, and display tolerance and understanding. Progress will be measured by the degree of respect accorded to others.

Common synthesis

As the colloquium drew to a close, representatives of the *Fédération des Francophones hors Québec*, Alliance Quebec and various member associations developed a common synthesis[1] and undertook to work together to achieve three objectives: (1) to promote federal-provincial co-operation on behalf of the minorities; (2) to encourage the private sector to become more actively involved in language reform; and (3) to meet again with the Prime Minister to discuss a program of renewal.

Throughout the three-day colloquium, it was clear that everyone had a keen desire to establish a solid basis for language rights and develop defences to protect those rights. It was, however, acknowledged that serious statutory inequalities exist between the Francophone and Anglophone minorities.

Tongue in cheek, one speaker observed that the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (sub-section 16(3)) does not limit the "power of Parliament or the legislature to encourage the equal status or use of French and English". But this invitation has gone unanswered and we still await language reform plans, just as in the past we waited in vain for the various levels of government to get together and implement the provisions of the Official Languages Act on bilingual districts.

Secretary of State

Speaking at the closing dinner, Secretary of State Benoît Bouchard indicated that he had taken careful note of participants' demands. He listed five areas in which he intended to take action:

- more vigorous supervision and co-ordination of federal initiatives;
- more concrete co-operation with provincial governments in efforts to increase available services;
- closer association with the Government of Quebec to take advantage of Quebec's renewed desire to assist Francophones in the rest of Canada;
- involvement of the private and voluntary sectors in support of national official languages objectives; and
- increased emphasis on second-language instruction.

The Secretary of State concluded by stating that the Canadian Government intended to continue to "play a leadership role in the language reform process".

The quest for solutions

Following the colloquium, we felt that all Canadians ought to realize the urgent need for an immediate and co-ordinated offensive; otherwise, the solution we are all seeking, a fair, realistic and mutually beneficial bilingual regime such as the Commissioner described during the opening ceremonies, might come too late. Promoting language reform means competing with a host of other political, economic and social concerns. The President of the *Fédération des Acadiens de la Nouvelle-Écosse*, Mr. Ben Samson, commented:

> The troubled economy obliges all of us to make choices, but need these choices cast doubt on the very identity of Canada? We are not talking about philosophical principles, but about men and women desperately struggling for their linguistic and cultural survival.

[1] See Appendix D.

The press and electronic media — at least in Eastern Canada — gave the colloquium good coverage in news reports and editorials. Our Office also distributed a summary of the proceedings to participants, politicians and federal and provincial public administrators. Publications for more general distribution were also produced. The Commissioner intends to maintain close contact with government authorities and the associations involved, particularly representatives of the *Fédération des Francophones hors Québec* and Alliance Quebec, who share the vital task of making the majorities aware of the minorities' plight.

But it is the Canadian Government which remains the main actor and leader in the language reform process, and which is best able to co-ordinate the efforts of all involved. In the words of the Associate Dean of Law at the University of Ottawa, Mr. Michel Bastarache: "It is imperative that the Government of Canada adopt a coherent, clear and easily understandable official-language policy, whose implementation is the responsibility of all concerned." The time for solutions is now.

Minority News: Stayin' Alive

While economic development and job creation certainly have much to do with Canada's prosperity and unity, a nation's vitality depends on a host of other factors as well. As noted in the lengthy report of the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada (the Macdonald Commission), published last September, "Our institutional arrangements must be both true to our evolving concepts of ourselves as a people and useful for the collective tasks we have taken on and will take on in the future."

The Macdonald Commission

In the Commissioners' view, Francophones outside Quebec face a crisis. In general, language reform efforts so far "clearly fall somewhat short of true equality". Canada must take a second look at its linguistic duality if it is to provide Anglophones and Francophones with equal development opportunities.

> In general, the harmonious co-existence of French- and English-speaking Canadians, which would include appropriate institutional and constitutional recognition, requires effort at three levels. First, there must be recognition of the essential role played by the Government of Quebec in cultivating a flourishing French-speaking majority population. Secondly, the national government must reflect Canada's linguistic duality in its overall operations. Thirdly, Canada as a whole, in both its national and its provincial dimensions, must be responsive to, and supportive of, the official-language minorities, Francophone outside Quebec and Anglophone within.

The Commission also recommended that Ontario recognize English and French as official languages and thus set an example for other provinces. In addition, it endorsed the idea of establishing multi-purpose centres where Francophones could work and take part in educational and cultural activities in their own language.

While the Commission paid only fleeting attention to Quebec's English-speaking minority, who, quite justifiably, voiced their displeasure, it clearly identified the critical situation facing Francophones outside Quebec. Like us, those principally concerned already felt that little progress had been made in minority-majority relations. But the fact that a Commission of such scope — one that had carefully probed our society and institutions — confirmed our fears is something that should make all Canadians stop and think. If we wish to realize the noble ideals enshrined in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the federal government must significantly increase its moral and financial help to the minorities.

Research on Francophone communities outside Quebec

Although our minorities have long been fighting for institutional and social structures adapted to their needs, relatively little research has been done to support and guide their action. For this reason, the *Fédération des Francophones hors Québec* held a colloquium in November 1984 on the state of research on Francophone minorities. Its purpose was to pinpoint gaps and determine fields of research likely to contribute to minority community development. The proceedings of the colloquium, published in 1985, clearly show that little is known about the means at their disposal to intervene at the political level and, in the absence of case studies, about the causes underlying the success or failure of their initiatives. One of the principal recommendations made at the colloquium was to create a multi-disciplinary research network. Named "Alouette", the network will have six chapters (Moncton, Ottawa, Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton and Vancouver), and members will meet annually at the congress of the *Association canadienne-française pour l'avancement des sciences*.

As reported below, some progress was made in 1985 on the judicial and institutional fronts. The legal issues are analysed in greater detail in Part I, Chapter 2.

Ontario

The Bovey Report on the future of Ontario's universities, released in December 1984, showed that access to universities for Franco-Ontarians is still a serious problem. Their rate of participation in university studies is 50 per cent lower than that of non-Francophones, a fact that is attributed to their having fewer opportunities to pursue secondary studies in French. Moreover, a study by the *Conseil de l'éducation franco-ontarienne* (Stacey Churchill *et al.*), published in November, confirmed our worst fears: "The nearly total absence of programs in French in the scientific, technological, industrial and commercial fields, both in community colleges and universities, prevents today's Franco-Ontarians from participating on an equal footing in Canada's economic and social future."[1]

With respect to primary and secondary education, the same study revealed that, until 1968, Franco-Ontarians were six times less likely to reach grade 13 than non-Francophones. Despite some progress since then, the Conseil believes that mixed schools have a negative influence on Franco-Ontarian schooling and demands their outright abolition. It also recommends a series of corrective measures, including the creation of regional homogeneous French-language school boards. Needless to say, we whole-heartedly support these proposals.

Announced in December, the decision of the Ontario Ministry of Education to create a homogeneous Francophone school board in Ottawa-Carleton was welcome news. However, for other regions, the Minister of Education advocates Francophone representation on existing boards.

Franco-Ontarian schooling

Last May, the *Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario* published the findings of a study entitled *Les Francophones tels qu'ils sont : regard sur le monde du travail franco-ontarien* (Francophones as they really are: a view of the Franco-Ontarian

[1] *Churchill, Frenette and Quazi, Éducation et besoins des Franco-Ontariens : le diagnostic d'un système d'éducation*, November 1985, vol. 2, p. 27. (*Education and Franco-Ontarian needs: diagnosis of an education system*; our translation.)

work world). The statistics gave no cause for rejoicing. Some 31 per cent of Francophones between the ages of 25 and 64 have less than eight years of schooling and may be considered functionaly illiterate. Unfortunately, while the reasons for this deplorable situation are well known, solutions are less obvious. Not only must objectives be defined and means found to ensure effective French-language education, but the necessary resources must also be considerably increased.

We cannot avoid juxtaposing the findings of these studies with the question of Franco-Ontarians' right to manage their own schools. A lot of water will probably have to flow under the bridge before any legislation on this matter is enacted. In the meantime, the situation provokes a deep uneasiness, despite some glimmers of hope. The disturbing opposition of a good many people to the establishment of a homogeneous Francophone school board in Prescott-Russell clearly shows how far Franco-Ontarians are from enjoying the security and guarantees for the future to which our minority groups should be entitled.

Shortage of Francophone professionals

This year, the Social Planning Council of Ottawa-Carleton published a study entitled *Francophone Professionals in Social and Health Services in Ontario.* In 1982, the Council published a preliminary report, complete with statistics, on the shortage of Francophone professionals in these sectors. This shortage, as one might expect, limits the availability of French-language services. While noting some progress, the Council continues to argue that more Francophone pharmacists, dentists, audiologists, speech therapists and doctors are needed. Its aims include the creation of an all-French nursing sciences program at the University of Ottawa and a master's program in social work and social services administration. One thing is certain: without a sustained effort to train more health care specialists, the French-language community will have to continue to put up with unreliable service in French.

Now for some good news. Ontario's Attorney General announced in November that all Ontario courts would soon recognize the right of Francophones to be tried in their language. At the same time, the Minister of Community and Social Services unveiled the major points of a policy designed to improve, not only the French-language services provided by his Ministry, but also those provided by para-public and voluntary agencies like the Children's Aid Society. Such organizations must henceforth review their structures, evaluate the needs of Franco-Ontarians and encourage them to participate more fully in their activities. Particularly in designated regions, ministerial staff and subsidized agencies will have to be capable of providing both spoken and written services in French, and the availability of such services will have to be clearly indicated on bilingual or French-language signs. Finally, a federal-provincial agreement, concluded in September, will enable TVOntario to establish a French-language network early in 1987 with 70 hours of programming weekly.

Official bilingualism

One of the highlights of 1985 was the adoption last August by the Association of Municipalities of Ontario of a proposal in favour of official bilingualism in Ontario. The proposal received public and whole-hearted support from the Commissioner and the Prime Minister of Canada, who has never hesitated to take a stand on this issue. Unfortunately, the proposal has not yet been translated into action. There can be little doubt that the issue of official bilingualism in Ontario gives rise to considerable opposition. A survey conducted in February, 1984, but made public in October, 1985, showed that 75 per cent of Ontarians were then opposed to the establishment of official bilingualism in their province. Paradoxically, 72 per cent of respondents were

in favour of enacting a law to guarantee the availability of French-language services in areas where numbers warrant. Late in 1985, the Government of Ontario was drafting legislation along these lines and intends to re-evaluate the effectiveness of existing French-language services. In our opinion, enacting legislation to guarantee the provision of French services in the near future would be an important step toward officially recognizing the equal status of both languages. All that remains to be done is to confirm in law a situation that already exists in fact.[1]

To conclude, we should note that the third "Francophone Week" was held in Toronto last September with more than one hundred groups taking part. This event gains in popularity and prestige each year and clearly contributes to improving the status of French in Ontario's capital. We might also mention that several federal departments participated and demonstrated their ability to offer French services in Toronto.

Because of such progress, the future for Franco-Ontarians appears brighter now than it has been for some time. A small opening has been breached in the wall of opposition to recognizing French as an official language. We now have some cause to hope that a growing tolerance, together with the efforts of the Francophone minority itself, will carry the day in the not-too-distant future.

Quebec

The official-language challenge facing Quebec is unlike any other in Canada. It must protect and promote the development of French within its borders, assist the French-speaking minorities elsewhere in Canada (without interfering in the affairs of other provinces) and ensure that the longstanding rights of its English-speaking minority are respected.

For several years, there was a strong temptation in Quebec to abandon the Francophone minorities outside the province to their fate and to allow English-speaking Quebecers no more than the linguistic minimum. But ordinary Quebecers, followed by their leaders, soon came back to the sense of fairness and generosity they have traditionally displayed toward both these groups. Quebecers are growing increasingly confident of their linguistic and cultural vitality, despite the dangers some see in demographic trends, the predominance of English in the computer field or the fact that language transfers are generally favourable to English. This confidence has enabled Quebec to be more considerate of the difficulties and the legitimate demands of its official-language minority. Various public opinion polls confirm that Quebecers are more receptive to the recognition of minority language rights than other Canadians. The Canadian Facts survey commissioned by our Office, for instance, showed that French-speaking Quebecers generally support the provision of English-language services: in education (91 per cent), hospitals (91 per cent), post offices (87 per cent), and large stores (84 per cent). Anglophones in other provinces seem less supportive of the minority language; the proportions in favour of providing the above services in French were 71, 68, 58 and 43 per cent respectively.

[1] On January 8, 1986, the Ontario Cabinet agreed in principle to the proposals of the Minister of Municipal Affairs and the Minister responsible for Francophone Affairs, Mr. Bernard Grandmaître, concerning increased French-language services.

During our colloquium on the minorities, the President of Alliance Quebec, Michael Goldbloom, described the situation as follows:

> The English-speaking community has undergone a turbulent process of evolution over a very brief period. Our rapid population decline has had major repercussions at all levels of our community. Our educational system is being seriously eroded by a rapid decline in enrolments and our health and social service institutions face reductions in their population base. Fewer people means fewer volunteers for a whole range of community-based activities, from amateur theatre groups to minor hockey to hospital auxiliaries. The survival of many of these volunteer-supported activities is threatened by declining numbers, and it is precisely these institutions that make up a large part of the fabric of life in our community.

Policy on Francophone communities outside Quebec

At the same time that Quebec has been taking stock of the fact that it is home to a variety of ethnic groups, it has also been re-examining its responsibilities toward Francophone minorities across Canada. Last spring, the Government of Quebec unveiled a new policy on Francophone communities outside Quebec which aims:

- to contribute to the development of Francophone communities elsewhere in Canada, bearing in mind their priorities and needs, and respecting their independence;
- to develop a network or stronger economic links between Quebecers and Francophones outside Quebec; and
- to create new ties and increase all types of exchanges between Quebec and other Francophone communities in order to make Quebecers more aware of the minorities and vice versa.

To achieve these aims, the Quebec government advocated co-operation with Francophone associations, public and private institutions and other provincial governments. As Pierre Marc Johnson, then Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, put it:

> Quebec believes that for real progress to occur, we must rely on intergovernmental co-operation as much as and even more than on the Constitution. The Government of Quebec is prepared to co-operate fully with any other provincial government that wishes to improve the services offered to its Francophone minorities.

This policy was, of course, well received by Francophone minorities, who have always felt that the Government of Quebec should play a leading role in defending their interests and protecting the status of French as an official language of Canada. What is more, this renewed interest in the Francophone minorities has encouraged a reassessment, in some quarters, of the linguistic situation of English-speaking Quebecers.

English-speaking Quebecers

As election time drew near in Quebec, it was noted that some of the constitutional proposals presented by the Quebec Government in May seemed to be tailored to the circumstances of the day. However, both major parties came out in favour of recognizing the right of English-speaking Quebecers to receive health and social

services in English. Meanwhile, the Government's planned re-organization of provincial social services, to give greater responsibility to Local Community Service Centres (CLSCs), continued to cause Anglo-Quebecers serious concern. Without essential safeguards, such a re-organization could undermine the ability of some centres to offer services in English. The Ville-Marie Social Services Centre, for example, was "recognized" by the Government in 1977 as an establishment providing services to "persons who, in the main, speak a language other than French". One can therefore understand why the English-speaking community refuses to allow this designation to be changed without firm guarantees. We should also mention in this context the efforts of the Townshippers' Association to draw the Government's attention to the job shortage facing young Anglophones in the Eastern Townships, and those of the Voice of English Quebec on the health and social services issue.

As we enter 1986, there is some hope that the problem of recognizing the right to health and social services in English will soon be settled. In a speech to the Canadian Club early in November, the Liberal leader, Robert Bourassa, promised to postpone the planned reorganization until the Rochon Commission completes its investigation of the issue. "Anglophone institutions must not disappear to satisfy some technocrat's fantasy", he said. Shortly after coming to power, the new Government followed through on its promise by halting transfers of staff from the centres concerned to other establishments.

The Charter of the French Language

In January 1985, the Quebec Superior Court recognized the right to display bilingual signage by declaring section 58 of the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101), which requires that public signage and written advertising be only in French, inconsistent with the right of free speech enshrined in both the Quebec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The Government subsequently appealed this decision. During the election campaign, the Liberal leader made clear that, while he supported the broad principles contained in the law establishing French as the province's official language, he favoured getting rid of "useless irritants" such as the provisions prohibiting signage in "more than one language". The Quebec Liberal Party also undertook to settle, on a case-by-case basis, the problem of some 900 children still unlawfully enrolled in English schools. Mr. Bourassa explained his position during an interview with *The Gazette* last November 21 in these words:

> Maybe the climate will allow us much more freedom of action concerning the consensus. I think we now have the consensus for a moderate approach that we had not 10 years ago. I think now most French-speaking Quebecers accept that we should be more flexible compared with five years ago, but you know this is fragile, I would say, and I have to be vigilant.

For the time being, the new Government has stopped laying charges against those who use bilingual signage and has indicated its intention to review the organization of the various agencies responsible for implementing the Charter of the French Language. For her part, the Deputy Premier of Quebec, Lise Bacon, has stated that "there is no question of changing the spirit, content or essential character of Bill 101". However, several informed observers have wondered whether Bill 101 meets the present and future needs of French-speaking Quebecers.

Alliance Quebec

Representatives of the English-speaking community, including Alliance Quebec, made use of the recent election campaign to inform the political parties of their main concerns. More specifically, they asked that restrictions on access to English schools by English-speaking immigrants be lifted, that the status of children illegally enrolled in English schools be "regularized", and that adult education programs in English be improved. With respect to government services, they seek more equitable participation in the Quebec Public Service, improved public and para-public services in English, and guarantees that certain official documents will be available in their language. While insisting on the need for legal guarantees to ensure health and social services in English, they also stress the need for better English-speaking representation in the corresponding institutions (CLSCs, community centres, advisory committees, hospitals and regional councils).

Whenever the need arose, Alliance Quebec also continued to speak up on behalf of official-language minority communities elsewhere in Canada. It supported the demands of the Acadian community at hearings of the New Brunswick Advisory Committee on Official Languages and lent assistance of various sorts in language-related litigation in Western Canada. As the then Vice-President of Alliance Quebec, Michael Goldbloom, put it when he appeared before the Standing Joint Committee on Official Languages Policies and Programs in March 1985:

> We have wished to underscore that language is a concern of all Canadians and that the recognition of Canada's fundamental linguistic duality is nothing less than a crucial national issue. We will not stand by in silence in the face of arguments in Quebec, in Manitoba or elsewhere that would reduce minority rights based on the perception of mistreatment elsewhere. Canada's linguistic duality cannot be reduced to the lowest common denominator.

This broad concern for fairness is entirely to the Alliance's credit; it has understood that injustice is more contagious than generosity.

The West

For the Francophone community in **Manitoba**, the outstanding event of 1985 was, of course, the June decision of the Supreme Court of Canada confirming the mandatory nature of section 23 of the Manitoba Act, 1870. To be valid, the province's laws and regulations must be adopted and published in English and French. In October, the Court also ratified an agreement between the parties concerning translation deadlines: three years for current laws, five years for the others.

We trust that the Federal and Provincial Governments will heed this unequivocal decision and improve the often deficient services provided to the province's Francophones. We also note that the French-speaking citizens of Winnipeg had a bone to pick with municipal authorities over the actual availability of French-language services. They claim it is more difficult for Francophones to obtain good service in French automatically than for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle.

Another language issue that made the headlines locally and nationally concerned the, to say the least, paradoxical demands of certain Francophone parents in St. Pierre-Jolys to increase the teaching of English in their schools. The situation is

somewhat similar to those in Chéticamp, Nova Scotia and Prescott-Russell, Ontario. (See Part V).

The good news included the establishment, at Collège de St-Boniface, of a research centre on Francophone minorities in Canada. The Centre offers counselling, research and program evaluation services in several fields, particularly in education and the social sciences.

Fate sometimes plays strange tricks: in the same year the Supreme Court righted an almost century-old injustice, Franco-Manitobans commemorated the hanging of Manitoba's founder, Louis Riel. The numerous ceremonies surrounding this event led many to reflect on Riel's role in the history of language relations in Canada, and what they might have been had the rules of the game been observed. As the historian, W.L. Morton, wrote:

> By the Resistance Riel saved the French element in the North-West from neglect and oblivion. He saved them both from the heedless aggression of Ontario and the parochial indifference of Quebec. By the Resistance Riel challenged Quebec to play a positive part in Confederation, to maintain French institutions throughout Canada and not merely in Quebec.[1]

Let us hope that the unhappy feelings generated by the debate about recognizing French as an official language of Manitoba will be short-lived. There can be little doubt that, in this regard, what the minority community wants is a political solution that takes account of its history and legitimate aspirations.

Saskatchewan's Francophones paid tribute to Louis Riel this year by naming a new publishing company after him. The Saskatchewan Historical Society also brought out Richard Lapointe's history of the Franco-Saskatchewan community. Meanwhile, the opening of two new cultural centres, at Bellevue and Gravelbourg, shows that *Fransaskois* sights are fixed firmly on the future.

In the legal arena, the province's Court of Queen's Bench confirmed in June the right of a Francophone accused to use his or her language in criminial proceedings brought before a Superior Court judge. In August, the province sought the opinion of the provincial Court of Appeal to clarify its obligation in this regard.[2]

In October, the *Commission des écoles fransaskoises*, the *Association culturelle franco-canadienne*, the *Fédération des aînés, Collège Mathieu*, six parent committees and two individuals asked the Court of Queen's Bench in Regina to declare the province's School Act unconstitutional and recognize their right to manage their own schools, thereby making it possible to create a homogeneous school board for the province. Thus, as we enter 1986, there is room for cautious optimism. Who knows what reforms some favourable decisions might produce? It is nonetheless unfortunate that the courts are being asked to rule on what the legislator should freely grant.

Francophones in **Alberta** also watched with interest as a variety of court cases unfolded. In July, Mr. Justice Sinclair of Alberta's Court of Queen's Bench, in the

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[1] W.L. Morton, in Morton, W.L. ed., *Alexander Begg's River Journal*, 1956, p. 148.

[2] The accused was nonetheless tried in French last November in Gravelbourg before a judge and jury that understood that language.

Paquette case, confirmed that, under the provisions of section 110 of the North-West Territories Act, 1896, Francophones are entitled to use their language in trial proceedings before judges who understand French.

In the same month, Mr. Justice Purvis of the Court of Queen's Bench recognized the right of Franco-Albertans to manage their own school system. In his view, the provisions of the School Act were inconsistent with the minority-language education rights contained in section 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. However, many questions still have to be resolved before this right can be freely exercised. Moreover, the decision was appealed.

In the cultural and social area, we note that the province's educational television system, the Alberta Educational Communications Association (ACCESS), included several French-language programs in its new programming schedule. Lastly, in a symbolic gesture, the Franco-Albertan flag was displayed at Calgary's city hall for the duration of Francophone Week.

For Francophones in **British Columbia**, 1985 was a year of economic and community development. With the support of the *Fédération des Franco-Colombiens*, a private, non-profit organization, *La Société LaVérendrye*, launched a housing project worth approximately $6 million in the Saint-Sacrement area of Vancouver. Meanwhile, the Okanagan Valley took pride in the opening of the province's first Francophone community centre, in Kelowna. Francophones have also opened a community centre in Nanaimo and a similar centre in Powell River. The *Fédération des Franco-Colombiens* distributed 15,000 copies of a Directory of Francophone businessmen, professionals and organizations in the province, developed a tourist guide for Francophone visitors, and set up a company, ambitiously named "Avant-Garde", to provide translation, consultation and travel services.

Last September, the federal Minister of Justice and his **Yukon** counterpart began discussions on the official recognition of French, the translation of legislation and the provision of French-language services. Needless to say, their linguistic priorities must also include clarification of the status of aboriginal languages.

During his visit to Whitehorse in early October, the Commissioner met with representatives of the *Association des Franco-Yukonnais* to discuss their needs, and with the Yukon Executive Council to discuss such issues as the recognition of French as an official language, minority-language education rights and the provision of services in French. He also met with some 10 federal regional directors to examine the possibility of providing more services in French. If we mention these encounters, it is in part because they do not occur everyday but, above all, because we want the Territories to be fully a part of the renewal process that we called for last year.

In June 1984, the Government of the **Northwest Territories** enacted an ordinance conferring official status on English and French and at the same time recognizing seven native languages. It also undertook gradually to give concrete expression to the principle of linguistic equality. The special status accorded the official languages vis-à-vis the indigenous languages angered members of the Dene Nation. The *Association culturelle Franco-TéNOise* nevertheless plans to pursue its efforts to have the official languages ordinance respected. It has also launched a research project on the contribution of French-speaking people to territorial development and intends to publish a monthly newspaper beginning in January 1986.

The Commissioner met with representatives of the *Association culturelle Franco-TéNOise* in Yellowknife last November, to learn more about their priorities. He also held discussions with federal and territorial government representatives on language issues and possible solutions to bilingual service problems.

There is no doubt that the language provisions of the Constitution are a burden on the governments of the Northwest Territories and the Yukon. There is no lack of good will, but there are practical problems in achieving the Charter's objectives while taking account of demographic realities and the rights of the Native peoples. We believe the Federal Government must provide the necessary assistance and are therefore delighted that it has loosened its purse-strings for the Northwest Territories[1] and will probably do the same for the Yukon, to ensure that Canada's two official languages and the aboriginal languages are fully respected.

The Atlantic Provinces

The hearings of the Advisory Committee on Official Languages, held throughout **New Brunswick** in 1984 and early 1985, stirred up emotions in various circles, and its report, scheduled for release early in 1986, is awaited with some apprehension. Regardless of the outcome, the debate has brought all sides of the question into the open. It remains to be seen what proposals the Provincial Government will bring forward in response to the many questions raised.

The *Société des Acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick* was particularly active on this issue, and its annual meeting was one of the most productive ever. Among other things, it examined the possibility of creating an association of Francophone municipalities and completed a study of the availability of provincial health services to Francophones. This year also saw the birth of the *Fédération des agriculteurs francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick*, whose goals include greater involvement of its members in agricultural management.

In the cultural and educational sectors, the Federal Government contributed over $23 million under a bilateral agreement, signed in July, to have a university residence built in Shippagan, to do start-up work on the south-east campus of the New Brunswick Community College and to complete a Francophone community centre in Miramichi.

Understandably, the federal appointment of a unilingual English judge to the Court of Queen's Bench, Bathurst District, an area which is 65 per cent French-speaking, was poorly received. As the lawyers say: *res loquitur ipsa*. Need we say more?

In 1985, the Government of **Nova Scotia** appointed an Advisor on Acadian Affairs, Mr. Jean-Denis Comeau, former head of the *Fédération acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse*. However, it was the École Notre-Dame-de-l'Annonciation in Chéticamp (population 5,000) that stole this year's headlines. Last summer, the Minister of

[1] The Secretary of State has promised to provide technical assistance over the next three years in translating the ordinances of the Northwest Territories and in developing and implementing a plan to ensure bilingual services. The federal government has already decided to spend $16 million over a five-year period to encourage the development of the aboriginal languages.

Education granted the school "Acadian" status under the 1981 Education Act.[1] The school, which has some 600 elementary and secondary students, was thus authorized to increase the number of hours of French-language instruction, particularly at the secondary level. This led to an outcry from a group calling itself Parents for Bilingualism, which opposed the designation and demanded that a referendum be held on the issue during school board elections. In its view, top priority should be given to enabling students to acquire a good grounding in English. In the October 19 elections, 60 per cent of citizens voted against the designation. The Minister appears uncertain how to interpret this outcome and, for the time being, is holding to his decision. The fundamental issue, however, has not been settled. What formula best enables Francophone students to perfect their knowledge of their mother tongue and, at the same time, gain a solid understanding of English, which is an essential prerequisite for the job market? One thing is certain: this problem will not be resolved without institutional support that goes well beyond simple recognition of particular status for a given school. The Department of Education and the School Board will have to show everyone what has been demonstrated by many social and pedagogical studies, namely that the present system leads directly to assimilation, while the creation of French-language schools in no way harms the learning of English.

In September, the *Société Saint-Thomas-d'Aquin*, an organization representing the Acadians of **Prince Edward Island**, announced plans to conduct a study on the status of French in the province. Without seeking to promote generalized bilingualism in the Provincial Government, it intends to examine the potential advantages and repercussions of recognizing French as an official language. The province made some modest progress in the education field this year by amending its Education Act to make it more consistent with the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. However, the Act still does not guarantee the establishment of French-language schools or adequately provide for the development of a sound French-language program. Thus, the prospects for minority education rights hardly seem encouraging. It is clearly desirable that the Government adopt a proactive policy more consistent with the spirit of the Charter.

Newfoundland made a useful gesture this year by authorizing the provincial Minister of Transport to have bilingual signage put up in the Port-au-Port Peninsula to indicate the Francophone communities of Pointe-à-Luc, Ruisseau Rouge, Cap Saint-Georges, Degrau, Grand'Terre, Maison d'Hiver and Anse-à-Canard. This decision was heartily applauded in the monthly newspaper published by the *Fédération des Francophones de Terre-Neuve et du Labrador*, *Le Gaboteur*, which this year celebrated its first anniversary. Francophones were also pleased with the appointment of one of their number to the provincial Arts Council.

Lastly, the French-speaking community of Port-au-Port was rewarded for many years of effort when, on August 27, the Minister of Education released a detailed plan for a French-language school in Grand'Terre and another in Cap Saint-Georges. Good news indeed.

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[1] A school with "Acadian" status is one where one hundred per cent of primary-level instruction is provided in French, 70 per cent in secondary grades I, II, III and 60 per cent in secondary grades IV and V.

The overall picture, then, is mixed, with a considerable gulf still separating words from deeds. As the former Director General of the *Fédération des Acadiens de la Nouvelle-Écosse*, Denise Samson, noted during our recent colloquium: "We have been struggling *for 230 years* simply to live our own life in peace and to speak our language freely. Don't try to tell us that we are to blame for the current rate of assimilation in our community; *no one* can say we haven't tried. We continue to do more than our share. What are you doing to help us?"

Radio and Television: The Minority Message

Sub-section 3(g) of the Broadcasting Act gives our national broadcasting service the mandate, not only to meet the needs of Anglophones and Francophones in all regions of Canada, but also to "contribute to the development of national unity and provide for a continuing expression of Canadian identity". Drawing upon these principles, Canada's official-language minorities have long demanded that the structures and programming of state radio and television networks be better adapted to their milieux and their needs. After a fruitful period of decentralization, they fear a return to the old ways whereby concentration of resources was viewed as the only guarantee of quality programming. Such centralization further marginalizes minority communities by depriving them of a media presence, which in turn lowers majority esteem for their cultural and social importance and devalues their contribution to society.

Task Force on Broadcasting Policy

In May 1985, the Minister of Communications, Marcel Masse, announced the appointment of Gerald Caplan and Florian Sauvageau as co-chairmen of a task force to review Canadian broadcasting policy. Following in the wake of the Advisory Committee on the Implications of Telecommunications for Canadian Sovereignty (the Clyne Committee, 1979) and the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee (the Applebaum-Hébert Committee, 1982), it is hardly surprising that the Task Force was not greeted with wild enthusiasm by the various official-language minority associations. The minorities' problems in this area are well known; what is a long time coming is corrective action. Nonetheless, the associations agreed to play their part in the exercise and submitted briefs and studies on their needs and expectations. In its recommendations, the Task Force will have to bear in mind Government's cultural and economic priorities, along with the need to limit expenditures, encourage private initiatives and maintain federal-provincial co-operation. It will also have to define the ideal balance between national, regional and local services, and assess the particular needs of Anglophone and Francophone publics across Canada. Plainly, members of the Task Force are going to need the wisdom of Solomon to reconcile all these conflicting goals.

The federal government also seems to have decided to do two things at once, for it is seeking to have a bill passed that would radically alter its relationship to the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission. Some critics see this initiative as a possible attack on the independence of the media.

CÉGIR study

The *Fédération des Francophones hors Québec* presented the Task Force with the findings of a detailed study on radio and television services outside Quebec. Carried out by the consulting firm CÉGIR, the study goes beyond identifying the problems and recommends specific solutions. We sincerely hope the Task Force will draw upon these proposals as well as those contained in the briefs submitted by other minority associations. Among other suggestions, CÉGIR's proposals to create a French-language television network outside Quebec and establish community radio stations deserve serious consideration.

The FFHQ also spared no effort to make the Government of Quebec aware of the broadcasting needs of Francophones across Canada. It was therefore delighted to learn that Quebec intends to offer Francophones in other provinces several hours of Radio-Québec programming, and that the Government of Ontario plans to set up a French-language counterpart to TVOntario's English-language service. Federal authorities have indicated that they are willing to help finance these projects and to promote minority access to the widest possible range of French-language programming, particularly using new technologies.

A national strategy

In November, the Commissioner submitted a brief to the Task Force in which he outlined the main principles for developing any new policy. He took the view that it should have three aims: to maintain and develop our linguistic and cultural resources; to create better relations between our two main language groups; and to strengthen the identity and cultural development of our minorities.

In cultural terms, the minority communities — particularly Francophones outside Quebec and small Anglophone communities in Quebec — are extremely vulnerable. To survive and develop, they need ample access to the electronic media to defend their linguistic identity against pressures from the majority culture. The need is particularly sharp for small communities that can pick up very few programs, if any, in their language. In many areas, the CBC and its affiliate stations are the only suppliers of minority-language programming, which means that increased access to French-language programming will depend on agreements with other Francophone broadcasters and better broadcasting techniques such as satellite and cable transmission and use of satellite dishes. At the same time, any broadcasting policy must take into account the impact of educational networks and pay television on the minorities. It must not only ensure that they are not forgotten but also that new technologies are first directed to those most in need. That is why we suggest that pilot projects be undertaken to evaluate how and to what extent such technologies might contribute to the well-being of the official-language minorities.

Local programming

How can the Federal Government best meet the expectations of the minorities and ensure that public broadcasting is truly *at the service* of all citizens? First, by strengthening local and regional minority-language programming. Despite recent progress, too many problems persist. The CBC's news and public affairs sector should provide more room for local news. Broadcasts that originate almost exclusively in Toronto or Montreal often alienate as much as they attract the minorities. If political, cultural and sports news in their language only reflects metropolitan views, how are the minorities supposed to resist the blandishments of majority-language broadcasts that are more concerned with local events?

A major study of the French-speaking population of Northern Ontario sheds some light on this subject. Noting that the younger generation is cut off from the cultural traditions of its parents, the study concludes that "French-language radio would help bridge the gap, bring the two generations closer together within the Northern Ontario Francophone tradition, and rekindle the living forces of that culture as a prelude to renewing it".[1] Provided, of course, that French radio is attuned to local community interests.

Federal efforts to promote the cultural development of the minorities need to be better co-ordinated and to place greater emphasis on equal opportunities for all, whether in terms of creative work or of access to technology. Granted the attraction of "imported" programs, local productions can be just as creative, as well as more authentic. They also help bring along and train local talent which might otherwise be lost, besides offering the sort of electronic forum that is essential to community cohesion and identity.

Cultural development of our minorities calls for many things. The majorities must be made aware of minority aspirations and convinced of their legitimacy; the minorities need to learn that the majorities do not necessarily have uniform and uncomplicated views about them. The electronic media have so far done little to foster better understanding between Anglophones and Francophones, whether they are part of a minority or a majority. For obvious reasons, state-funded media have a special duty to explain the concerns and accomplishments of each language group to the other.

[1] Jean Routier Consultation, *Étude des motivations et résistances de la population francophone du Nord de l'Ontario*, (Face A, CBON, CBC), October 1984, p. 226. (*Study of the Motivation and Resistance of Northern Ontario Francophones*; our translation.)

PART V

Youth, Languages and Education

The Youth Option: Back to the Future

One truism of the trade can never be repeated too often: the Act which declared that English and French have equal status, rights and privileges as the official languages of Canada was born into a country in which such equality was seldom if ever realized. It was obvious to the first Official Languages Commissioner in his first Annual Report (1970-1971) that, important as the administrative transformation of federal institutions might be, the process of turning things around was not something that would be achieved within a single generation simply by revamping existing resources, or without a great deal of "crowd participation". Here is how Keith Spicer put the case.

> Obviously, the only fundamental and lasting solutions can come from a recognition, by Canadians as a whole, of the equal dignity and value of their two main language communities. . . The seeds of this recognition must of course be sown at every level, but most of all in the schools for today's children. . . Canadians must plainly find ways both of massively increasing youth exchanges and of making teaching of second languages more realistic. . .

The "Youth Option" rapidly became a recurrent theme of our Annual Reports as well as an important aspect in federal official languages spending. . . and, let's face it, a convenient cop-out for all those people who would rather that this particular hot potato be passed to succeeding generations. How often have we heard, from one end of the country to the other: "Why are you pushing for more French in the Public Service of today when the schools can do the job for you tomorrow?" Such is the plausibility of the Youth Option that it can serve both as a promise of a better tomorrow and a pretext for an indifferent effort today.

At the heart of this issue lie two questions: how much time have we got, and how fresh or how skillful are the young legs we can throw into the fray? The time has come to take a more disinterested look at the state of the game and to see with what degree of confidence we can call on youthful reserves to pull it off. The questions we tried to shed some light on in 1985 were these:

- How bilingual are 15 to 24 year old Canadians?
- What do they think about bilingualism?
- Are they keen to learn their second official language, and are they doing so?
- How do they differ from their elders on these points?

- What are the differences between Anglophones and Francophones in this respect?
- Is there really a market for bilinguals in the workplace?
- How do young people view their own future in a bilingual Canada?

Portrait of a Generation

Individual bilingualism

The big question, of course, is whether the generation of young Canadians which has come of age in the 15 years since the Youth Option first took shape really is more bilingual than preceding generations and, at least to that extent, more attuned to an officially bilingual Canada.

It is not easy to define what constitutes a bilingual person. The measure we are using for present purposes is by no means totally objective, based as it is on self-reporting in the Canada Census. The question asked is "Can you speak English or French well enough to conduct a conversation?". Based on those answering "both" to this question, the short answer is: yes, more Canadians in the 15 to 24 year old age group in the early 1980's claim to be able to carry on a conversation in both English and French than did their counterparts in that age group 30 years ago. Although the percentage increase is not particularly dramatic, it represents hundreds of thousands of "new" bilinguals.

Table V.1

Self-reported bilinguals[1] and general population by age, 1951, 1971, 1981

	15 to 24 year-olds			All ages		
	Bilingual		General	Bilingual		General
	Number	%	population	Number	%	population
1951	350,536	16.3	2,147,584	1,727,447	12.3	14,009,429
1971	733,215	18.2	3,998,590	2,900,155	13.4	21,568,310
1981	846,510	18.2	4,638,000	3,681,960	15.3	24,083,495

[1] Those answering "both" to the question, "Can you speak English or French well enough to conduct a conversation?".

Source: Statistics Canada, 1951, 1971 and 1981 Census.

It can be seen from the above table that the 15 to 24 age group in Canada all but doubled between 1951 and 1971 (+86 per cent) and that the increase in the rate of individual bilingualism in that age group more than kept pace with that growth (+109 per cent). Although the numbers of bilingual 15 to 24 year-olds continued to grow between 1971 and 1981, the *rate* for that group remained stable at 18.2 per cent. Over the same period the rate for all ages grew quite markedly. Much of that increase proves to be attributable to the 25 to 34 age group. But aggregates are not the most revealing of numbers. It is when the data are considered by region and by mother tongue that the nature of the changes becomes more sharply defined.

Table V.2 compares 1971 and 1981 census figures for bilingualism in the 15 to 24 age group and in the general population, inside and outside Quebec. Bilingualism is seen to be on the rise in the general population in both cases. Young people outside Quebec, however, appear to be no more bilingual, relatively speaking, in 1981 than they were in 1971. It is in Quebec that there has been the most obvious rise in bilingualism among 15 to 24 year-olds. But even the nature of that increase does not fully emerge until the mother tongue of respondents is taken into account.[1]

Table V.2

Percentage of self-reported bilinguals by age[1], 1971 and 1981

		Quebec		Outside Quebec		All Canada	
		15 to 24	all ages	15 to 24	all ages	15 to 24	all ages
1971	Number	394,955	1,663,795	338,260	1,236,360	733,215	2,900,155
	%	33.8	27.6	11.8	8.0	18.2	13.4
1981	Number	449,285	2,065,105	397,225	1,616,855	846,510	3,681,960
	%	35.7	32.4	11.8	9.1	18.2	15.3

Those answering "both" to the question, "Can you speak English or French well enough to conduct a conversation?".
Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Census.

In Quebec, self-reported bilingualism among all three mother-tongue categories has increased in the population as a whole, but the most marked increases are among Anglophones (from 49 to 65 per cent) and Allophones[2] (50 to roughly 66 per cent) in the 15 to 24 age group. Outside Quebec, an apparent drop in both the number and proportion of young people of French mother tongue who claim to be bilingual may well be a sign of assimilation, although we are still talking of 84 per cent bilingualism in this group. The decline may reflect those who, while still able to understand French, no longer consider themselves able to conduct a conversation in that language. (Table V.3.)

Finally, given our particular interest in the Youth Option as it affects bilingualism among Anglophones, let us take a closer look at the English mother-tongue group by region. (Table V.4.)

Every region shows an increase in bilingualism for people of English mother tongue between 1971 and 1981. What is more, in every region, the 15 to 24 year old group consistently claims bilingualism in a markedly higher proportion than do all age groups taken together. It may not seem that, at 10 per cent, the proportion of young English-speaking Canadians who are bilingual is so overwhelming as to change the linguistic face of the nation. Sceptics might even wonder whether young Anglophones, in 1981, may not have been a mite more susceptible to over-reporting their bilingualism than their 1971 counterparts. Whichever way you look at it, however, a numerical increase of the order of 77,000 is a significant step in the right direction.

[1] Some caution must be exercised in attempting to compare 1971 and 1981 census data involving mother tongue, as different methods were used in those two years to assign to a single category those who reported more than one mother tongue.
[2] People who report a mother tongue other than English or French.

Table V.3

Percentage distribution answering "yes" to the question "Can you speak English or French well enough to carry out a conversation?" by age and mother tongue, 1971 and 1981. Canada, Quebec and Canada excluding Quebec

Mother Tongue			Quebec		Outside Quebec		All Canada	
			15-24	all ages	15-24	all ages	15-24	all ages
English Mother Tongue	1971	No	71,000	289,750	157,965	421,175	228,965	710,925
		%	49.0	36.7	6.8	3.5	8.4	5.5
	1981	No	86,995	371,050	219,090	743,200	306,085	1,114,250
		%	65.0	53.4	7.6	5.3	10.2	7.8
French Mother Tongue	1971	No	297,435	1,250,640	153,445	720,590	450,880	1,971,230
		%	30.6	25.1	85.9	78.0	39.0	34.0
	1981	No	320,970	1,504,190	146,515	731,955	467,485	2,236,145
		%	30.2	28.7	83.7	78.9	37.0	36.2
Other Mother Tongue	1971	No	26,525	123,405	26,845	94,595	53,370	218,000
		%	50.2	33.1	8.5	3.9	12.8	7.7
	1981	No	41,315	189,865	31,625	141,700	72,940	331,565
		%	65.6	44.6	9.9	5.2	18.7	10.5
All Mother Tongues	1971	No	394,960	1,663,795	338,260	1,236,360	733,218	2,900,155
		%	33.8	27.6	11.8	8.0	18.2	13.4
	1981	No	449,285	2,065,105	397,225	1,616,855	846,510	3,681,960
		%	35.7	32.4	11.8	9.1	18.2	15.3

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Census.

Attitudes of young people to bilingualism

Surprisingly little systematic work has been done on how Canadian young people feel about living in an officially bilingual country, about becoming bilingual themselves, or about the other official-language group. Some surveys of youth attitudes carried out over the last five years bear out the anecdotal perception that there is a difference between the young and their elders in many attitudinal factors related to language relations and language competence. Quebec is also consistently different from the rest of Canada on these measures. Bibby and Posterski, in their study *The Emerging Generation,*[1] found teenagers more accepting of official bilingualism than were adults surveyed in 1980, the greatest differences between young and old being apparent in the Atlantic and Prairie provinces.

Because not a great deal of information was available in 1985 on young Canadians' attitudes to language questions, this Office commissioned a survey from Canadian Facts. Door-to-door interviews were conducted with some 4,000 people 15 and over to solicit answers to questions about, among other things: the usefulness of knowing both official languages; relations between Anglophones and Francophones; and attitudes to the provision of services in both languages.[1]

A surprisingly high 86 per cent of all respondents agreed with the statement, "It would be a good thing if all Canadians could speak both English and French." Francophones were somewhat more likely to agree (97 per cent) than Anglophones (81 per cent); and university education and some fluency in speaking the second

[1] Bibby, Reginald W. and Donald C. Posterski, *The Emerging Generation: An inside look at Canada's teenagers*, Irwin Publishers, Toronto, 1985.

[1] The interview questionnaire appears in Appendix E.

Table V.4

Percentage of English mother tongue respondents answering "both" to the question "Can you speak English or French well enough to conduct a conversation?" by region, by age, 1971 and 1981

		15 to 24 year-olds		All ages	
Region		**1971**	**1981**	**1971**	**1981**
All provinces except Quebec					
• West	%	4.8	5.9	2.4	4.0
• Ontario	%	8.4	9.5	4.3	6.6
• Atlantic	%	4.4	6.6	2.6	4.4
• Total	**Number**	**157,965**	**219,090**	**421,175**	**743,200**
	%	**6.8**	**7.6**	**3.5**	**5.3**
Quebec	Number	71,000	86,995	289,750	371,050
	%	49.0	65.0	36.7	53.4
All Canada	**Number**	**228,965**	**306,085**	**710,925**	**1,114,250**
	%	**8.4**	**10.2**	**5.5**	**7.8**

Source: Statistics Canada 1971 and 1981 Census.

language also correlated highly to agreement with that statement. Years of second-language study and relative fluency in the second official language corresponded proportionally to disagreement with the notion that English should be Canada's only official language. In general, there were marked differences between the responses of Anglophones and Francophones and between those of young people and their elders. More Francophones of all ages gave answers we can categorize as "positive" towards the official languages. For most questions, there was also a clear pattern by age, with the 15 to 24 age group being the most positive. The older people were, the less likely they were to have a positive view on the matter. This age correlation showed up most strongly among Anglophones. Young Anglophones generally held much more positive views than older Anglophones. Young Francophones tended to share the positive views of their elders. Furthermore, when asked how useful a knowledge of the second official language was to them now and would be in 10 years, Francophones were much more likely to respond "very" or "quite" useful.

On a question inviting agreement or disagreement with the statement, "French and English should be required subjects in all Canadian schools", younger respondents were most often in agreement. Older Canadians, however, were as likely as the young to see individual bilingualism as a good thing when considered in the abstract or when applied to others. To the statements "It would be a good thing if all Canadians could speak both English and French", and the question "How important do you think the ability to speak English and French is in helping a young person to get ahead in Canadian life today?" reactions remained fairly uniform across age groups.

It was on language learning considered a worthwhile *personal* undertaking that the views of the young stood out from those of their elders.

Attitudes toward minority language rights

Respondents were also asked an open-ended question to determine in what language or languages they thought that federal, provincial and business services should be provided to the public. The overall response was generally favourable to the use of both official languages by all three institutional levels, but the younger the respondent, the more likely he or she was to take such a view.

What struck us most about all the above findings[1] were two things: the data were internally consistent to an unusual degree and posed very few problems of straightforward interpretation; but, most of all, they reflected a very positive image of Canadians' views on official languages issues, especially those of the young.

Views of immersion graduates

A second project sponsored by this Office in 1985 involved a telephone survey of former French immersion students in the Ottawa-Carleton area. Its main purpose was to give us an idea whether these young people were using their language skills, either at work or in post-secondary studies. The results are described in more detail below, in the section entitled "The Work World". One general question on the personal benefits of bilingualism is of interest here. The 405 respondents were asked whether, in general terms, their immersion schooling had been good or bad for them or had made no difference. Three hundred and thirty six, or 83 per cent, rated the experience as good, only three people (1 per cent) as bad, and 66 (16 per cent) as making no difference. Other surveys of immersion students and graduates have shown similarly positive attitudes.

Creative writing contest

Finally, to mark International Youth Year (1985), we invited 15 to 24 year old Canadians to share their thoughts about living in a country with two official languages. Panels of established writers evaluated almost 1,400 entries, and in early December the authors of the 20 winning submissions met in Ottawa to receive from the Governor General a commemorative plaque and a cheque for the publication rights to their submissions.[2] In an effort to identify what they had in common, we performed some content coding on a representative sample of roughly 20 per cent of the entries. The sampling method ensured approximately equal numbers of submissions from four types of language community: English-speaking in Quebec, French-speaking in Quebec, English-speaking outside Quebec and French-speaking outside Quebec. The results confirmed much of what the adjudicators had felt after reading the submissions. The contest proved to have had particular appeal to official-language minorities; the number of entries received in English from Quebec and in French from outside Quebec were disproportionately high. The most common *theme* was individual bilingualism, which was portrayed through the words and thoughts of bilingual characters in almost half the entries and was generally presented as a plus. Sixty per cent of the entries were positive and only 3 per cent of the entries negative in this regard.

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[1] A full report of this study will be published separately in due course.

[2] All the winning submissions together with other selected entries will be published in issue 18 of *Language and Society*.

Submissions from English-speaking Quebecers

A contrast between "bilingual" and "unilingual" was most noticeable in the entries in English from Quebec. English-speaking Quebecers emerged as the principal champions of bilingualism. However, while they spoke up on behalf of individual bilingualism, they were relatively less trusting toward the other language group. Only 36 per cent of submissions in English from Quebec presented positive portraits of the other group, as opposed to between 44 and 47 per cent for the other three categories. Interesting, too, was the finding that 34 per cent of the Quebec submissions in English showed a concern for preserving one's own language, whereas the percentages for the other three groups were in the 20 to 25 per cent range.

The Francophone minorities outside Quebec

Understandably, entries in English from Quebec and entries in French from outside Quebec did not offer a uniform perspective. But they did tend to share a less trusting view of the other official-language group. It was the French entries from outside Quebec that proved least likely to offer positive portrayals of Anglophones and which were the primary source of the small number of markedly negative portrayals of Anglophones (12 per cent as compared to 3 to 7 per cent for the other three groups).

The majorities

Majority-language entries, both English and French, had much in common at the attitudinal level. The overall tone of the entries from both language groups was favourable toward living in a country with two official languages. If there *are* strong differences between young Francophones in Quebec and young Anglophones in the rest of Canada in this respect, they were not strongly reflected in our contest.

Feelings expressed

If our coding makes the entries sound unnaturally statistical, the originals showed an expressive appreciation of both the subtleties and the complexities of Canada's linguistic duality. The jurors reflected on this.

> They [the writers] know that bilingualism involves tensions and discord in adult society, and they personally know the hassles of learning a second *official*, *required* language in school. Most of the entries (except in the poetry genre) attempt to show conflicts arising in a bilingual society — situations where language differences cause problems between French and English Canadians. Thus, while the writers tend to express positive attitudes toward bilingualism, attempt to show resolutions of difficulties and tensions, and tend to see a society becoming more bilingual, they are also aware of resentment and resistance[1].

Similar sensitivities were reflected in many of the entries, both English and French, right across Canada. If submissions in English from Quebec often championed a bilingual Canada, Francophone minority contestants tended toward a more complex outlook. The frustrations, the hopes, and the paradoxes were all present. Perhaps the last word in this respect should go to one of the winning authors, Réal Robert Fillion, 21, from Winnipeg. Although written in English, his story is about the childhood of a minority Francophone. Its setting is a school where, some 10 years ago, Group A students were instructed largely in French and Group B students 50 per cent in French and 50 per cent in in English. The narrator belonged to Group A, his friend Michel to Group B. The story also turns into a sort of epitaph, for in its opening lines we learn that Michel has been killed in a car accident. After describing the local battle between adherents of French school and supporters of bilingual school, a

[1] Comments of Richard Lemm.

struggle in which the writer and Michel find themselves positioned by their parents on opposite sides, the young writer concludes:

> I was given a poster on a stick; I was told not to go to classes; I was told to march up and down the sidewalk in front of the school. With the poster and my head held high. . . .
>
> But the sign got very heavy as the day wore on. I was no longer happy that I was missing classes, and would give anything to be able to put down my sign and sit down, or run off and play. . . .
>
> And then I saw Michel. He was standing on the corner across the street. His shoulders were slumped over, his lunchbox hanging loosely in his hand. I hadn't seen him in a long time, not even secretly, with the preparations for the strike and all. My face lit up and I lifted my sign up high and tried to get his attention by waving it at him like I was waving a flag.
>
> He just turned and walked away, his head hung low.
>
> I had forgotten about the words on my sign.

The Work World

Opinions

There is no longer much doubt that individual bilingualism, or plurilingualism, is seen virtually everywhere as A Good Thing. For the official-language minorities the question itself is almost academic: Francophones outside Quebec have always had to speak English to make their way in life, and English-speaking Quebecers have for some time now been faced with a similar need to acquire facility in French for both social and employment purposes. But what of our two majority communities, French-speaking Quebecers and English-speakers elsewhere?

French-speaking Quebecers

A number of submissions to our writing contest from young French-speaking Quebecers portrayed bilingual Francophones beating out unilinguals for jobs. Press accounts also continue to suggest that parental pressure is being brought on several school boards to improve or intensify the teaching of English as a second language. Quebec Francophones, it appears, have much the same kinds of motivation to become bilingual as the Anglophone majority in the rest of Canada, only more so. Opportunities for mobility and advancement in employment are important, as are broader personal horizons and a sense of being at home in the whole North American context. If bilingualism is a two-edged sword for French-speaking Quebecers, it appears to be one they are prepared to live with.

Anglophones outside Quebec

On the other side of the majority fence, there has been considerable question in the past few years whether the bilingual job market so often referred to in promoting the learning of French as a second language really exists, or will exist by the time a majority of today's students begin their careers. Surveys of French immersion students and their parents consistently demonstrate a strong *belief* that a knowledge of French will be an asset in the workplace, yet voices are to be heard asking questions to which there is a dearth of factual answers. How *many* jobs now require a knowledge of both languages? How many can one foresee 10 years from now? Where will they be? In what sectors? What for?

Facts about bilingual jobs

This Office made some small attempts to find answers in 1985 by conducting pilot studies which we hope can be followed up in future. We looked, for instance, at 'Positions Available' notices in a Canada Employment Centre in Ottawa for student summer jobs. Ten per cent of these job offers stated that bilingualism was essential, 10 per cent said it was preferable and 10 per cent said it would be an asset. Thus a total of 30 per cent of all jobs vacant mentioned bilingualism. Sales and service positions accounted for most of these offers.

We also looked at the classified Help Wanted advertisements in six major Canadian newspapers in July of 1985. Two were Montreal and Ottawa French-language papers, while the other four were English-language papers from Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal. It is noteworthy that 2,121 offers mentioning language requirements appeared in the six papers within a two-week period. Almost all stated that bilingualism was essential. The largest proportion of such advertisements was in Montreal, but fully 21 per cent appeared in the Ottawa *Citizen*. Over half of all the bilingual positions advertised were in office work.

A preliminary study of bilingualism in the private sector in Ottawa-Hull also attempted to assess the demand for bilingual employees in a sample of retail stores, financial institutions, hotels, and so forth. Only two employers — a hotel and a department store — *require* new employees to be bilingual, but the great majority of the businesses surveyed consider bilingualism a significant asset in a job applicant.

As already mentioned, in November 1985 this Office sponsored a pilot telephone survey of recent high school graduates who had come through French immersion programs in Ottawa. The 405 who were traced and interviewed were asked about their present situation, whether as post-secondary students, employed or unemployed, and about past or present part-time or full-time employment. To the general question, "Would you say that your language training has helped you in the job market?", 304, or 75 per cent of those interviewed, said "yes". If one eliminates those respondents who replied that they had no job, the rate rises to 80 per cent.

Three-quarters of the respondents were pursuing post-secondary studies, 90 per cent of them at a university and the rest in community colleges. A majority of the students canvassed also held jobs of some kind. Twenty-six per cent were taking at least some courses taught in French. Of those who held jobs, 78 per cent reported that they did use French at work, half of them only "occasionally" and the other half using it "always", "often", or "about half the time". Frequent users made up well over a third of all respondents who were working. When asked about past summer jobs, or previous full or part-time employment, over two-thirds reported that they had made use of their French-language skills.

A majority of respondents reported that they also used French "often" or "sometimes" while travelling, talking with friends, reading, watching television and films, or listening to the radio. When asked for reasons why they rated their immersion experience as "good", more of the former students (94 respondents) named "meeting French-speaking people" than job opportunities (62 respondents). This contrasts with a number of surveys of immersion parents, who tend to mention future employment as the main reason for enrolling their children. Perhaps parents feel obliged to stress the more concrete benefits, especially when talking to their children. In any case, if the Ottawa graduates are at all representative, fears that immersion

students' motivations may be a little too practical and lacking in broader vision may prove groundless.

The general findings of the survey can be summarized thus: the answer to the question, "Do immersion graduates make good use of their French after high school?" is "Yes, they do, — in Ottawa". It would be most interesting to conduct similar surveys in other centres where French immersion has been around long enough to have produced significant members of graduates, although of course we would not expect those living in Vancouver or Calgary to have as many opportunities to use their language skills. It would also be intriguing to ask similar questions 10 years after the students leave high school and to try to contact those who have moved about the country to see how their second-language skills had fared in the interim.

Has the Youth Option Succeeded?

From these limited data, readers may make their own judgements whether the long-term investment in individual bilingualism and attitudinal change bids fair either to transform the country or to supply its official languages needs. The trouble with the whole Youth Option concept is that people tend to treat much of what has been going on *within* the Public Service these last 16 years as little better than a holding operation: a generation or two of "mature monoglot" public servants hunkered down behind their wagons awaiting the arrival of the bilingual cavalry. However, mind sets are being changed and useful language abilities acquired and revitalized. This is excellent news, and young Canadians, their parents and their teachers are due a hearty vote of thanks for the part they have played in giving the country a *chance* to attain linguistic maturity.

But what, then, of our official-language minorities? Nothing could be more Panglossian than to believe that, *because* there has been a minor linguistic revolution among some of Canada's young people, the minorities are assured of survival, the public is guaranteed service in either English or French, and an era of unparalleled linguistic justice has dawned. Without taking anything away from the progress we have seen, it is important to guard against the not uncommon view that the Youth Option is a snake-oil solution to all our ills.

The 1986 mini-census will almost certainly bring further evidence of linguistic erosion of both official-language minorities. The convergence of interest between those who are learning a second language and those who are trying to retain it in daily use may seem almost too obvious to mention, but its practical cultivation is still remarkably limited. The Youth Option alone cannot buy the kind of time or provide the linguistic environment the minorities need today. While the increased presence of bilingual youngsters is a plus, it is no substitute for formal government encouragement, prompt and reliable minority-language service, availability of a quality education in that language, or a measure of recognition by provincial and local authorities. A few thousand youngsters with a positive outlook on the other language and its speakers do not offset the many thousands of other Canadians who want no part of a bilingual Canada and defy their governments to try and build one. Fortunately, as our poll results show, the "silent majority" of adults seem also to be moving toward the more generous view.

Are there ways to speed up the mobilization of the "Yoppies", if we may call them so? Notwithstanding current cut-backs in Government recruitment, one should probably expect them to increase their share of the diminishing number of external appointments to the Public Service, although that remains to be objectively determined. It could, at any rate, be another 10 or 15 years before they come effectively on stream as part of a "naturally" bilingual Public Service.

What else then? The first Commissioner's 1971 suggestion of an "inter-provincial linguistic volunteer corps" sounds modishly "sixties", but is such a thing conceivable in the mid-80's, and what might it do? Could volunteers with special skills (in law, communications, health or social work) be made available, on a subsidized basis, to local minority groups, to help in projects aimed at upgrading general "literacy", developing community networks, even providing liaison with federal and provincial authorities? None of this is unimaginable, but it would have to be thought through, structured and funded. The presiding criterion would be, by careful selection, to match up young people who have the necessary commitment, general or technical skills and linguistic abilities with high-priority community projects. It would be rather like the present Monitor Program for teaching assistants, but broadened beyond the educational field. Whatever the case may be, there is a need for a lot more rigorous thinking and objective, people-related planning before the Youth Option can deliver on its promise. One can certainly imagine no more criminal waste than to have stimulated the creation of well-disposed bilinguals only to serve a purpose that no longer exists.

The research to date has barely scratched the surface of this question of national importance. What is the present and potential fit between our very considerable personal and financial outlay on enlightened bilingual youth and an enlightened and bilingual country? How deep, for instance, do the more positive attitudes run, and how do they translate when the chips are down? Are we, as some would claim, producing two classes of Canadian: a bilingual *jeunesse dorée* and a linguistically underprivileged *lumpenproletariat*? We need to know more about how our "Yoppies" are faring in terms of professional opportunities, relationships with members of the other community, real second-language maintenance, and their ability to put those skills to good use. For instance, we had hoped in 1985 to track the relative recruitment rate of young bilingual Anglophones and Francophones to the federal Public Service in recent years. However, this presented some statistical difficulties that are still being worked out; next year however, there should be something to say, one way or another, on the relative availability of bilingual Canadians for recruitment to the federal administration.

Recommendations

Apart from the general caution not to take the Youth Option for granted, the recommendations we consider most urgent are the following:

1) that the expected and real outcomes of the Youth Option be further quantified and evaluated;

2) that Government strategies for making the Public Service genuinely bilingual or for providing support to the official-language minorities be more explicitly and systematically related to the probable Youth Option outcomes;

3) that some serious projections be undertaken of where "the immersion phenomenon" is going; and

4) that the Federal Government actively explore, with its provincial counterparts, the feasibility of financing an inter-provincial linguistic volunteer corps as a means of providing direct support to official-language communities through the service of young bilinguals from the other linguistic group.

Table V.5

Federal contributions under the federal-provincial-territorial agreement for official languages in education, 1984–85

Program	Quebec $	Other provinces and territories $	Total $
Minority-language education	64,546,909	56,286,086	120,832,995
Second-language instruction	18,960,868	45,243,783	64,204,651
Combined activities[1]			
• Summer language bursaries	—	—	8,734,409
• Monitor program	—	—	4,743,720
• Various	—	187,810	187,810
• Total		187,810	13,665,939
GRAND TOTAL	**83,507,777**	**101,718,679**	**198,704,585**

[1] Expenditures which combine second-language and minority-language activities.

Source: Department of the Secretary of State, notes prepared for the federal-provincial-territorial meeting, November, 1985.

The Education System

Canada's educational system remains the focus of many of the most interesting and encouraging developments, as well as of the more disheartening delays, in the whole field of language reform. Before exploring minority official-language education, second official-language instruction and the teaching of other languages, we would draw attention to two developments in 1985 which affect language education in general.

French Language Information Network

We have been reporting for several years on a project to link existing teaching resource centres to a central data bank and thus make more readily available across Canada much invaluable documentation on the teaching of, and education in, French. A proposal based on a feasibility study financed by the Secretary of State was submitted to the Council of Ministers of Education early in 1984. In September 1985, the Council approved the creation of a French Language Information Network (FLIN). The proposed network, we were told, would be set up on the basis of an agreement, to be concluded in April 1986, between the Council and the *Centrale des bibliothèques* (Montreal) which already has an important data bank of teaching resources in French. When the Centrale's bank has worked out the means of accessing materials developed in the other provinces, it will in effect be fulfilling the role originally identified as vital for the development of French instruction in Canada. On behalf of the many eager clients, we will follow with great interest both the technical development of the network and its work.

The federal-provincial agreement

A further two-year extension to the federal-provincial protocol of agreement for official languages in education, announced last May, will project the current arrangements up to March, 1988. Federal contributions to the provinces and territories for minority and second-language education will see a modest increase of 3 per cent in 1986-87, but no increase is currently foreseen for 1987-88. In 1985-86, the total amount contributed by the Federal Government for all kinds of official-language education is $210 million. Table V.5 shows the apportionment of funds in 1984-85; the 1985-86 breakdown is not expected to differ substantially.

Whereas overall government spending since 1977-78 has increased by some 142 per cent, federal contributions to official languages in education are now *less* than they were in 1977-78. Taken as a proportion of the entire federal budget, spending on official languages in education fell from 0.5 per cent in 1977-78 to 0.2 per cent in 1985.

While the Federal Government undoubtedly has other important things to spend our money on, the provinces, not to mention the public at large, might be forgiven for not considering it wildly extravagant with this program. This year's small increase in total federal contributions over 1984-85 may be just enough to cover the rise in education costs for the same services. Minority-language and second-language instructional programs that owe their subsistence to these funds will not perish of starvation in the immediate future, but they have long since ceased to grow fat on government largesse. Symptoms of malnutrition are already visible.

Minority Official Language Education: For a Few Dollars More

In 1985, minority education was often in the headlines. On the heels of court cases involving the rights of parents to educate their children in their own language have come a series of controversies and legal actions — undertaken, planned or contemplated — on the question of the governance of minority-language educational facilities.

The extension of the federal-provincial agreement struck a less litigious note, but not one that brought unalloyed good news. Over one-third of the $210 million allocated under the agreement is destined for second-language instruction, while two-thirds supports minority-language education (see Table V.5). Of the latter amount, about $65 million goes to maintain Quebec's minority-language education system, leaving only about $56 million for the rest of the country. Surely there must be *some* way to channel more of these contributions to provide minority education services in the provinces where few now exist, such as Saskatchewan, Alberta and Newfoundland. This same point was made in 1981 by the *Fédération des Francophones hors Québec* during renegotiation of the original agreement. That organization's analysis[1] termed the formula payments (now reincarnated as "basic contributions for infrastructure support") "non-equalization payments, or equalization in reverse", since all provinces were placed on the same footing and compensated for what they *had* done, rather than given incentives to do what they *ought* to do for their minorities. This imbalance in favour of the "haves" is dangerously out of keeping with the *developmental* philosophy on which the whole program is presumably based.

The gulf between what the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees and what Francophone communities outside Quebec actually have in the way of education in their own language was brought into sharp focus by Professor Pierre Foucher's report, *Constitutional Language Rights of Official Language Minorities in Canada*, made public in December. The report concluded that, of all the provinces, New Brunswick comes closest to full compliance with section 23 of the Charter. Most provincial education laws either fail to mention language rights at all (Newfoundland and British Columbia), contain restrictive numbers clauses (Prince Edward Island), or permit but do not require school boards to establish programs in languages other than English, without clearly identifying what constitutes a French-language program (Alberta and Saskatchewan). Where laws and institutional

[1] Chevrier, Richard (Editor), *À la recherche du milliard, Fédération des Francophones hors Québec*, Ottawa, 1981.

structures are lacking, the programs functioning right now are doing so only "during the pleasure" of the government in power.

Professor Foucher's examination of existing provincial legislation in terms of its compliance with section 23 concludes that "by and large such legislation is invalid". He points out that at least three things are needed to create a solid base for effective educational reforms:

- clarification of roles and responsibilities;
- abolition of discretionary powers; and
- definition and application of rights to instruction, schools and management.

"A provincial education system cannot, of course, be reformed overnight", Professor Foucher reminds us; "nor do we have the luxury of waiting until there is no one left in the minority community to take action". Both legal and political action will continue to be necessary, and "the provinces will have to face their constitutional responsibilities in a more appropriate manner than they have done to date" if we are to prevent that 'disaster scenario' from becoming a fact.

While the *proportion* of minority children who have access to schooling in their own language is slowly and painfully growing, their absolute numbers are in general decline. Given current rates of language transfer, the continuing outmigration of English-speaking Quebecers, and the overall drop in the school-age population, this is no more than one might expect. Only in places such as British Columbia and Yukon, where minority education has very recently become available and where pupil numbers are very small, are enrolments showing year-to-year increases. The contrast with French immersion enrolments province by province is striking. Outside Ontario and New Brunswick, Francophone pupils are outnumbered from 2 to 17 times by immersion pupils.

In the circumstances, it is not surprising that many minority pupils feel swamped by the majority language, even in their own schools. In areas such as Toronto, where French-language high schools are more readily available than secondary-level immersion, Anglophones are enrolling in such numbers that they give cause for concern about the French nature of the schools. It has been estimated, for instance, that 40 per cent of students in the Toronto Board of Education's French high schools do not have French as their first language. Young Francophones outside Quebec will need much of the humorous determination shown by a Franco-Ontarian student from Cornwall who challenged his peers in these terms: "Grenouillons-nous!", which, broadly interpreted, means "Let's hop to it, frogs!"

Post-secondary education

Serious gaps are found at the post-secondary level as well. At a conference sponsored in May by the *Fédération des Francophones hors Québec*, urgent action was called for to combat the disadvantages faced by Francophones outside Quebec, compared to Anglophones, the relative thinness of post-secondary program offerings in French and the much lower proportion of minority students who proceed to college or university.

Cross-Country Tour

Yukon French-language classes in Whitehorse were expanded in 1985; minority-language instruction is now offered from kindergarten through grade nine, but divided between two schools. This good news is somewhat tempered by the difficulties of supplying suitable teaching materials and attracting qualified staff.

Northwest Territories Efforts are at last in progress to lift from the Northwest Territories the dubious distinction of being the only jurisdiction in Canada without formal provision for French-language education for its Francophone minority. A federally funded study published in 1985 recommended that steps be taken to ensure the future of the two existing French-language classes in Frobisher Bay and Nanisivik. The Territorial Government faces a major administrative challenge in attempting to meet the needs of seven native language communities as well as those of both unilingual and bilingual Francophones, all of them relatively scattered across the territorial map.

British Columbia French-language education in British Columbia continued to show great tenacity in 1985. Despite severe cutbacks in staff and budgets throughout the education system, the *programme cadre de français* chalked up an impressive 20 per cent increase in enrolments over the previous year, going from 1,362 to over 1,600 in absolute numbers. For a mother-tongue French population in the 40,000 range, this is a major advance.

Revisions are also to be made to the School Act. Currently minority-language education rights flow from ministry policy only, as the Act makes no mention of language of instruction. Francophones hope to see minority education rights clearly included in new legislation and perhaps, too, enough generosity of spirit to recognize that transportation is an essential part of educational facilities when schools are few in number and necessarily distant from many potential pupils. A lack of school transportation continues to threaten the viability of the *programme cadre*, for example, in North Vancouver and Nanaimo.

Alberta The event of the year was undoubtedly the Bugnet court case, which basically asked the question whether Alberta's School Act was legally compatible with section 23 of the Charter. The decision rendered in July found for the plaintiffs, a group of Francophone parents from Edmonton, in declaring the Act not to be in conformity with the Charter insofar as minority-language education is only permitted, not guaranteed. However, the decision left unanswered, or answered less clearly, a number of other issues which had been brought before the court. The judge concluded that the School Act should award, to citizens who qualify under section 23, ". . . the right to exercise a degree of exclusive control over French minority language of instruction (sic) for their children" where numbers warrant, and further stated that the School Act was in conflict with the Charter to the extent that this right was omitted. However, he went on to say that it was incumbent on the Legislature to provide the method of honouring this right, and not the responsibility of the court to spell out in detail what action was appropriate. In face of this absence of a clear definition of "a degree of exclusive control", an appeal has been launched.

It is therefore not possible to view this particular judgment as an outright victory for minority education rights. Most significantly, the Provincial Government has not felt compelled to act promptly to clarify the ground rules. On the contrary, the Minister of Education stressed that neither the judgment nor proposed changes to the School

Act, not foreseen before well into 1986, would entail the establishment of separate French and English school boards.

Meanwhile, enrolments in minority-language classes, in the handful of locations where they exist separately from French immersion, still managed to grow significantly. At École Sainte-Anne in Calgary, for example, the student body rose by 44 per cent, from 130 to 187 pupils, in only its second year of operation. The demand is certainly there, and the will to obtain full value for the education rights provided by the Charter is certainly making itself felt. Yet, outside the major centres, the scattering of potential French-language pupils among numerous school divisions makes the implementation of French programs highly problematical, let alone providing parents with the "degree of exclusive control" that the judge in the Bugnet case deemed necessary. It was not encouraging to learn, from a survey of school boards carried out by l'*Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta*, of "vast differences of interpretation of section 23 from board to board" and a general determination to do very little until the Province had clearly established the appropriate delivery system.

We recognize that the administrative and political problems associated with developing such a system are great. But they are not insoluble, and Francophone minority associations across Canada have produced a wealth of practical ideas about how it might be done. The only way the problem could possibly be made easier by the mere passage of time is if the minority, deprived of its constitutional right, dwindled into total demographic insignificance. We refuse to believe that that is what the Government and people of Alberta want by way of "solution". But, unless they act now, it may be the solution they end up with.

Saskatchewan

Twelve Francophone groups have launched a court challenge to the constitutionality of Saskatchewan's Education Act on the grounds that it does not grant Francophones the right to manage and control their own schools. The action, led by the *Commission des écoles fransaskoises*, reflects the disappointment of the province's Francophones with long and ultimately fruitless negotiations with the Government. Granted, there are practical difficulties to be overcome in establishing a mechanism for minority school control in a province where that minority is small and scattered, but the Education Minister's response to the action, disappointment that Francophones were not more appreciative of what had been done for them, reflects some misunderstanding of the nature of constitutional obligations. The case has not yet come to court.

Early in the year, Collège Mathieu, a private French-language residential secondary school in Gravelbourg, presented to the Provincial Government a proposal based on considerable research. It called for the establishment on its premises of certain community college and university level courses, a pedagogical resource centre and community college co-ordinating services for Francophones throughout the province. The proposal was turned down on budgetary grounds, but as a consolation prize, two co-ordinators have been hired to do preliminary planning on the post-secondary and continuing education needs of the minority community.

Manitoba

A positive step was taken to consider Francophone management of minority-language schools in Manitoba, when the Education Rights Review was set up by the Government to study the matter. Headed by two assistant deputy ministers of

the Education Ministry, the enquiry will consider the province's constitutional obligations. Although it will likely be some time before a report is produced, there is at least evidence here that the Provincial Government takes the issue seriously.

A difficult and divisive dispute arose in the predominantly French-speaking community of St. Pierre-Jolys. A group of parents, mainly Francophone, expressed a wish for a reduction in French instruction in the local schools, to 50 per cent from the present 75 per cent, on the grounds that graduates of the French schools did not have sufficient knowledge of English to compete in the English-dominated workplace. School trustees and many students appeared surprised at the controversy and the strength of feelings expressed. It seems to us that here, as in Chéticamp, Nova Scotia, school authorities and perhaps Francophone associations could have done more to communicate to parents the results of research into minority-language instruction, which show that, by and large, where young Francophones are surrounded by English on the street, on television and radio and in the community, it is French, not English skills that need extra reinforcement in school. In any event, there is no pedagogical reason why Francophone students in a French school where courses are predominantly in French cannot receive high-quality instruction in the English language. In St. Pierre-Jolys, the present solution is probably the best one in the circumstances: a committee of trustees is studying the question.

Ontario

It was another eventful year for French-language education in Canada's most populous province. Profound changes that had been exhaustively discussed for several years at last began to see the light of day.

A draft bill providing for the eventual management of French schools by Francophones was presented in November. Franco-Ontarian representatives were pleased that the bill provides the right to manage minority schools in all parts of the province, even where numbers are small. Interim measures are to provide some participation in school management in the period up to 1987, when all school boards with French-language units will have Francophone sections. Boards without French-language units, which must buy minority education services from neighbouring boards, will nevertheless have advisory committees. A working group has been set up by the Minister of Education to come up with precise ways of implementing the bill's provisions.

At the same time, the Minister had good news for the Ottawa-Carleton region, where Francophones and all four school boards in the region have been calling for a single homogeneous French-language board to be established. Such a board is to be created by 1988. There is so far no indication that the Government contemplates homogeneous French-language boards in other parts of Ontario, but a prevailing climate of openmindedness leaves us relatively optimistic.

Gradual extension of public funding to the upper secondary grades of Catholic schools had, as predicted, important repercussions for French schools. Francophone groups expressed fears about the vulnerability of minority education rights in the re-organization entailed by the new financing. Few regions could support both French and English Catholic high schools. Several Franco-Ontarian associations called for a delay in implementing the new financing, at least until a court rules on its constitutionality.

A report published in November by the *Conseil de l'éducation franco-ontarienne* offered a trenchant diagnosis of elementary, secondary and post-secondary levels of education for Franco-Ontarians.[1] Among its findings: despite increased services in French in Ontario, fewer and fewer children speak French at home; inadequate educational services in French account for a higher drop-out rate from high school for Francophones than for Anglophones and for a lower proportion of Francophones studying mathematics, science and technology; and the French programs in bilingual schools are "very impoverished", their drop-out rate, for Francophones, being the highest. Shortcomings on the post-secondary side are even more severe. "In both community colleges and universities, the almost total absence of French-language programs for technological, industrial, scientific and commercial disciplines has the effect of excluding Franco-Ontarians of today's generation from participating on an equal basis in the social and economic future of Canada".

Quebec

Bill 3, the proposed legislation to replace Quebec's denominational boards with linguistic boards, was declared unconstitutional by the Quebec Superior Court. The judgement is being appealed by the Province. At the same time, Alliance Quebec, representing a large sector of the English-speaking community which supported the concept of linguistic boards, appealed for continued public attention to the need for structural reform of Quebec's school system.

Other developments included the creation of a new branch at the Ministry of Education. The mandate of the new *Direction des services éducatifs aux Anglophones* (DSEA) includes the following responsibilities:

- to act as ministerial representative in the Anglophone community by exchanging information and consulting with schools and school boards;
- to identify educational services needed by the Anglophone community; and
- to help establish departmental policy and to develop and adapt programs.

Declining enrolments and consequent school closings continue to affect the English-speaking community. In Quebec's largest Catholic school board, the Montreal Catholic School Commission, the Anglophone sector declined by 10.8 per cent in 1985 compared to a drop of 2.8 per cent for the Francophone sector. As a result, a number of schools are slated to close. At the same time, Quebec's largest Protestant board, the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, announced plans to close several of its English-language schools or convert them to French schools. Meanwhile, kindergarten enrolments went up by over 40 per cent in Eastern Townships school boards — a bright day for a long-diminishing Anglophone community.

New Brunswick

In the spring of 1985, attention centred on the recommendations of the Office of Government Reform on education issues. The proposals, which concern curriculum development, funding of schools and teacher education, are meant to apply equally to the province's English and French systems. Although no specific references were made to minority-language education, a number of suggestions were put forward to improve instruction in English as a second language in areas where there is a strong concentration of Francophones.

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[1] Churchill, Stacey *et al.*, *Éducation et besoins des Franco-Ontariens: le diagnostic d'un système d'éducation*, *Conseil de l'éducation franco-ontarienne*, Toronto, November 1985.

Thanks to funding from the Secretary of State, the Université de Moncton offered, last summer, a free French-language improvement program directed primarily at Francophone youths living in minority situations. The program was designed to promote linguistic and cultural pride among young Francophones as well as to improve their oral and written skills.

Nova Scotia

Developments in minority-language schooling were obscured by a bitter controversy over the designation of the Notre-Dame de l'Annonciation school in Chéticamp as an "Acadian" school. The community, largely Francophone or of French descent, was split over whether the school should adopt an "Acadian" program, which would involve up to 50 per cent French instruction at the secondary level as opposed to the current 25 per cent. The opponents of Acadian status argue that more French instruction will affect their children's education in English and, consequently, future job prospects in the predominantly English-language job market. Supporters of the new status argue that increased French schooling is the only way that the French culture will survive. Although a majority of the community rejected the Acadian program in a plebiscite held late last fall, the Minister has not yet resolved the school's status.

Prince Edward Island

Since the adoption of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, parents in Summerside have tried to obtain French schooling for their children, arguing that the "where numbers warrant" definition used by the Province is far too restrictive and, as a result, prevents them from having French schooling. A long-delayed court case on the issue is to be heard in 1986.

Meanwhile, enrolments in the Evangeline French-language school district have dropped slightly from about 475 to 465. At the French school in Charlottetown, however, they rose from 40 to 50.

"Refrancisation" kindergartens to improve first-language abilities among Francophone children have been set up in several communities in the province, including Tignish, Summerside and Charlottetown.

The bilingual secretarial program at Holland College, shelved for lack of demand two years ago, is back in place. Moreover, the college now offers a bilingual clerk-typist program and business French as well as bilingual police training for all three Maritime provinces.

Newfoundland

In an address to the *Fédération des Francophones de Terre-Neuve et du Labrador* last October, Newfoundland's Minister of Education committed his Department to developing a French-language school system in the Port-au-Port Peninsula. Emphasizing the need to provide better French-language schooling for Francophones, the Minister's plans include construction of a school to serve the village of Mainland[1] from kindergarten to grade nine; a change in the status of the immersion school in Cape St. George to a French school; some financial assistance for Mainland youngsters to pursue secondary studies in French in Cape St. George; the hiring of an advisor to develop a *franco-terreneuvien* teaching program; and a series of consultations within various communities to discuss the projects. According to the Department of Education, the French immersion program in Cape St. George will change to a French language program over a period of years beginning in 1986,

[1] Also known as Grand'Terre.

and the French school in Mainland should be ready to open its doors in September 1987. These will be the second and third minority-language schools in Newfoundland (the other is in Labrador City) and the first ones on the Island. All of this is good news for Francophones but they are nevertheless concerned that the school board in the Port-au-Port Peninsula may be less than fully attuned to the scope of the Minister's plans.

Recommendations

1) It is recommended that the Secretary of State, in planning for a federal-provincial agreement after 1988, give particular priority to provinces where the official-language minority has hitherto had little access to education in its own language.

2) It is recommended that a national conference or a series of regional meetings be held to explore ways of ensuring that the official-language minorities can effectively exercise their right to manage their own educational facilities.

Second Official Language Instruction: Personal Best

Introduction of the Official Languages Act in 1969 helped stimulate some major rethinking in Canadian approaches to second and other language learning. Federal and provincial governments soon demonstrated their realization that lucid and harmonious communication is, in every sense, a matter of intercultural understanding, and that the heart of that understanding is genuine second-language proficiency. To this end, the Federal Government has invested upward of $733 million in that effort since 1970, with results that continue to influence the success of the official languages program in general.

Learning Opportunities

Even though more and more Canadians agree that facility in both official languages is something they want and need, access to worthwhile language-learning opportunities is far from assured for the vast majority of Canadian families. In fact, access is rapidly becoming *the* issue in second language learning. It is more than tantalizing to be told of the benefits of bilingualism and not be able to learn the other language because courses are unavailable, available but full, or are offered only to certain groups of people, or only up to a certain grade, or in a distant location with no transportation. The unfortunate fact of the matter is that what might seem a clear-cut right to have one's children instructed in their second official language is virtually non-existent. Provincial laws and policies do sometimes amount to a form of guaranteed access (where numbers warrant, of course) in New Brunswick, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan, but to date no court case has been won or lost *directly* on this issue, and no provincial legislation guarantees access to second official language instruction as such. In the next two or three years we confidently predict that parents' groups will be applying heavy pressure, judicial and/or political, for some such guarantee.

From a slightly different perspective, only Quebec and New Brunswick *require* second-language study past the first year of secondary school, and no province except New Brunswick makes it compulsory before grade four. It is baffling that educational authorities, with all the research on language learning at their disposal, still appear to consider a two or three year exposure to some 30 minutes of language instruction per day an adequate grounding. Optional courses, on the other hand, suffer from an on-again off-again lack of continuity, particularly as financially strapped

school boards become cautious about introducing new options. What is most needed, other than money, is careful planning and co-ordination of programs, whether compulsory or not.

School boards can take some encouragement from the news that the federal-provincial agreement on official languages in education has been extended until 1988. However, too little money is being spread too thin, and minimal funding increases do not begin to match the rise in demand. The problem is that one source of funds must be all things to all people. Not only are all minority- and second-language programs in the elementary and secondary school systems competing for those limited funds, but from the same pot must also come support for university and community college programs, teacher training, adult education, bilingual exchanges, educational television, student bursaries and fellowships, and the Monitor Program. Thus, a province using the funds to meet demand for one activity must often short-change another, like pulling up a short blanket to cover one's shoulders only to suffer from exposed feet.

Participation Rates

What *is* happening to participation rates? As the tables in Appendices B 3, 4 and 5 show, participation in second language learning is by and large on the increase. But statistics do not tell the whole story. With so much talk about the boom in second language learning, it is easy to forget the proportion of school children who are *not* learning the other language at all: in 1984-85, nationwide, 2.1 million, or 51 per cent of the 4.3 million elementary and secondary pupils were *not* in second official languages classes of any kind. These rather discouraging numbers merit a closer look. Nationwide, 53 per cent of all elementary pupils were non-participants in language learning.[1] New Brunswick comes out best with only 31 per cent of its combined elementary and secondary pupils not enrolled in second language learning; Alberta has the worst record, with fully 76 per cent of its pupils left out of language classes. Satisfaction at the continuing rise in French immersion enrolments is considerably dampened by these facts.

Since the Gallup poll conducted by Canadian Parents for French in 1984 and our Canadian Facts poll taken this year tell us that the general public is keenly interested in having children learn French and English in school, it is not lack of demand that deprives most Canadian children of the opportunity. Educational authorities appear to be seriously out of step with the public's wishes. It is interesting to compare this situation with that in private schools.

At the end of the 1984-85 school year, this Office contacted 151 English-language private schools in nine provinces by telephone. We must stress that this was not a statistically valid sample since most schools contacted were in or near major urban centres and schools in Manitoba could not be reached. However, the results were striking enough. Almost three-quarters of the schools offered French as a second language and the great majority of private school pupils were studying French through immersion, extended French (one or two subjects taught in the language

[1] These figures refer only to learning English and French as second languages and do not include learning other languages in or out of the classroom, a matter discussed in the following chapter on other languages.

in addition to French language and literature) or core French programs. It would appear that, at least in the big cities, private schools have been moving to satisfy parental demand, or simply their own convictions on the value of a second language, somewhat faster than the public school authorities, who really have no excuse for lagging so far behind.

French as a Second Language (FSL)

Immersion

The popularity of French immersion continued to grow in 1985 as in other years. However, perhaps the most striking feature of the 160,000-strong body of immersion pupils is its pyramid shape, there being still only a handful of pupils in secondary school compared to those in the earlier grades, particularly kindergarten and grade one. We get a glimpse of what the future might look like when we realize that, while only about 4 per cent of Anglophone pupils in all grades are in French immersion classes nationwide, almost 10 per cent of Anglophones in their first year of school are immersion pupils. In provinces where immersion is a relatively new program, up to one-third of all current immersion pupils are in their first year of school.

Immersion's success is indisputable. It is perhaps a measure of its acceptance that voices of concern are now being raised about certain aspects of its use. The students themselves, supported by respected researchers, say that they are not satisfactorily learning how to express themselves in written French. It appears that the stress on purposeful communication, which is so much a feature of the immersion approach to learning the spoken language, has not yet been systematically applied to the written language. There is work to be done here by curriculum specialists, teacher trainers and teachers. Surely this could be a natural application for the new educational technology, for example by making possible computer pen pals or in providing other opportunities to use the written language for genuine communication.

Here again, access continues to be a problem for many would-be immersion families. Many rural school boards still balk at introducing the program, other boards provide no transportation or charge a fee for it, and still others are limiting access by opting for late rather than early immersion programs to save money. But perhaps the most pernicious access problem is the tendency to focus immersion-style classes in secondary school on the most academically minded, university-bound students. As we found in looking at help wanted notices, a great demand exists for bilingual employees in service and office support occupations for which applicants are least likely to have been in the academic stream in their secondary studies. Do these students not deserve a crack at the benefits of bilingualism? And is there any reason to believe that well-adapted immersion techniques would be less successful with students not bound for university?

Finally, an ironic side-effect of immersion's popularity: there is still an unfortunate myopia that sees the growth of immersion classes as a sign that much is being done "for Francophones". For example, an article in a Saskatchewan newspaper[1] began: "Although Yorkton school systems are introducing French immersion programs this fall, Canada's official language commissioner said the situation for Saskatchewan's

[1] *The Yorkton Enterprise*, April 8, 1985.

Francophone communities gives cause for concern." Minority Francophone communities and Canadian Parents for French are doing commendable work in trying to combat the misunderstanding that produces non-sequiturs like this, for example by publishing brochures outlining the differences between immersion and minority-language education, issuing public statements supporting each other's aims and making public appearances stressing their mutual understanding, although they pursue different goals. Continued patience and hard work of this kind will probably be needed for some time yet.

Core French

Core French, as run-of-the-mill, regular, French as a second language classes are called, still carries a "problem child" reputation, despite strenuous efforts to change its image. This Office's International Youth Year writing contest turned up at least one revealing description from the receiving end: "School has taught me that . . . in the French room there are 18 window panes, 216 tiles on the ceiling and 48 light sections."

However, there is some reason to hope that things may change. A major three-year Core French Study by the Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers is the best news about core French in years. The study will take a searching look at the theory and practice of language pedagogy and should ultimately have a salutary impact on curriculum.

Core as alternative to early immersion?

Controversy is brewing in more than one part of the country over a potential side-effect of improvements to the core program. While the architects of improvement fully recognize that the objectives of immersion and core French differ, some school trustees, under pressure to trim budgets, are looking to improved core French programs as a cheaper alternative to early immersion. Informed proponents of both programs are understandably perturbed at the prospect of this kind of either-or choice becoming an unforeseen spill-over from improvements in second language teaching.

English as a Second Language (ESL)

Improved instruction in English as a second language for Francophones has been a subject of debate in northern New Brunswick and Quebec for the past several years, as many teachers and parents question the quality of existing programs.

The proposal by New Brunswick's Office of Government Reform to improve core English second-language programs in largely Francophone areas was well received by the *Association des enseignantes et des enseignants du Nouveau-Brunswick*. Evidently, there is general recognition of the need to provide young Francophones with the second-language abilities demanded by the job market.

Meanwhile, in Quebec, where there is no English immersion and where intensive ESL courses are few and far between, Francophone schools began a stage-by-stage implementation of a new second-language program more clearly based on communication skills than its predecessor. At the same time, the Ministry of Education put off making a pass mark in English obligatory in order to graduate from Secondary V, which would have placed Francophone students on the same footing as Anglophone students, who must pass French at that level. The postponement

— from 1986 to 1990 — was made to allow school boards fully to implement the new English as a second language program at all secondary grade levels.

Three years ago, the Chateauguay School Commission deliberately contravened Quebec's curriculum policy prohibiting the teaching of English to Francophones before grade four, arguing that the Province could not unduly restrict a board's prerogative to determine curriculum. In response to a request from several boards — English and French — for a declaratory judgement on the issue, the Quebec Superior Court ruled last fall that the Province did indeed have the right to control curriculum in elementary and secondary schools. While this essentially technical decision has the effect of putting the teaching of French and English as second languages on a different footing in Quebec, the relative strengths of the two languages in the North American context in 1985 make some such distinction unavoidable, however much we look forward to the day when it becomes unnecessary.

Post-Secondary Education

It has become traditional in our Annual Reports to speak in less than glowing terms of Canadian universities' recalcitrance with regard to the long overdue reinstatement of second-language entrance requirements.

To be certain our facts were accurate and in the hope that good news had not gone unreported, we conducted a survey of all university registrars' offices in Canada with the exception of British Columbia, where the three major post-secondary institutions have already reinstated the requirement. Alas, we have no choice but to repeat the wretched roster: of approximately 60 institutions, only three universities and three bilingual faculties or affiliated colleges require some level of second official language knowlege for admission, while two institutions require it from all students for graduation. What are the others waiting for? Would not a language entrance or exit requirement be consistent with a return to what are often seen as the higher standards of a generation ago and at the same time be in step with the aspirations of today's students?

Course offerings in French

University and college course offerings again raise the questions of access and choice. As the then Secretary of State, the Honourable Walter McLean, said in addressing the Canadian Association of University Teachers in November, 1984, "accessibility means providing a choice of instruction in either official language so that students are not forced to learn in a different cultural and linguistic milieu. It means, too, that immersion students comfortable in their second language will have opportunities to study in that language if they choose". Fortunately, the number of universities taking this kind of message seriously is very much on the increase. Promising developments everywhere from Vancouver Island to Newfoundland will be highlighted in our cross-Canada tour below.

The universities which took concrete steps to make French, as one professor put it, a "supplementary official language" within Anglophone institutions, are to be congratulated. Those that offer a selection of courses taught in French designed primarily for immersion graduates are still finding enrolments discouragingly low. They should not be deterred; as we have indicated, the bulge in immersion classes is still

some years away from the post-secondary level, and today's clientele remains small and scattered. But now is the time to prepare.

Other organizations

Other organizations concerned with education were also active in promoting bilingual university education in 1985. Canadian Parents for French held three more conferences on the subject, in Winnipeg, Charlottetown, and Toronto, and its Prince Edward Island chapter published an excellent guide entitled *French Immersion Graduates — What Are Atlantic Canada's Colleges and Universities Offering Them?* CPF Ontario distributed a brochure on bilingual offerings in that province's colleges and universities and plans to hold annual meetings on the subject. The *Canadian Modern Language Review* produced a special supplementary issue on post-secondary bilingual education.

Exchanges and Other Enriching Experiences

Exchange programs

It is gratifying to hear language specialists, teachers, government officials and politicians speak so whole-heartedly of the need for bilingual youth exchanges as an integral part of second language learning and as a priority for building the future of a bilingual nation. No disagreement has yet been heard with the call in the 1971-72 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Official Languages for "massively engaging our youth in spontaneous exchange of ideas" through bilingual visits, classroom monitorships and other similar means. It is a good deal less gratifying to see what is actually happening to bilingual exchange programs and indeed to other government-assisted programs that breathe real life into language use.

Open House Canada, which pays travel costs for exchange visits of 14 to 21 year-olds, experienced another budget cut in 1985. Organizations like the Society for Educational Visits and Exchanges in Canada (SEVEC) had to devote much time and energy to lobbying just to maintain funding for the same level of services.

How many of our second-language students can actually enjoy an opportunity to communicate with their peers in the other language in this way? Well, in 1985 there were approximately 2,300,000 second-language learners in public elementary and secondary schools. Without having exact figures for all kinds of exchanges, many of which took place on an informal basis without government assistance, we estimate that well under 1 per cent of those students participated in a bilingual exchange. A "necessity" that is available to less than one in a hundred? Something is out of sync here.

Part of the problem is that there simply is no one primary source of funds for bilingual exchanges in Canada. The federal Open House Canada Program supports all manner of exchanges, with language learning as only one of the possible objectives, and it does not serve children under 14 at all. Ministries of education which find funds for exchanges from within the federal-provincial agreement are simply robbing Peter to pay Paul, since less money is then available for other activities. It is hardly surprising that few provinces choose to finance exchanges this way.

Moreover, a province willing to pay travel costs for its students runs into a predictable obstacle when the natural destination, Quebec, is unable to meet the demand to pay *its* students' travel costs to exchange with young English-speakers from every

other part of the country. After years of calling in vain for increased support to bilingual exchanges through existing government programs, we believe it is now time to press for establishment of a national program of bilingual exchanges for elementary and high school age students. Surely it is poor economics to go on spending money on second language instruction and not capitalize on the one element that makes it *work*. Whether as a new program or as a part set aside from an existing program, funds earmarked for exchanges are the only way to rise above the disgracefully limited opportunities that are now available to language learners. We cannot put the case any better than a Quebec City high school girl who wrote in a letter to a newspaper about her exchange: "The cost is worth it, since now we speak English well, and we have had an unforgettable experience. I wish many young people the opportunity to enjoy an exchange visit as enriching as mine."[1]

Monitor Program

Exchanges are not the only important second language learning activity suffering from under-appreciation on the part of the budget planners. One of the greatest success stories in the last two decades of language-related activities for youth has been the Monitor Program funded by the Department of the Secretary of State and administered by the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada. Under the program, university students travel to another province to attend a university in their second official language while receiving a stipend for assisting in classrooms where their first language is being taught as a second language. Not only do the language learners benefit greatly from this contact with a "real" and youthful native speaker other than their teacher, but the program also has valuable spin-offs. For example, a high proportion of these students remain in, or return to, their host provinces to help fill the urgent demand for immersion and other language teachers, and several provinces are coming to rely on this unplanned windfall from the program.

What, then, of the size and coverage of this undertaking? There were only just over a thousand second language monitors at work in 1985, with a handful more assisting in Francophone minority language classrooms. The miserly funding increases each year bear no relationship at all to the demand for monitors. Yet our 1971-1972 Report envisaged ten of thousands of such students serving as monitors within a few years of the program's inception. If it works so well, why should the activity itself be so poverty-stricken?

1985 accomplishments

Nevertheless, the year produced a good many examples of innovative thinking on extra-curricular activities to bring students into direct contact with the language they are learning, outside the classroom:

- SEVEC introduced a program of *Contacts culturels* to improve the educational content of "one-way" visits to Quebec for classes which cannot arrange exchanges;
- a pilot project is in progress in Quebec to bring out-of-province students to English-language CEGEPs in largely French-speaking areas;
- exchanges need not cover long distances but can work well between near neighbours; for example, immersion pupils from Uxbridge, Ontario, visited Francophones in nearby Agincourt;

[1] *Le Soleil*, May 27, 1985.

- the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia now offers school tours and lectures in French, as does the Mendel Art Gallery in Saskatoon;
- the University of Regina's Centre for Bilingual Education hosts French activity days for immersion classes that help add the cultural component to language learning; and
- family immersion summer camps were successful in the Okanagan region of British Columbia and elsewhere.

The latter is just one of many enriching experiences provided for pupils learning French through the hard work and initiative of Canadian Parents for French. Of this very successful voluntary organization's 1985 activities, we have space to mention only a few of the major ones: the *Festival d'art oratoire* in May, which brought the winners of provincial French-language speaking contests to Ottawa to showcase their very impressive talents; production of a new handbook for parents and educators, *More French, S'il Vous Plait*; and completion of national surveys on core French and on remedial and enrichment opportunities for immersion students.

CPF shows what can be done on a shoestring, but that does not mean everything *should* be done on the cheap or by volunteers. If only governments could match the enthusiasm and commitment that is now largely the gift of thousands of individual Canadians.

Cross-Country Tour

Newfoundland

Enrolments and the number of classes across the province continued to increase, although, in St. John's, early immersion experienced a serious shortage of spaces. While the problem was resolved by the beginning of the 1985-86 school year, the situation again underlined the need for long-range planning of immersion programs. The challenge was taken up by the St. John's chapter of Canadian Parents for French in its report *Ten Years Later: French Immersion and the Need for Planning*, which discussed, among other things, expanding immersion and core French programs, improving the quality of existing French programs, as well as teacher training for core and immersion French teachers. A study of grades one, two and three French immersion students is being conducted across the province by a group from Memorial University. Funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and the Secretary of State's Department, the study will attempt to identify causes for any differences in the achievements of early-immersion students.

Memorial University has added an innovative component to its English as a second language summer courses. Francophones students may work with volunteer agencies, gaining practical English skills as well as an understanding of the community.

Prince Edward Island

Enrolments in immersion are increasing, but there is concern over the amount of French being taught in junior and senior high school immersion programs. Some higher grades have only one class in French.

The Core French Review Report — an important initiative undertaken in February 1984 and subsequently submitted to P.E.I.'s Minister of Education — has still not

been acted upon. The options outlined in the Report were designed to ensure that students who successfully complete the provincial core French program have, by the end of grade twelve, a fundamental knowledge of the French language and the ability to participate in simple conversations, as well as to read standard texts on subjects of interest with the aid of a dictionary.

The University of Prince Edward Island carried out a study which concluded that the University must have more courses offered in French if immersion graduates are to remain on the Island.

Nova Scotia

Although immersion enrolments continue to increase in some parts of the province, parents in Sydney have long been engaged in a fight to bring back French immersion, cut several years ago. Recently the school board in the Sydney area distributed a questionnaire inquiring about the interest in an immersion program. It is hoped that the board will act on the anticipated positive results.

Elsewhere, the hard-won French immersion pilot program in Clare-Argyle now includes grade two; and Canadian Parents for French chapters in Amherst and Halifax-Darmouth run highly successful French programs for pre-school children.

Mount St. Vincent University is studying the possibility of offering fine arts and religious studies courses in French, while the Université Sainte-Anne has been providing French immersion for provincial cabinet ministers and other MLAs.

New Brunswick

A number of recommendations regarding second language instruction, both core and immersion, emanated from a report by the Office of Government Reform. Another report which made recommendations on French second-language instruction in New Brunswick was submitted to the Department of Education by Dr. H.H. Stern of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. Both reports suggested an overhaul of the core system. The recommendations of the Office of Government Reform included the following:

- that education in the public school system be capable of providing students with at least enough second-language proficiency to be able to satisfy social demands and limited work-related requirements;
- that the Department of Education do this essentially by replacing the core program with an enriched program. Thus English-speaking and French-speaking students living in areas where their language is predominant would begin second language instruction in grade one (rather than grade three) and would also add at least one other course in the second language no later than in grade three.

However, the Office of Government Reform report is somewhat critical of the unplanned proliferation of early and late French immersion programs in New Brunswick and questions their efficacy. It recommends that the Department of Education ensure that the quality of core programs is not eroded by the existence of French immersion. It takes the view that the purpose "is to provide a balanced program choice to parents with children entering grade one rather than allowing a situation to develop in terms of facilities and other resources where parents feel the only way for their children to obtain a sound quality education is to register for the early immersion program."

The tenor of this statement, combined with suggestions in the Stern report aimed at reforming the immersion system, provoked a great deal of concern among the supporters of immersion, who feared that the system in place could be dismantled. At year's end, changes to the immersion system were still being discussed by several school boards, the Department of Education and Canadian Parents for French, but no steps had been taken to alter the system.

Mount Allison, along with St. Thomas University and the University of New Brunswick, offers a bilingualism certificate to qualifying graduates. The latter two institutions already offer some courses in French, while Mount Allison is studying the feasibility of doing so.

Quebec Students in Quebec's English schools who are in French immersion now number around 15,000, about the same as last year. There are at the same time 17,595 Anglophone students studying in French schools.

Anyone the least familiar with language legislation in Quebec will be aware that among the reasons for introducing Bill 22 and the education sections of Bill 101 was the fact that many students from families which were not primarily either French-speaking or English-speaking tended to enrol in English schools. In the spring of this year, the *Conseil de la langue française* published a report which revealed a major shift in the language of schooling of these so-called "Allophone" students. In 1977–78, only 30 per cent of the students attended French schools; current data put that figure at 57 per cent. Moreover, among the non-French, non-English students born outside Canada, 85 per cent are in French schools compared with 27 per cent in 1976–77.

Ontario The requirements for the new Ontario Academic Credits (OACs) under the province's revamped high school system are discouraging as far as French is concerned; the Ministry of Education reduced the total accumulated hours of study required for a core French OAC from 1,200 to 1,080, and has given school boards until 1996 to offer even this anemic course of study to their pupils.

Although over 60 Ontario boards now offer French immersion, rural boards are the least likely to take the plunge, leaving parents to complain that the opportunity is not equal to those offered urban dwellers. A lack of bilingual programs for immersion pupils entering high school is encouraging too many Anglophones to seek admission to French-language high schools, something not to be recommended for the health of Franco-Ontarian education.

A respectable number of school boards responded to pressure to lower the starting point for core French instruction to grade four. Wellington County, however, was the scene of the kind of battle alluded to above in which the relative benefits and costs of early immersion and early core French are pitted against each other. A consultant's report favoured a grade four entry point for French immersion, which would mean abandoning the board's existing kindergarten-entry early immersion program. Improved, and earlier, core French was the proposed trade-off. Parental protests in favour of retaining early immersion eventually won the day, with earlier core French to be instituted as well.

On the post-secondary front, the Bovey report on the future of Ontario post-secondary education recommended more course offerings be given in French. At least

two more Ontario institutions joined the ranks of those already doing something about this. The University of Western Ontario set up an ad hoc Committee on French Language Programs. The University of Waterloo has taken a number of steps, among the most interesting being exchanges with two universities in France for co-op engineering students, as well as arrangements for co-op work terms in French-speaking parts of Canada. French language and culture options for engineering students are under study.

Manitoba

Little change in Manitoba, where for the third year running immersion parents' groups went to court over a school board's refusal to pay for their children's transportation to school. This time the scene was Thompson; despite last year's ruling by the Appeal Court, in a case concerning the St. James-Assiniboia board, that busing English-program pupils but not immersion pupils constituted discrimination, the Thompson school board remained adamant. The local chapter of Canadian Parents for French, which has had to organize transport at considerable cost to parents, initiated a court action late in 1985; parents in Brandon who are encountering the same problem are also anxiously awaiting the result.

Winnipeg was host, in April, to a conference on bilingual post-secondary education, organized by Saskatchewan and Manitoba chapters of Canadian Parents for French. Among recommendations touching Manitoba was one suggesting that secondary schools must provide a much greater range of courses in French if immersion graduates are to be capable of functioning in French at the university level.

Saskatchewan

Saskatchewan was the scene of yet another court case brought by Canadian Parents for French against a school board. In this case it was the Weyburn School Division, which was reluctant to institute a French immersion program despite provisions of the Education Act respecting duly formulated petitions by parents' groups. Proponents of immersion lost, both in the Court of Queen's Bench and in the Appeal Court, on the grounds that the provincial chapter of CPF which brought the suit did not constitute a local parents' committee under the terms of the Act. The judge's remarks that the case would likely have succeeded had it been brought by local parents leave room to speculate that Saskatchewan parents may be successful in winning immersion rights through the courts at some future time.

Alberta

Early in the year in Calgary, there were once again all-night line-ups by parents to register their children for French immersion, despite previous promises that increased funding would allow wider access and so make them a thing of the past.

British Columbia

Education budget cuts turned out to be more harmful to core French programs, where teachers are itinerant "add-ons" to staff, than to immersion classes. A program to recycle teachers by upgrading their language skills met with modest success and will be continued with increased financial incentives for participants, who must sacrifice a year's salary to their studies.

In the Cowichan school district, the extension of immersion classes into junior high school remains a controversial issue. The trustees, less than enthusiastic about an extension, were among those removed from office by the Minister of Education. Immersion parents are contemplating court action under the Charter of Rights.

Expo 86 is livening up interest in bilingualism; plans are afoot to billet Quebec student employees in immersion pupils' homes.

Yukon French immersion continues to be very popular in Whitehorse, with additional kindergarten classes being required to meet the heavy demand this year.

There has been something of a breakthrough in core French. Three schools will begin the program in grade one instead of grade five on a pilot basis. However, circumstances unfortunately place French and native languages in competition in some communities. Ingenuity and, no doubt, money will be needed to avoid this unnecessary conflict.

Northwest Territories French as a second language is widely available in Northwest Territories schools. Core French is taught in all schools in the main communities and is frequently being taught successfully as a third language to children whose mother tongue is Inuktitut. Finding and keeping qualified teachers is a problem, with secure, full time employment for teachers made difficult by a shortage of funds.

French immersion is available only in Yellowknife, where the lead class has reached high school. Co-ordination of two parallel elementary immersion streams in the public and separate schools is now an urgent necessity. Parents in Inuvik and Hay River have expressed interest in seeing French immersion programs offered in their communities as well.

Recommendations

1) It is again recommended that English-language universities require a knowledge of both official languages (as determined by senior secondary school credits) for admission to undergraduate degree programs.

2) It is recommended that the Secretary of State's Department examine the feasibility of establishing a national program of bilingual exchanges for children and youth.

Other Languages: The Pedigree of Nations

While the mandate of the Commissioner of Official Languages is largely limited to the two official languages, the standing and development of other languages is inescapably relevant to the Canadian view of linguistic fair play. Many Canadian youngsters are privileged to be able to learn not only their second official language but also, depending on where they are located, either the language of their ancestors or a modern language of their choice, and in an environment where that language is a living presence. This section will give a brief review of the teaching of those languages: in supplementary schools operated by community groups outside the regular school system; as part of provincial programs to teach heritage languages as subjects; in the various bilingual programs funded by the provinces; and as modern languages within the school system. It concludes with a look at the teaching of indigenous languages.

Teaching and learning other languages

As language groups in Canada have become more numerous, both in terms of languages spoken and the number of their speakers, the teaching and learning of languages other than English and French have also grown. Although enrolment statistics from a generation ago are not easy to obtain, it is sufficiently clear that, over recent decades, heritage language classes and other-language, bilingual school programs have overtaken the traditional high school second-language courses, both in numbers and geographic coverage. The enrolment figures reflect a high degree of correlation between the regional distribution of the various language communities and the heritage or bilingual programs in which those languages are taught. Less self-evident, but nonetheless a fact, is the correlation between the location of the various language groups and the availability of regular in-school modern language courses.

We know that children whose linguistic background is unrelated to the language being taught are enrolled in *all* these forms of language instruction, although at present we have no way of knowing how many. If we are to develop a coherent picture of Canada's present and future language options and how they might affect everything from educational and social policies to our competitiveness in international trade, this information is essential.

The increase in the number of students whose first language is other than that of the school has not gone unnoticed. As noted in a recent report on heritage-language

education[1], the "rapid increase in the number of minority-language students has given rise to considerable debate about how Canadian school systems should respond to the cultural and linguistic diversity of their students". Although the teaching of English and French as second languages has been relatively uncontroversial, the teaching of other languages within the public school system has been less so.

While both federal and provincial policies generally pay lip service to the importance of Canada's linguistic resources, they have been rather erratic in the actual funding of other-language teaching. In this, government positions probably only reflect popular attitudes, attitudes which cover the entire negative-positive continuum. As the report points out:

> In Toronto, advocates of the Heritage Languages Program (including, obviously, the Ontario Ministry of Education which provides funding) have seen promotion of heritage languages as academically advantageous for minority students, as a means of increasing cohesion and child-adult communication within minority families, and as a means of expanding the social and cultural horizons of all students. Opponents, on the other hand, have seen heritage language teaching as socially divisive, excessively costly, and educationally retrograde in view of minority students' need to learn English.[1]

Heritage languages classes outside the school system

The part-time teaching of other languages after school or on weekends is at present funded partly by the Federal Government's Multiculturalism Program and in some instances by provincial programs for what have become known as "heritage" or "ancestral" languages. The Federal Government's program was initiated in 1977 in response to pressing demands by the cultural communities themselves. It had at the start a modest budget, which grew to $1,364,000 by 1980-81 and reached $3,964,000 in 1984-85. The program provides assistance to what are known as "supplementary schools", as well as for teacher training and for the development of learning aids. The major part of the budget, about 86 per cent, goes directly into assistance to schools in every province. Table V.6 provides a fairly complete view of the distribution of this assistance.

Thanks to the Cultural Enrichment Program, some 60 languages were being taught last year in the supplementary schools. Table V.7 shows the 10 languages with the greatest number of students.

Some provinces also assist teaching of other languages in supplementary schools. Manitoba and Saskatchewan have such programs, often providing funding to groups which also receive federal funding, but Quebec is the only province that has full-time programs operated by ethnic communities. Indeed, in that province, 80 per cent funding is provided to privately run schools if the language of instruction is French for a substantial proportion of the school day. There are, for instance, 23 Jewish, two Greek and two Armenian schools, all of which offer third-language education.

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[1] Cummins, Jim, *Heritage Language Education: A Literature Review*, Toronto, Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1983.
[1] *Ibid.*

Table V.6

Number of schools, classes and students funded by the Cultural Enrichment Program, by province, 1984-85

Province	Number of schools	Number of classes	Number of students	Total funding $
Newfoundland	5	14	190	8,505
New Brunswick	11	33	285	14,725
Nova Scotia	20	115	959	35,890
Prince Edward Island	3	4	31	1,650
Quebec	186	1,229	20,507	561,301
Ontario	685	3,831	64,789	1,757,077
Manitoba	164	603	9,260	330,425
Saskatchewan	58	201	1,704	77,555
Alberta	115	634	8,292	274,880
British Columbia	174	845	11,598	362,805
Totals	**1,421**	**7,509**	**117,615**	**3,424,813**

Source: Department of the Secretary of State.

Heritage languages as subjects

In Ontario, funding has been provided to school boards since 1977 to teach heritage languages for up to two-and-a-half hours per week outside the regular five-hour school day. This allows for three possibilities: instruction on weekends, after regular school hours, or teaching integrated into a school day which has been extended by half an hour. Enrolment in Ontario's Heritage Languages Program has grown from 53,000 in 1977 to 90,981 in 1984-85. Quebec set up its *Programme de l'enseignement des langues d'origine* (PELO) in 1978. The following languages are taught for 30 minutes a day during school hours: Greek, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, Vietnamese, Laotian, Chinese, Cambodian, Hebrew and Arabic. Enrolment has grown from 2,566 in 1983-84 to 3,449 in 1984-85. The program is one hundred per cent funded by the province.

Bilingual programs funded by the provinces

Several provinces have instituted bilingual instruction within the public school system. Each of the Prairie provinces has bilingual schools or programs involving the main languages spoken there. Alberta was the first province formally to respond to the linguistic expectations of its ethnic communities. Since 1971 heritage languages may be used as a medium of instruction for one hundred per cent of the time in kindergarten and 50 per cent in other elementary grades. Saskatchewan and Manitoba followed suit in 1978 and 1979 respectively. Bilingual programs involving Ukrainian, German and Hebrew are now available in all three Prairie provinces. Bilingual programs in Chinese, Arabic and Polish are also available in Manitoba. Total enrolment in 1984-85 was 2,647 in Alberta, 1,691 in Saskatchewan and 1,294 in Manitoba.

Table V.7

Number of students in supplementary schools funded by the Cultural Enrichment Program, by the ten heritage languages most studied, 1984-85

Language	Number of students
Italian	17,850
Greek	15,065
Hebrew/Yiddish	13,087
Chinese	11,420
German	10,851
Hebrew	9,240
Ukrainian	5,841
Portuguese	4,828
Arabic	3,367
Creole-Haitian	2,599

Source: Department of the Secretary of State.

Modern and classical language teaching

Traditional second-language classes are thus no longer the principal means by which Canadian school children receive exposure to languages other than English and French. The numbers of children receiving traditional second language instruction are nevertheless quite impressive. A telephone survey of provincial ministries of education picked up language enrolment statistics for the 1984-85 school year. The enrolment figures in the tables below do not include the in-school bilingual programs, nor do they include private school enrolments, except in Saskatchewan. Many figures remain approximate, but underestimates are more likely than overestimates. In tables 4 and 5, enrolments are listed in descending order for elementary and secondary grades in those provinces where non-official and non-native languages are taught. It will be seen immediately that three provinces — Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick — do not figure in these tables. English and French are the only languages offered *within* the school systems of those provinces.

Excluding indigenous languages, which are discussed below, 20 languages are taught in Canadian elementary and secondary schools to a total of close to 46,000 pupils.

Table V.8

Enrolment in language courses other than English and French at the elementary level, by province, 1984-85

Languages	N.S.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.	Total
Hebrew		1,461				1,461
Ukrainian		806	652	A		1,458
Pilipino		303				303
Portuguese		262				262
German			138			138
Russian					129	129
Gaelic	99					99
Icelandic		83				83
Latin		80				80
Polish		53				53
Yiddish		41				41
Italian		23				23
Total enrolments	**99**	**3,112**	**790**	**A**	**129**	**4,130**
Total languages	**1**	**9**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**12**

A = Taught, but figures unavailable.

Source: Provincial ministries of education.

Table V.9

Enrolment in language courses other than English and French at the secondary level, by province, 1984-85.

Languages	N.S.	Que.	Ont.[2]	Man.	Sask.[3]	Alta.	B.C.	Total
German	328	50	4,297	4,9444[4]	1,235	3,433	3,742	18,029
Latin	251	334	5,372	198	72	559	262	7,048
Spanish	12	1,321	1,770	152		238	2,244	5,737
Italian		171	4,305	22		325	910	5,733
Ukrainian			52	567	1,112	1,117		2,908
Hebrew		708	A			30		738
Portuguese			385	167				552
Modern Greek		157	216					373
Chinese[1]			108				100	208
Russian		5	9				189	203
Polish			85					85
Japanese							60	60
Pilipino				53				53
Gaelic	24							24
Finnish			22					22
Dutch			18					18
Lithuanian			16					16
Ancient Greek			6					6
Yiddish			A					A
Total Enrolments	**615**	**2,746**	**16,661**	**6,103**	**2,419**	**5,762**	**7,507**	**41,813**
Total Languages	**4**	**7**	**15**	**8**	**3**	**6**	**7**	**20**

[1] Cantonese and Mandarin.
[2] Separate (Catholic) school figures are incomplete.
[3] Figures include private schools.
[4] Includes Hutterite German.
A Taught, but figures unavailable.

Source: Provincial ministries of education.

Table V.10

Federal Native Language Programs; enrolment by region indicating use of a native language in school, 1984-85.

Region	Native language not taught	Native language used as a language of instruction	Native language taught as a subject only	Total
Atlantic	2,157	1,104	171	3,432
Quebec	2,468	7,405	1,429	11,302
Ontario	6,297	5,488	2,327	14,112
Manitoba	8,367	2,825	3,473	14,665
Saskatchewan	5,152	4,669	3,268	13,089
Alberta	8,493	2,274	868	11,635
Yukon[1]	75	3	—	78
British Columbia	7,062	1,675	3,071	11,808
Canada	**40,071**	**25,443**	**14,607**	**80,121**

[1] These students cross the border to study in British Columbia schools.

Source: Education Directorate, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.

Native-Language Teaching

The teaching and learning of Canada's native languages, though characterised by their own particular difficulties, are on the upswing. Under the Constitution, Native education is a federal responsibility, and federal programs may be administered through federal, provincial or band schools. The Yukon and the Northwest Territories have taken over full responsibility for native language teaching in their jurisdictions, and a few provinces offer native language courses independently.

Teacher training programs

The situation of the languages themselves can create special problems: many still have no standardized writing system, for instance, and there is a lack of teachers. Teacher training programs *are* carried on, however, in Frobisher Bay and Fort Smith (Northwest Territories), through the Katavik, Quebec, school board, and sometimes in the summer at Lakehead University and the University of Western Ontario, to mention only a few. The Native Language Centre, a co-operative effort between the Yukon Territorial Government and The Council for Yukon Indians, runs a three-year course which will see its first 13 graduates in June 1986. The Centre also trains teachers of Athapaskan languages from British Columbia, Alaska and the Northwest Territories under the Yukon College Native Language Instructors Certificate Course, and is a pioneer in the field of training for instructors with little previous formal education. Meanwhile, the Saskatchewan Indian Languages Institute has been training teachers through existing BEd. programs since 1972 and is negotiating with the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College (the only Indian university in Canada), to set up a permanent special program.

Table V.10 shows the numbers of students enrolled in Federal Government programs.

There is no comprehensive list of the languages taught in federal programs. It is the policy of the Government, however, to give all Native students the opportunity to master their own language. Some languages from each major native language group are taught. Algonkian languages are available from Quebec to Alberta; and Athapaskan languages from Saskatchewan to British Columbia. British Columbia, with its great diversity of language groups, offers Wakashan, Tsimshian, and Salishan languages as well as Haida and Tlingit. The Iroquoian language, Mohawk, has undergone a recent revival in Caughnawaga, Quebec, where a new Mohawk immersion program, whose oldest students are now in grade three, has virtually reintroduced the language to the community. Inuktitut and Innu are taught in Newfoundland/Labrador and in northern Quebec. The foregoing information represents a preliminary, very incomplete survey of the languages offered under federal programs, and we would be happy to see a more detailed compilation carried out.

New developments in the Canadian North

The territories are the scene of some very interesting developments in native-language teaching. The Northwest Territories Department of Education has run all its educational programs since 1970. In the Eastern Arctic virtually every Native student between kindergarten and grade nine is receiving instruction in Inuktitut. In the lower grades it is the language of instruction for all subjects, while students in the upper grades study it as a second language. Inuktitut immersion is gradually being phased in through the grades along with English as a second language. The goal is to produce bilingual (English and Inuktitut) high school graduates. In the Western Arctic, where the native languages have been in particular danger of disappearing, Inuvialuktun, Loucheux, North and South Slavey, Dogrib and Chipewyan are taught from kindergarten to grade nine in many places, but sometimes only to grade two or three. Less of the Native population is served by these courses in the Western than in the Eastern Arctic. We are told that there is not much interest among non-Natives in learning native languages in the NWT.

In the Yukon, five of the seven languages spoken in the territory are taught as a subject in schools: Northern and Southern Tutchone, Loucheux, Kaska, and Tlingit. About 450 pupils, both Native and non-Native, are enrolled in 14 schools serving a dozen communities. The courses cover grades one to six, extending up to grade 10 in a few schools. The programs are successful enough to have produced an encouraging side effect: non-Native parents are so impressed with their children's skill in the native languages that they are eager for them to learn French as well.

The last 15 years have seen an increasing interest in the teaching and preservation of native languages in Canada. This has been brought about partly through a strong movement by Native Canadians to take charge of their own affairs, and partly through the realization on all sides that some native languages were in danger of disappearing and that immediate action was necessary to protect them. The results, especially in the Yukon and Northwest Territories, have been a surge of new developments in instructional materials and teacher training and a greater availability of courses. However, the field is still almost in its infancy.

The observation of these programs will provide language specialists with valuable comparisons with French language teaching. This Office extends its best wishes for success to those who are working in native-language education.

Recommendations

It is recommended that interested parties be brought together by the good offices of the Secretary of State to study the actual extent of opportunities for Canadian school children to learn languages other than English or French.

APPENDICES

The Office of the Commissioner

As foreseen in our last Report, 1985 was a year in which the Commissioner reviewed his Office's policies, programs and administrative structure. The overall purpose of these initiatives was to ensure that he and his staff are properly equipped to breathe a spirit of renewal into language reform and carry out, as effectively and economically as possible, their responsibilities under the Act as protectors and promoters of official-language rights in Canada.

The principal changes of 1985 were thus designed to enable the Office to practise what it preached in its 1984 Report: to undertake a vigorous frontal attack on impediments to Canada's language reform efforts, not only from the seat of government in the National Capital, but on a country-wide basis too. With this goal in mind:

- the Policy and Liaison Branch was transformed into a Policy Branch and a Regional Operations Branch; the former will concentrate its expanded resources on policy and research activities, the latter on closer co-ordination between head office and six strengthened regional offices;

- the two Complaints and Audits branches were merged into one. The new Branch has streamlined its complaints evaluation and investigation procedures, shifted more of its focus to cross-sectional thematic studies and instituted more systematic follow-ups to its audits;

- the Communications Branch (formerly Information Branch) will in future aim to give more balanced attention to various segments of the public rather than concentrate so strongly on youth-oriented programs.

These changes are intended largely to enable the Commissioner and his colleagues to intervene more frequently and consistently with federal authorities and encourage other levels of government and the private sector to show greater leadership and co-operation in improving the lot of Canada's official-language minority communities. The Commissioner and his Office should thus be better placed to exert influence and moral suasion, not only on the federal administration but on other authorities with key roles in promoting linguistic equality for Canadians.

Functions and Activities 1985

The Commissioner

In this, the first full year of his mandate, the Commissioner devoted much of his attention to establishing a broad range of contacts in government, the universities and the private sector, accepting speaking engagements to promote understanding of the Act, and overseeing the re-organization of his Office.

To these ends, the Commissioner's extensive travels included visits to eight provinces and the two territories where he discussed a variety of local and national issues with political leaders, senior officials and minority community representatives. As usual, such visits often involved contacts with journalists and meetings with local educational authorities. The Commissioner's more formal speaking engagements included the Falconbridge Lecture at Laurentian University and a speech to the International Conference on the Rights of Minorities organized by the Law Faculty of Laval University.

As reported in Part IV, one of the most important events of the Commissioner's year was the organization and sponsorship of a national colloquium on the official-language minorities, held in Ottawa and Hull in October. Entitled "The Minorities: Time for Solutions", the colloquium assembled over one hundred minority leaders and politicians, public officials, constitutional experts, educators and private-sector representatives to discuss a broad range of issues affecting Francophones and Anglophones living in a minority situation in Canada. Subsequent discussions with, among others, the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State and members of the Standing Joint Committee on Official Languages Policies and Programs suggest that the conference's message was clearly conveyed and will, we trust, receive proper attention.

At the end of the year, the Commissioner formally presented his proposals for updating and revising the Official Languages Act to the Joint Committee.

Policy

The major responsibilities of the newly reorganized Policy Branch are to provide comprehensive advice and detailed analyses to the Commissioner and his staff on policies, legislation, regulations and court decisions relating to official languages; to keep abreast of local and special events involving language issues; to monitor government language programs, studies, surveys and related initiatives; to prepare speeches and presentations for the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner; to draft major sections of the Commissioner's Annual Report, and to organize and follow up on conferences and other events sponsored by the Office or attended by its representatives.

In 1985, the Branch conducted several special research projects, among them, the development of suggested revisions to the Official Languages Act. It also maintained regular liaison with the Joint Committee; prepared the Office's strategic plan; and drafted a number of speeches, presentations and submissions on behalf of the Commissioner and his Deputy. The Branch was chiefly responsible for preparing and following up on the Office's national colloquium on the official-language minorities.

For 1986-87, the Branch has a staff of 13 and a budget of $906,000.

Regional Operations

The Regional Operations Branch, created in May 1985, bears witness to the importance the Commissioner attaches to regional operations.

The Branch's head office staff are responsible for co-ordinating and directing the activities of the regional offices located in Moncton, Montreal, Sudbury, Winnipeg and Edmonton. In 1986, an office is to be opened in Toronto. The Branch maintains regular contact with national minority-language associations and community groups, federal, provincial and local authorities, and the private sector. It also acts as a think-tank on local issues, summarizes regional developments likely to affect the minorities, oversees the activities of the regional offices and provides the Commissioner with advice and information in preparation for his regional visits.

Staff located at the regional offices are in almost daily contact with minority-language representatives and local federal offices. Their role is similar to that of head office in the sense that they keep the Commissioner abreast of grassroots issues, support his efforts to promote equality for English and French at a local level, inform the local population of the objectives and requirements of the Official Languages Act, investigate complaints of a regional or local nature, participate in language audits and follow up on the Commissioner's visits to provincial authorities. They are an indispensable instrument for evaluating both minority and institutional needs through information sessions with local associations, clubs, media representatives, students, public servants and the general public.

For 1986-87, the Branch (including the regional offices) has a budget of $1,675,000 and employs a staff of 28.

Complaints and Audits

This, the Office's largest branch, has two major operational functions: one, to evaluate and act on complaints from persons who consider their language rights have been infringed by federal authorities, recommend appropriate corrective action, and monitor its implementation; and two, to conduct linguistic audits of federal institutions to determine how well they meet their requirements under the Act in terms of service to the public, language of work and equitable participation.

Having now completed its five-year project to examine virtually all federal institutions, the Branch can be more selective in its choice of audit targets and, to this end, has put more emphasis on two instruments: systematic follow-ups to past audits, and cross-sectional or sectorial studies of particular official languages issues.

The studies, audits and follow-ups conducted this year focussed on themes identified in our 1984 Report: the active offer of service, institutions that have coercive powers over citizens, and federal agencies that provide support to the official-language minorities. One cross-sectional study conducted this year determined that departmental monitoring systems and internal audit procedures were in many cases inadequate; its recommendations will be the subject of follow-up work next year. And, for a study of language-of-work problems, the Branch developed a psycho-linguistic evaluation tool to measures the linguistic attitudes and interaction of public servants. This topic will also receive further attention in the coming year.

For its complaints work, the Branch has established an assessment and distribution centre which will play a major role in determining how particular kinds of complaints

are handled. The purpose of the internal analysis that led to this change was to reduce the cost and paper-burden involved in processing individual complaints, to make improved use of complaints in the application of the Act and to provide quicker and fuller reponses to complainants. Henceforth, the institution in question will, in certain cases, be required to focus not so much on a formal response to complainants' allegations as on an action plan to resolve the problem and prevent its recurrence.

In 1985, the Branch conducted 44 audits, studies and follow-ups and processed some 1,400 complaints. For 1986-87, it has a budget of $2,470,000 and a staff of 50.

Communications

In 1985, the programs and target publics of this Branch were reviewed and redefined. Even though young Canadians remain a primary public, greater emphasis will in future be placed on reaching out to opinion leaders in Canadian society and to the various parties involved in language reform: public servants, minority representatives, complainants and so on. Information needs will be determined on the basis of consultations with public servants and minority representatives, and the Office's communications program will become more promotional in nature and more decentralized, thereby providing opportunities for special regional information activities.

The Branch also developed two new products for its youth program: a poster, *Canada's two official languages*, for children under 8 years of age, and an audio-linguistic kit, *Lend an Ear*, for 8 to 11 year olds. However, the major project this year was the Office's *International Youth Year Creative Writing Contest*, which attracted submissions from over 1,500 young people across Canada. (For more details, see Part V). The Branch also received an overwhelming response to a marketing initative aimed at Canadian schools.

Demand for the Office's materials for young people remained high. During the year, the Branch distributed 96,000 *Explorations* kits, 196,000 *Oh! Canada 2* kits, 503,000 posters and over 100,000 copies of the *Telephone* record which complements *Oh! Canada 2*. These materials were provided in response to requests from young Canadians, their parents, schools and other organizations. Toward year's end, the Branch commissioned evaluations of the *Explorations* and *Lend an Ear* kits, the results of which will guide decisions on whether to continue producing them and associated materials.

Two issues of the Office's magazine, *Language and Society*, were published in 1985 and two more were about to go to press at year's end. The lead article of the first (Winter 1985) celebrated the 50th anniversary of the federal Translation Bureau; the second issue (September) was devoted entirely to the Manitoba language question. The two special numbers in preparation will contain, respectively, the proceedings of the October colloquium on the minorities and the more outstanding submissions to the International Youth Year writing contest. The help provided by members of the advisory council of *Language and Society* was greatly appreciated.

Research and planning activities during the year focussed on the direction that future publications, especially youth-oriented materials, should take. The object of several surveys and analyses was to identify areas in which the Office's materials could fill gaps in provincial curricula with respect to information on Canada's official languages

and help generate interest among students, teachers and the general public. The results of these studies will enable the Branch to refine its various publications and ensure that they are attuned to their target publics. Two such items are currently under development: an adaptation of the *Explorations* kit (originally designed for 13 to 17 year olds) for the 8 to 11 year age group; and a magazine-format publication, aimed at 15 to 17 year olds, which will deal with language rights, a subject rarely covered in educational curricula. The Commissioner is grateful for the assistance provided by the Advisory Committee on the Youth Program, whose members were suggested by the Council of Ministers of Education. The Committee met three times in 1985 and helped redefine our target publics and programs for young Canadians.

During the year, the Branch distributed over 1,855,000 items in response to almost 60,000 requests for information and materials, received by letter, telephone or in person.

For 1986-87, the Branch has a staff of 18 and a budget of $2,876,000.

Resource Management

The Resource Management Branch oversees all aspects of the Office's personnel management, assists and advises managers on personnel policies and practices, administers the budget, controls spending, and ensures that material resources are used efficiently and effectively. The Office has delegated authority for most matters relating to personnel, financial and resource management.

The 1985 program review enabled the Branch to streamline its activities and reduce staff by five employees. It was responsible this year for administering the Office's budget of $9,984,000.

Of the Office's 132 employees, all of whom are bilingual, 75 per cent are Francophone and 25 per cent Anglophone. Anglophone representation increased, albeit modestly, as a result of attempts to achieve a better balance. Approximately 63 per cent of the Office's budget is spent on salaries and contributions to employee benefits, 25 per cent on information programs, and the remaining 12 per cent on operational and administrative needs.

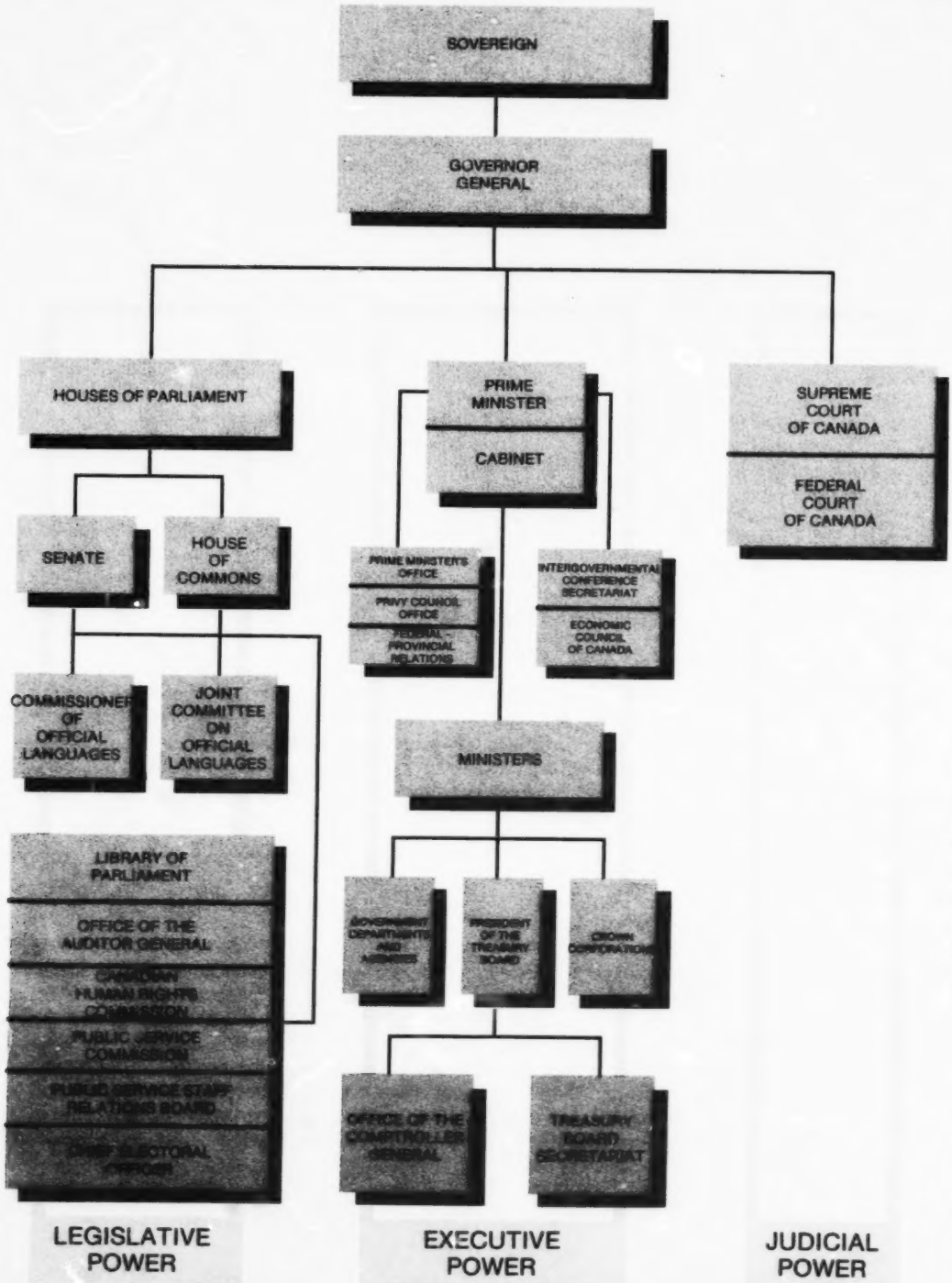
For 1986-87, this Branch has a staff of 36 and a budget of $2,057,000.

Conclusion

In 1986, besides following through on the initiatives and changes outlined above, the Commissioner and his staff plan to strengthen the role of the regional offices, further improve their communications strategy with various publics, contribute to revisions to the Official Languages Act and bring improved information-gathering and analysis to bear on the continuing problems of language reform. Lastly, by way of contributing to Canada's international efforts to support linguistic freedom and equality, the Office will co-host an international conference on language matters in May in co-operation with, among others, the Canadian Commission for UNESCO and the Secretary of State.

GOVERNMENT OF CANADA
Abridged Organization Chart

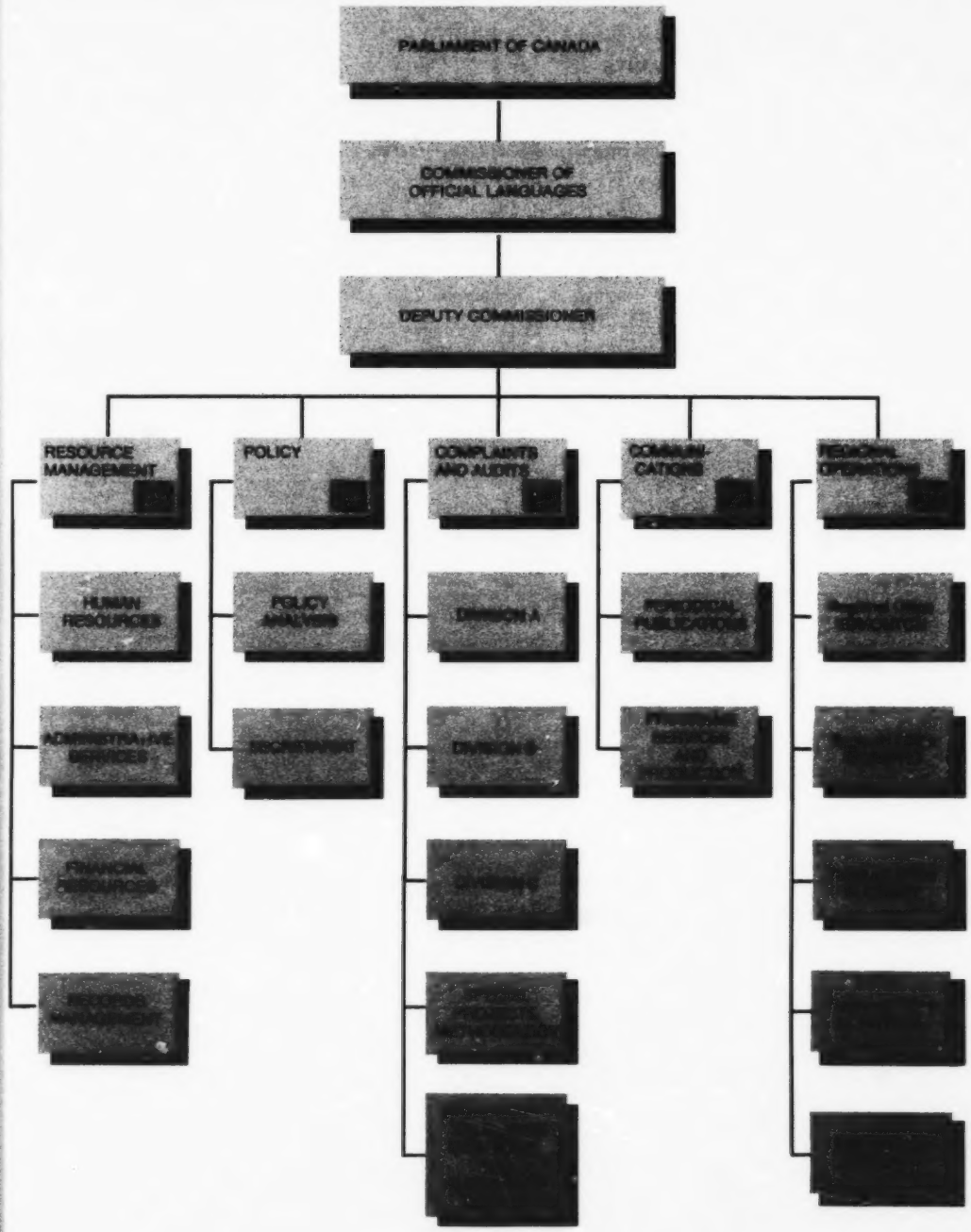
1



OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

2

Organization Chart



■ person-years

COMPLAINTS

A.1

Number of complaints received from each province, 1970-84 and 1985; institutions cited in complaints and nature of complaints for each province, 1985

	1970-1984	1985						
	Total complaints received	Complaints received	Institutions cited		Nature of complaints: French		English	
	Number	Number	Federal	Non-federal	Language of service	Language of work	Language of service	Language of work
Newfoundland	72	16	16	—	15	1	—	—
Prince Edward Island	157	36	35	1	36	—	—	—
Nova Scotia	364	77	77	—	75	1	1	—
New Brunswick	1,309	110	103	7	104	5	1	—
Quebec[a]	3,776	145	135	10	49	17	77	2
Ontario[b]	7,681	506	475	31	358	129	12	7
Manitoba	1,014	58	54	4	57	1	—	—
Saskatchewan	570	36	35	1	36	—	—	—
Alberta	710	62	61	1	59	—	3	—
British Columbia	411	22	22	—	19	3	—	—
Northwest and Yukon Territories	22	5	5	—	4	1	—	—
Foreign countries	99	7	7	—	6	—	1	—
TOTAL	16,185	1,080	1,025	55	813	158	95	9

[a] Includes the Quebec portion of the National Capital Region.

[b] Includes the Ontario portion of the National Capital Region.

AUDITS AND FOLLOW-UPS

A.2

Audits and follow-ups conducted in federal departments and agencies, 1983, 1984 and 1985

1983

Aircraft Accident Review Board

Canada Council

Canada Lands Company (Le Vieux-Port de Montréal Ltd)

Canada Lands Company (Mirabel) Limited

Canada Lands Company (Vieux-Port de Québec) Inc.

Canada Post Corporation

Canadian Commercial Corporation

Canadian Cultural Property Export Review Board

Canadian Deposit Insurance Corporation

Canadian Intergovernmental Conference Secretariat

Canadian Patents and Development Ltd

Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Names

Cape Breton Development Corporation

Correctional Service

Employment and Immigration: Anglophone Participation in Quebec

Federal Court (Administration)

Foreign Investment Review Agency

National Battlefields Commission

Petro Canada

Public Works

RCMP in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island

Restrictive Trade Practices Commission of Canada

Seaway International Bridge Corporation Ltd.

Secretary of State (Translation Bureau)

Supreme Court (Administration)

Tariff Board

Use of Translation Services

1984

Agriculture (internal services and research and development)

Air Canada (Toronto international airport: language of service)

Air Canada (Ottawa district: language of work)

Anti-dumping tribunal

Auditor General of Canada

Bureau of Pension Advocates

Canada Museums Construction Corp Inc.

Canadian Industrial Renewal Board

CN (tower and hotels)

CN (language of work at headquarters)

External Affairs (Headquarters)

Harbourfront Corporation

Inspector General of Banks

Justice

Labour

Laurentian Pilotage Authority

Linguistic dealings between five Crown Corporations and their Quebec based suppliers

National Energy Board

National Film Board

Parks Canada

Pension Commission

Pension Review Board

Regional Industrial Expansion (Tourism Office)

Royal Canadian Mounted Police (central administration)

Senate

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council

Veterans Affairs

War Veterans Allowance Board

1985

Audits

Canada Harbour Place Corporation

CN Marine

Employment and Immigration Commission (central administration)

Environment

Governor General

House of Commons

Integration of official languages in internal auditing

Prime Minister's Office

Privy Council Office

Regional Industrial Expansion

Royal Canadian Mounted Police (central administration)

Supply and Services (services)

Via Rail (language of work)

Follow-ups

Atomic Energy Control Board

Canada Council

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (engineering)

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (general)

Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission

Canadian Transport Commission

Communications (Government Telecommunications Agency)

Export Development Corporation

Federal Business Development Bank

Fisheries and Oceans

Insurance

National Arts Centre

National Health and Welfare

National Revenue (Customs and Excise)

National Revenue (Taxation)

Parks Canada

Petro Canada

Public Works

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council

Secretary of State (Translation Bureau)

Transport

YOUTH PROGRAM: DISTRIBUTION

A.3

Number and percentage of *Oh! Canada 2* and *Explorations* kits distributed upon request in each province, and size of the 8 to 12 and the 13 to 17 age groups in each province expressed as a percentage of the national total, 1980 to 1985

	OH! CANADA 2			EXPLORATIONS		
	Kits distributed[a]		8 to 12 age group[c]	Kits distributed[b]		13 to 17 age group[c]
	Number	%	%	Number	%	%
Newfoundland	23,633	2.7	3.1	8,900	1.7	3.2
Prince Edward Island	5,170	0.6	0.6	3,198	0.6	0.6
Nova Scotia	33,237	3.8	3.7	13,835	2.7	3.8
New Brunswick	71,895	8.2	3.3	15,713	3.0	3.2
Quebec	161,630	18.5	24.5	178,516	34.3	22.9
Ontario	371,485	42.5	35.1	190,530	36.6	37.3
Manitoba	38,087	4.4	4.5	18,101	3.5	4.3
Saskatchewan	25,069	2.9	4.4	12,750	2.5	4.2
Alberta	49,610	5.7	9.7	22,760	4.4	9.1
British Columbia	71,525	8.2	10.7	41,471	8.0	11.1
Yukon Territory	790	0.1	0.1	332	0.1	0.1
Northwest Territories	2,997	0.3	0.3	650	0.1	0.2
Others[d]	18,738	2.1	—	13,097	2.5	—
TOTAL	873,366	100.0	100.0	519,852	100.0	100.0

[a]Kits distributed between November 7, 1980 (launching) and December 31, 1985.

[b]Kits distributed between September 22, 1980 (launching) and December 31, 1985.

[c]Derived from figures given in Statistics Canada Bulletin No. 81-210, *Elementary-Secondary School Enrolment*, 1983-84.

[d]Kits distributed to federal government departments, provincial government departments (other than education), national organizations and other countries.

YOUTH PROGRAM: COSTS

A.4

Development, printing and distribution of the *Oh! Canada 2* and *Explorations* Kits, number of copies and costs, 1979-80, 1980-81, 1981-82, 1982-83, 1983-84, 1984-85 and 1985-86

	Development and printing		Distribution[a]	
OH! CANADA 2	**Number of copies**	**Costs ($)**	**Number of copies**	**Costs ($)**
1979-80	301,508[b]	163,027	—	—
1980-81	—	124,540	126,944	86,124
1981-82	456,468[c]	209,717	174,259	52,308
1982-83	—	—	196,793	67,260
1983-84	300,100[b,c]	239,618[f]	92,014	136,525
1984-85	—	176,882[g,i]	110,523[g,i]	139,467[g,i]
1985-86	—	5,000[d]	192,000[d]	173,000[d]
TOTAL	1,058,076	918,784	892,533	654,684
EXPLORATIONS				
1979-80	201,722[b]	756,712	—	—
1980-81	—	534,731[e]	148,173	583,798
1981-82	130,946	508,581	53,517	199,999
1982-83	—	85,499[h]	85,142	168,914
1983-84	182,213	559,457[h]	78,333	176,999
1984-85	20,178[d]	185,000[h]	78,492[d]	150,000[h]
1985-86	—	85,000[h]	90,000[d]	180,000[h]
TOTAL	535,059	2,915,980	533,657	1,459,710

[a] Includes administration, advertising, evaluation and shipping costs.

[b] Development and printing costs cover two fiscal years.

[c] Figures revised since the publication of the *1984 Annual Report*.

[d] Estimate.

[e] Includes the printing costs for 200,000 additional poster-maps, *Languages of the World*, and 100,000 additional booklets, *The Language File*.

[f] Includes the development and production of audio components.

[g] Includes the development and printing of the second edition of the *Languages of the World* poster-map.

[h] Includes the computerization of certain functions related to distribution.

[i] Includes the assembly of the fifth printing.

INTERESTED IN LANGUAGE MATTERS?

A.5

Publications, audio-visual materials and kits for young people, produced by the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages[a]

PRINTED MATERIALS[a]

Annual Report. A bilingual publication tabled in Parliament each spring. Provides Senators and Members of Parliament as well as the general public with a yearly assessment of progress achieved in the language reform program begun in Canada 16 years ago. About 200 pages in each language.

Language and Society. A bilingual quarterly magazine for those interested in language issues in Canada and in other countries. Provides a wide range of information and opinion by Canadian and foreign contributors. About 24 pages in each language.

Service in English/Services en français. A bilingual flyer giving examples of federal services available in both languages and the addresses and telephone numbers of the Commissioner's Offices. In pads of 50 flyers, each measuring 9 × 22 cm.

English or French it's your choice. A bilingual counter card for departments and public servants announcing the availability of services in both languages. 13 × 16 cm, with a calendar on the back. Decals, wall calendars and pins bearing the same message are also available.

Languages of the World/Languages in Canada. A poster-map which, on one side, illustrates the official languages of more than 160 countries, and on the other gives data on English and French in Canada as well as on indigenous and heritage languages. 91 × 61 cm.

Indigenous Languages in Canada. A bilingual poster-map giving information on the geographic distribution and number of speakers of some 54 Indian and Inuit languages. 30 × 65 cm.

Two Languages: The Best of Both Worlds. A bilingual poster the theme of which is dramatized in bold colour and design. 53 × 70 cm.

English and French ... in almost half the countries of the world. A bilingual poster showing, on colourful air balloons, the flags of countries where English and French are spoken. A legend on the back identifies the country to which each flag belongs. 48 × 69 cm.

English and French give Canada a special place. A bilingual poster published to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the Official Languages Act. 16 × 25 cm.

FOR YOUNG PEOPLE[a]

Explorations. A bilingual kit with three main components inviting 13 to 17 year olds to discover our world's rich linguistic diversity and to learn about the role of English and French as international languages. In the **Explorations** game, each roll of the dice whisks players to another part of the world. Included in the kit is the poster-map **Languages of the World/Languages in Canada** (see above) and **The Language File**, a booklet (see below).

The Language File. A booklet which offers a stimulating mix of articles, illustrations and activities about the history and role of languages in our lives. Sixteen pages in each language.

Oh! Canada 2. A bilingual kit for children from 8 to 12. It includes the **Oh! Canada 2** booklet (32 pages) that begins with a comic strip describing the amazing adventures of Hildie, Jamie, Michel and Geneviève, the mischievous turtle. The pages which follow contain a fun-filled combination of activities — games, puzzles, and projects. The kit also includes a **Save Geneviève** game in which players travel across Canada to save the unlucky heroine, and a 33 1/3 RPM record called **Telephone.**

Save Geneviève. A multicoloured, iron-on transfer of Geneviève, the mischievous turtle in the **Oh! Canada 2** kit. Ideal for T-shirts, 15 cm in diameter.

Lend an Ear. An activity kit for parents and teachers. It includes a 30 minute audio cassette and a user's guide, both of which are designed to encourage 9 to 12 year olds to reflect on the role of language and to get acquainted with the sounds of the second official language.

Owls Hoot. This colourful bilingual poster illustrates birds and animals and describes the sound each makes in English and in French. 45 × 59 cm.

Feathered Friends. An attractive poster giving the English and French names of a variety of North American birds. 48 × 69 cm.

Canada's Two Official Languages: English and French. Through six light-hearted illustrations featuring a Canada Goose character, this poster shows young Canadians that federal government service is available to them in both official languages. 24 × 34 cm.

AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS[b]

More than Words ... The Official Languages Act. A short film describing the Official Languages Act and what it means in practical terms for Canada and Canadians. Also outlines the Commissioner's role. Useful in seminars and information meetings involving the general public or civil servants. Also available in a French version. 16 mm film or ¾-inch video cassette. Colour. 15 minutes.

Two Languages Together. Describes, with a light touch, the Official Languages Act and the role of the Commissioner. Recommended for training sessions, information meetings and seminars. Also available in a bilingual version, **Deux langues officielles, Why not?** and a French version. Slide show with taped narrative (60 slides and audio cassette) or ¾-inch video cassette. Colour. 7 minutes.

Twice Upon a Time ... Il était deux fois. A humourous look at bilingualism Canadian style. Designed to stimulate discussion. Especially useful in seminars. Bilingual, 16 mm film or ¾-inch video cassette. Colour. 10 minutes.

Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Twenty Years Later. Commemorates the 20th anniversary of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Consists of interviews with a number of opinion leaders who evaluate the effectiveness of language reform in Canada. Also available in a French version, *B. B. vingt ans après*. ¾-inch video cassette. Colour. 30 minutes.

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[a] To obtain any of the above publications, please write to the Communications Branch, Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, Ottawa, K1A 0T8.

[b] Audio-visual materials can be borrowed from the National Film Board film libraries across Canada, as well as from the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages.

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES PROGRAMS

B.1

Spending estimates and person-years allocated to official languages programs outside and inside the federal public service, 1984-85 and 1985-86

	1984-85		1985-86	
EXTERNAL: PROVINCES, TERRITORIES AND ORGANIZATIONS	**Revised estimates ($ 000)**	**Person-years**	**Revised Estimates ($ 000)**	**Person-years**
Secretary of State				
• Transfer payments to provinces and territories for language programs	204,377		211,234	
• Grants to official-language minority groups	20,858		19,539	
• Grants for bilingualism development programs	2,367		7,810	
• Operating expenditures	3,946	71	4,749	76
National Capital Commission				
• Contributions to external bilingualism programs	300	.40	300	.40
Commissioner of Official Languages	9,994	139	9,924	141
Sub-total	241,842	210.40	253,556	217.40
INTERNAL: PUBLIC SERVICE AND ARMED FORCES PROGRAMS				
Treasury Board				
• Official Languages Branch	4,920	67	5,082	67
Public Service Commission				
• Language training	36,552	748	37,337	748
• Administration and other programs	3,308	80	3,010	65
Secretary of State				
• Official Languages Services*	86,740	1,774	90,923	1,776
Other departments and agencies	80,619	769	75,122	645
Armed Forces	42,511	1,023	40,504	1,085
Sub-total	254,620	4,641	251,978	4,386
TOTAL	496,462	4,671.40	505,534	4,603.40

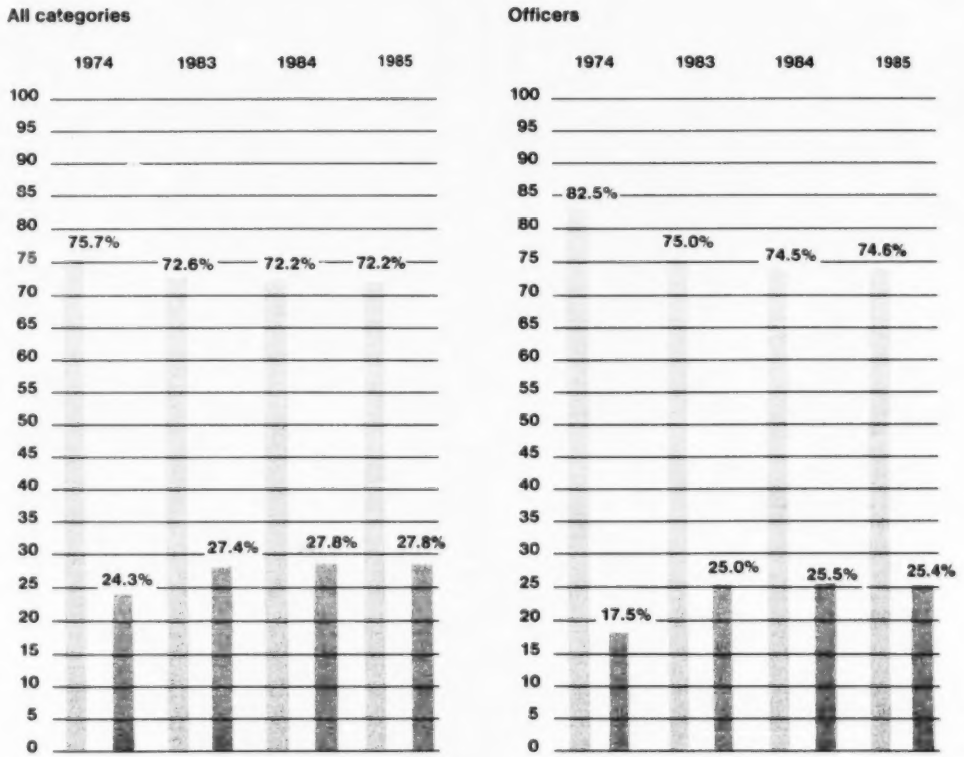
* The Translation Bureau is now identified as Official Languages Services.

Sources: Main Estimates and Supplementary Estimates, 1984-85 and 1985-86, as well as reports from relevant departments and agencies.

THE TWO OFFICIAL LANGUAGE COMMUNITIES IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF CANADA

B.2

Percentage distribution of public servants by first official language[a]—all employment categories and officer categories[b], 1974, 1983, 1984 and 1985.



Legend

Note: It is interesting to compare the figures in this table with 1965 statistics published by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, even though they refer to public servants' mother tongue rather than their first official language. The representation of Anglophones and Francophones reported by the Commission in all categories at that time was 78.5% and 21.5% respectively.

[a] The Public Service Commission and the Treasury Board define first official language as the official language (English or French) with which an employee feels a primary identification.

[b] Includes the following categories: Management, Scientific and Professional, Administrative and Foreign Service, and Technical.

Sources: Public Service Commission (officer categories) and Treasury Board's Official Languages Information System (all categories).

SECOND-LANGUAGE ENROLMENT, BY PROVINCE

B.3

Proportion of the school population[c] studying English as a second language in Quebec and French as a second language elsewhere, and percentage of time devoted to second-language instruction, 1970-71, 1984-85 and 1985-86

ELEMENTARY LEVEL[d]		Official-language majority school population[c]	Second-language enrolment[c]		Time devoted to second language
			Number	%	%
Newfoundland	1970-71	101,877	21,835	21.4	5.0
	1984-85[r]	76,026	37,594	49.4	7.0
	1985-86	73,631	36,715	50.0	7.1
Prince Edward Island	1970-71	16,816	3,561	21.2	8.0
	1984-85[r]	10,658	6,376	59.8	6.7
	1985-86	10,200[e]	6,124	60.0[e]	6.8
Nova Scotia	1970-71	121,694	12,642	10.4	7.0
	1984-85[r]	87,856	46,804	53.3	7.8
	1985-86[e]	87,000	47,850	55.0	8.0
New Brunswick	1970-71	61,823	37,305	60.2	8.0
	1984-85[r]	39,488	28,658	72.6	9.7
	1985-86	39,589	28,915	73.2[e]	10.0
Quebec	1970-71	824,028	339,484	41.2	9.0
	1984-85[r]	576,721	232,252	40.3	10.0
	1985-86[e]	580,000	234,900	40.5	10.0
Ontario	1970-71	1,338,708	514,173	37.9	7.0
	1984-85[r]	1,037,276	654,214	63.1	10.8
	1985-86[e]	1,025,000	645,750	63.0	11.0
Manitoba	1970-71	134,488	39,739	29.6	5.0
	1984-85[r]	94,258	46,631	49.5	8.9
	1985-86[e]	93,000	46,500	50.0	9.0
Saskatchewan	1970-71	133,714	6,950	5.2	7.1
	1984-85[r]	107,817	12,808	11.9	6.5
	1985-86	107,000	19,971	18.5	6.3
Alberta	1970-71	230,488	58,235	25.3	6.0
	1984-85[r]	224,000	50,820	22.6	7.9
	1985-86[e]	223,000	51,290	23.0	8.0
British Columbia	1970-71	330,345	18,558	5.6	5.0
	1984-85[r]	279,178	75,126	26.9	5.3
	1985-86[e]	274,000	71,240	26.0	5.3

Continued

		Official-language majority school population[c]	Second-language enrolment[c]		Time devoted to second language
EL...ENTARY LEVEL[d]			Number	%	%
Yukon	1970-71	3,337	N/A	N/A	N/A
	1984-85	2,775	1,078	38.8	7.2
	1985-86[a]	2,800	1,075	38.4	7.2
Northwest Territories	1970-71	7,781	N/A	N/A	N/A
	1984-85	9,316	2,355	25.3	5.8
	1985-86	9,400	2,450	26.1	5.5
TOTAL	1970-71[r]	3,226,113[r]	1,052,482	31.6[r]	7.5[r]
	1984-85[r]	2,848,907	1,194,716	46.9	9.8
	1985-86[a]	2,826,214	1,192,780	47.2	9.9
SECONDARY LEVEL[e]					
Newfoundland	1970-71	58,853	37,895	64.4	10.0
	1984-85[r]	67,601	37,286	55.2	10.9
	1985-86	68,515	37,679	56.6	10.8
Prince Edward Island	1970-71	13,006	10,794	83.0	10.0
	1984-85[r]	11,841	7,451	63.0	11.2
	1985-86	11,750[r]	7,447	63.4[a]	10.7
Nova Scotia	1970-71	85,615	59,955	70.0	13.0
	1984-85[r]	81,940	53,445	65.2	12.1
	1985-86[a]	81,000	52,650	65.0	12.0
New Brunswick	1970-71	59,310	42,708	80.1	12.0
	1984-85[r]	44,039	29,362	66.7	14.8
	1985-86	43,000[r]	28,769	66.9[a]	15.3
Quebec	1970-71	515,807	515,846	100.0	14.0
	1984-85[r]	358,161	350,987	98.0	16.0
	1985-86[a]	350,000	343,000	98.0	16.0
Ontario	1970-71	540,927	269,079	48.9	13.0
	1984-85[r]	554,700	226,699	40.9	13.6
	1985-86[a]	550,000	220,000	40.0	14.0
Manitoba	1970-71	102,870	55,640	54.5	10.0
	1984-85[r]	88,500	37,953	42.8	12.0
	1985-86[a]	86,000	37,840	43.0	12.0
Saskatchewan	1970-71	113,000	77,928	68.9	10.0
	1984-85[r]	87,178	38,152	44.4	9.8
	1985-86	80,000[r]	40,343	50.0	9.8

Continued

SECONDARY LEVEL[a]		Official-language majority school population[c]	Second-language enrolment[c] Number	%	Time devoted to second language %
Alberta	1970-71	195,554	80,607	41.2	10.0
	1984-85[r]	203,447	59,196	29.1	11.4
	1985-86[a]	201,000	59,300	29.5	11.5
British Columbia	1970-71	193,851	127,293	65.7	10.0
	1984-85[r]	197,495	95,881	48.5	11.7
	1985-86[a]	195,000	93,600	48.0	12.0
Yukon	1970-71	1,297	N/A	N/A	N/A
	1984-85	1,706	957	56.1	11.6
	1985-86[a]	1,800	1,010	56.1	11.0
Northwest Territories	1970-71	2,225	N/A	N/A	N/A
	1984-85[r]	3,718	1,310	35.3	10.0
	1985-86[a]	3,850	1,390	36.1	10.0
TOTAL	1970-71	1,894,376	1,277,745	67.8	12.5
	1984-85[r]	1,701,681	939,679	55.2	13.8
	1985-86[a]	1,679,850	923,028	55.0	13.9
GRAND TOTAL	1970-71	4,318,448	2,330,227	44.7	10.2
	1984-85[r]	4,247,488	2,134,395	50.3	11.5
	1985-86[a]	4,204,850	2,115,808	50.3	11.6

[a] Statistics Canada estimate.

[b] Preliminary figures provided by the Department of Education.

[c] Does not include students for whom the regular language of instruction is English in Quebec and French in the other provinces.

[d] Includes grades K to 6, except Ontario K-8; British Columbia and Yukon K-7.

[e] Includes grades 7-12, except Ontario 9-13, Quebec 7-11; British Columbia and Yukon 8-12.

[r] Figures revised since publication of the *1984 Annual Report*.

Source: Statistics Canada, Elementary and Secondary Education Division.

FRENCH IMMERSION PROGRAMS

B.4

French immersion enrolment, grades in which offered and number of schools where offered, for each province and territory, 1977-78, 1984-85, and 1985-86

		Enrolment	Grades	Number of schools
Newfoundland	1977-78	95	k to 2; 6 to 8	3
	1984-85[r]	1,437	k to 10; 12	15
	1985-86	2,011	k to 12	25
Prince Edward Island	1977-78	541	1 to 4; 7, 8	7
	1984-85[r]	2,181	1 to 10	19
	1985-86[b]	2,484	1 to 12	23
Nova Scotia	1977-78	127	p; 1; 6 to 8	3
	1984-85[r]	1,099	p to 9	12
	1985-86[a]	1,250	p to 9	13
New Brunswick	1977-78	3,179	k to 9	34
	1984-85[r]	12,820	k to 12	93
	1985-86[b]	14,180	k to 12	98
Quebec[c]	1977-78	17,800	k to 11	N/A
	1984-85[r]	18,178	k to 11	N/A
	1985-86[a]	18,500	k to 11	N/A
Ontario	1977-78[d]	12,764	k to 8	160
	1984-85[r]	76,527	k to 13	625
	1985-86[a]	85,000	k to 13	650
Manitoba	1977-78	1,967	k to 9	13
	1984-85[r]	11,043	k to 12	62
	1985-86	12,632	k to 12	65
Saskatchewan	1977-78	407	k to 8	2
	1984-85[r]	5,011	k to 12	41
	1985-86[b]	6,314	k to 12	44

[a] Statistics Canada estimate

[b] Preliminary figures provided by the Department of Education.

[c] As in other provinces, French immersion programs are designed for students whose mother tongue is not French.

[d] Includes only programs in which French is the language of instruction at least 75 % of the time.

[r] Figures revised since publication of the *1984 Annual Report*.

N/A No figures available.

Source: Statistics Canada, Elementary and Secondary Education Division.

		Enrolment	Grades	Number of schools
Alberta	1977-78	N/A	N/A	N/A
	1984-85[r]	16,983	k to 12	104
	1985-86[a]	19,500	k to 12	110
British Columbia	1977-78	1,301	k to 9	15
	1984-85[r]	12,632	k to 12	102
	1985-86	15,486	k to 12	110[a]
Yukon	1977-78	—	—	—
	1984-85	186	k to 4	1
	1985-86[a]	225	k to 4	1
Northwest Territories	1977-78	—	—	—
	1984-85[r]	192	k to 10	4
	1985-86[b]	242	k to 10	4
TOTAL	**1977-78**	**37,881**		**237**
	1984-85[r]	**158,289**		**1,078**
	1985-86[a]	**177,824**		**1,143**

[a] Statistics Canada estimate.

[b] Preliminary figures provided by the Department of Education.

[r] Figures revised since publication of the *1984 Annual Report*.

N/A No figures available.

Source: Statistics Canada, Elementary and Secondary Education Division.

MINORITY-LANGUAGE EDUCATION PROGRAMS

B.5

Enrolment in programs designed to provide education in their mother tongue (English in Quebec and French elsewhere), to members of the official-language minority groups, grades in which offered and number of schools where offered, for each province and territory, 1970-71, 1984-85 and 1985-86

		Enrolment	Grades	Number of schools
Newfoundland	1970-71	185	k to 10	1
	1984-85[r]	84	k to 10	2
	1985-86	106	k to 10	4
Prince Edward Island	1970-71	796	1 to 12	7
	1984-85	511	1 to 12	3
	1985-86[b]	522	1 to 12	2
Nova Scotia	1970-71	7,388	p to 12	32
	1984-85	4,273	p to 12	23
	1985-86[a]	4,100	p to 12	23
New Brunswick	1970-71	60,679	k to 12	196
	1984-85[r]	47,077	k to 12	157
	1985-86	46,548	k to 12	154
Quebec	1970-71	248,855	k to 11	519
	1984-85[r]	122,573	k to 11	413
	1985-86[a]	118,000	k to 11	410
Ontario	1970-71	115,869	k to 13	381
	1984-85[r]	90,854	k to 13	354
	1985-86[a]	90,500	k to 13	350
Manitoba	1970-71	10,405	k to 12	49
	1984-85[r]	5,547	k to 12	30
	1985-86	5,774	k to 12	30
Saskatchewan	1970-71	765	k to 12	12
	1984-85[r]	832	k to 12	14
	1985-86[b]	898	k to 12	13

[a] Statistics Canada estimate.

[b] Preliminary figures provided by the Department of Education.

[r] Figures revised since publication of the *1984 Annual Report*.

N/A No figures available.

Source: Statistics Canada, Elementary and Secondary Education Division.

		Enrolment	Grades	Number of schools
Alberta	1970-71	N/A	N/A	N/A
	1984-85[r]	1,154	k to 10	10
	1985-86[a]	1,200	k to 10	10
British Columbia	1970-71	—	—	—
	1984-85[r]	1,362	k to 10	30
	1985-86[b]	1,557	k to 12	30
Yukon	1970-71	—	—	—
	1984-85	30	1 to 4, 6	1
	1985-86[a]	50	1 to 6	1
Northwest Territories	1970-71	—	—	—
	1984-85	—	—	—
	1985-86[b]	32	1 to 12	2
TOTAL	**1970-71**	**444,942**		**1,197**
	1984-85[r]	**271,887**		**1,019**
	1985-86[a]	**269,287**		**1,029**

[a] Statistics Canada estimate.

[b] Preliminary figures provided by the Department of Education.

[r] Figures revised since publication of the *1984 Annual Report*.

N/A No figures available.

Source: Statistics Canada, Elementary and Secondary Education Division.

PROPOSALS BY THE COMMISSIONER OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES TO UPDATE AND AMEND THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES ACT

DEFINITION OF THE AIMS AND INTENT OF THE ACT

Preamble

1) The Act aims to meet *two* main objectives:

   - equal treatment of English and French by the federal administration and its institutions (service to the public, language of work and full participation of both language groups);
   - promotion of official-language equality in other sectors and activities of Canadian society.

2) The need for ongoing harmonization of federal, provincial and other action on behalf of official-language minorities should be recognized.

3) This principle of co-operation is implicit in the official languages rights of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Federal and provincial authorities should be exhorted to work together towards ensuring such practical equality of English and French across Canada as history, law and demography allow.

4) The Act should refer to the importance of achieving practical equality of both languages in Canada's capital region and the necessity for the federal, provincial and local governments concerned to co-ordinate their action for that purpose.

5) The private and voluntary sectors should be encouraged to play their respective roles vis-à-vis the Canadian public in ways consistent with the spirit and intent of the Act.

Executory Nature of the Act

The rights spelled out in the Act should be clearly enforceable before the courts.

RECONCILIATION OF THE ACT AND THE CHARTER

Primacy of the Act

The Act should contain a clause which would assign it primacy over provisions in other federal statutes unless a particular Act makes explicit which of its provisions should operate notwithstanding the Official Languages Act.

General Reconciliation

Declaration of the equal status of both languages in section 2 of the Act should be identical to the corresponding section 16(1) of the Charter.

Statutory and Other Instruments

Section 4 of the Act relating to the simultaneous publication of certain legislative instruments in both languages should be examined to determine whether the exceptions provided for should be maintained (in the light of the most recent decisions of the Supreme Court, e.g. in the Blaikie case);

Section 11, which deals with the hearing of witnesses, should be thoroughly reviewed to determine a) what is the present practice at the federal level and b) whether the safeguards established are adequate.

Service to the Canadian Public

1) Like the Charter of Rights, the Act should speak of the *right* of any member of the public to be served in either language, as well as of the institutional *duty* to provide services. If the terms of the Charter are repeated in the Act, the formulation now appearing in section 10 of the Act should be preserved by adding the words "or elsewhere" after "in Canada".

2) The Act should provide that any member of the public has the right to be served in English or French in the following circumstances:

   - at the head or central offices of all federal institutions anywhere in Canada, or in federal offices abroad;
   - at all offices in the National Capital Region;

- at clearly identified and publicized federal offices in those regions or specific localities which shall be designated "bilingual" by regulations made pursuant to section 35 of the Act;
- at any other office where there is significant demand, with no feasibility restriction;
- wherever services are provided to the travelling public, unless the irregularity of the demand fails to warrant it; and
- wherever, regardless of demand, the nature of the office or the nature of the relationship between the federal institution and members of the public requires that clients be offered a clear choice of English or French (e.g. vis-à-vis enforcement agencies).

Federal Bilingual Districts
The Official Languages Act should continue to reflect three aspects of this concept:

1) *Territorial definition*, to be promulgated by regulation, of the locations where, by virtue of the mother tongue composition of the population, all federal services should be automatically and actively offered and available in both official languages, whether or not federal offices themselves fall within those territorial boundaries.

2) *The possibility of recognizing other federal offices* where, by reason of the volume of demand or the nature of the office, the public can obtain services in either language;

3) *The desirability i) that specified locations coincide as far as possible with areas designated by provincial or local authorities for similar purposes* ii) that where possible and after appropriate consultation, *federal, provincial and other services in both languages be conveniently concentrated to the advantage of official-language minorities.*

Language of Work in the Federal Administration
The Act should clarify the right of employees in *all* federal institutions to carry out their duties in the official language of their choice.

The conditions under which that right is to be exercised (e.g. subject to serving the public in the appropriate language) should be specified in the body of the Act or in regulations made pursuant to section 35.

International Treaties and Federal Provincial Agreements
The Act should contain a provision spelling out the current policy that international treaties or agreements to which Canada is a signatory are to be executed in both English and French as well as in other appropriate languages.

The Act should require that federal-provincial agreements made under the authority of the Parliament or Government of Canada be executed in both official languages.

If the nature of the federal-provincial agreement has a direct bearing on the language of service to the public, consideration should be given to including in the agreement a clause recording the agreement of the province(s) to respect the principles of the Act in providing the services concerned.

SCOPE AND APPLICATION OF THE ACT

Clarifications or Amendments under Five Headings
1) A comprehensive definition of what constitutes "an institution of the Parliament and Government of Canada" for the purposes of the Act.

2) Services provided to the public by third parties.

3) The powers of federal regulatory bodies.

4) Recognition of languages other than English or French.

5) Publication of the orders and judgements of federal judicial and quasi-judicial bodies.

Definition of Institutions Covered by the Act

- *Crown corporations and mixed enterprises*
  When the Crown in right of Canada holds a significant proportion of the equity, mixed enterprises should be subject to the Official Languages Act.
- *Crown corporations and other federal agency that may be privatized*
  If a Crown corporation or a federal agency serving the public is privatized, the successor corporation should be obliged to bind itself, through the enabling legislation, at least to continue to serve Canadians in both official languages.

- *Service provided by third parties*
  The principle, already provided for under section 10 concerning services to the travelling public, should be extended. In the case of services of any kind provided by reason of an agreement, a contribution or a contract, to a public comprising both language groups, the responsible federal institution should ensure that those services are equally available in English and in French.
- *Powers of federal regulatory bodies*
  In appropriate federally regulated fields involving health and safety standards, telecommunications and broadcasting, interprovincial transport in bilingual regions, or airport security, where the language used is intrinsic to effective communication with Canadians, the federal government should seek, by appropriate legislative or other means, to have those regulatory agencies take service to both official language groups into consideration when regulating the bodies for whom they are responsible.
- *Languages other than English and French*
  A provision should be included in the Act stating that it must be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of languages other than English and French. This approach would be more consistent with the principles embodied in section 27 of the Charter.
- *Bilingual decisions, orders and judgements*
  The exempting provisions should be tightened to require that any issuing body seeking to publish in only one official language be required to state the reasons why its decision, order or judgement should not be subject to the provisions of sub-section 5(1) of the Act.

THE MANDATE AND POWERS OF THE COMMISSIONER

Conduct of Investigations on his own Initiative
It would be best if the nature and extent of the Commissioner's power specifically to conduct investigations on his own initiative and to seek appropriate remedial action were made more explicit in the following respects :

1) *Public hearings*
   The Act should give the Commissioner discretionary power to hold a public hearing on the basis of his investigations if, in his judgment, the public interest would thereby be served.

2) *Linguistic audits and reports*
   The Act should provide more specifically for the Commissioner's duty to act as federal linguistic auditor and his power to publish and pursue recommendations reported as a result of such investigations.

3) *Power to seek remedial action*
   The Act should require that a special report to Parliament be first submitted to the Governor in Council and that the latter have a fixed time (e.g. 90 days) to respond. If the Commissioner remains unsatisfied with the action proposed, the report would stand referred to the Parliamentary Committee on Official Languages or any other Committee entrusted with overseeing implementation of the Act.

4) *Investigating linguistic provisions of other federal Acts*
   Section 26 of the Act should make clear that the Commissioner also has the power to receive and investigate complaints relating to official languages provisions of any federal law or regulation having a bearing on the equal treatment of English and French.

Statutory Immunity from Legal Proceedings for the Commissioner and his staff
The Act should provide the Commissioner and his staff with immunity from suit and ensure their non-compellability as witnesses in legal proceedings arising from the performance of their statutory responsibilities.

Administrative Autonomy of the Commissioner's Office

- The Act should reflect a general equivalence between the status of the Commissioner and that of the Auditor General.
- The Act should make the Commissioner more directly responsible to Parliament in financial and personnel matters.

STATEMENT ISSUED JOINTLY BY THE PRESIDENTS OF ALLIANCE QUEBEC AND THE FÉDÉRATION DES FRANCOPHONES HORS QUÉBEC AT THE COLLOQUIUM ON OFFICIAL-LANGUAGE MINORITIES

From its inception, this conference has provided an exceptional opportunity for Canada's minority-language communities. Through the good offices of the Commissioner of Official Languages, we have come, for the first time, from all ten provinces and the territories, to discuss issues of mutual concern. Never before have all our communities sat together at a common table and set out our hopes, our frustrations, our understanding of ourselves and our vision of Canada.

We have explored our differences. We have identified the unique problems, challenges and aspirations of the nearly 1,000,000 French-speaking Canadians living outside Quebec. And we have discussed the problems, challenges and aspirations of a nearly equivalent number of English-speaking Quebecers, who live as a linguistic minority within a linguistic minority.

At the same time, we have learned that we share a vision of this country, and of the vital and dynamic role of the minority-language communities in Canada. We have learned that we share the ideals of co-existence, equality of our two languages and linguistic justice. We have also learned that, despite our differences, we share a number of common problems, objectives and values. Notwithstanding the distances that separate us, we have a common ground.

We have spoken particularly of Quebec, of the special relationship between French-speaking Quebecers and French-speaking communities outside the province, and of the particular opportunity for English-speaking Quebecers to relate the concerns of a linguistic minority to the English-speaking majority in other provinces.

It is in the best interests of all our communities that we join together wherever our objectives and interests coincide, so that we may speak with the combined voices of the nearly two million Canadians who live the minority-language experience on a daily basis. Our purpose in so doing is not to diminish our individual voices or to ignore our differences, but rather to combine our efforts when it is in our respective best interests so to do. This is no more and no less than responsible, far-sighted leadership.

We are convinced that Canadians, whether English- or French-speaking, should be able to feel at home in either language wherever they have chosen to live in Canada.

For this idea to become a daily reality, it is imperative that our two communities have equal access in their own language to government services, health and social services, and economic development assistance programs.

It is essential that the provinces undertake, in good faith, the necessary steps to ensure that the right to minority-language education — enshrined in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms — can be exercised on a practical basis. It is also essential that legal services be available in both languages, that we be fairly represented in the public services of the various levels of government and that discrimination on the basis of language be prohibited.

Nevertheless, and above all else, it is up to the federal government to once again assume its role as leader, and to reaffirm the linguistic duality of the country. Our hopes and aspirations can only be attained if the federal government exercises vigorous leadership and acts as a catalyst for action by other governments.

As a first step and attainable objective, we call upon the Government of Canada to:

- establish mechanisms to co-ordinate the activities of all federal departments and agencies which ensure — or could ensure — services to the official-language minority communities;
- clarify the obligations of each government department and agency toward these communities;
- and, lastly, to develop methods for evaluating the impact of these measures on the life of minority communities in each of our regions.

To that end, we respectfully request a meeting with the Prime Minister of Canada. The Prime Minister has already granted an interview to representatives of the *Fédération des Francophones hors Québec* and to Alliance Quebec.

But now the time has come to discuss the particular initiatives we have identified and which represent only a strict minimum if we wish to achieve a new national agreement ensuring the equality of our two languages.

As an example, the FFHQ and Alliance Quebec could work together by participating in joint initiatives aimed at encouraging private-sector bodies, such as banks and large retail chains, to increasingly reflect Canada's linguistic duality in advertising and customer services.

The time has come, as the Commissioner of Official Languages has aptly stated, to give language reform a fresh start. Our proposal is a useful first step in the process of renewal and reform.

CANADIAN FACTS OFFICIAL LANGUAGES SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

There were four versions of this questionnaire: French outside Quebec, French in Quebec, English outside Quebec and English in Quebec.

- *Official Languages*

1. To which language or languages does the term "official language of Canada" apply?
   English and French only.
   French only.
   English only.
   Other.

- *Second Language Learning*

2. Here are some statements other people have made about speaking two languages. For each, I would like you to tell me if you agree or disagree.
   a) French and English should be required subjects in all Canadian schools.
   b) As far as I'm concerned, Canada should have just one official language — English.
   c) As far as I'm concerned, Canada should have just one official language — French.
   d) It would be a good thing if all Canadians could speak both English and French.

3. How well do you speak French right now?
   I hardly know a word of French.
   I know a few French words and phrases but I don't really speak French at all.
   I speak a little French, but not enough to carry on a conversation.
   I can carry on a conversation in French but not very easily.
   I can speak French without any trouble at all.

4. How useful would it be to you *right now* to be able to speak French or speak it better?
   Very useful: I could speak it every day.
   Quite useful: I could use if often but not every day.
   Slightly useful: I could use it sometimes but not very often.
   Not useful at all: I don't think I'd ever use it.

5. Thinking ahead of the future — say ten years from now — how useful do you think it would be to you then to be able to speak French?
   Very useful: I could speak it every day.
   Quite useful: I could use it often but not every day.
   Slightly useful: I could use it sometimes but not very often.
   Not useful at all: I don't think I'd ever use it.

6. About how often do you hear French spoken in your community — other than in French classes at school?
   Practically every day.
   Once or twice a week.
   Occasionally — but not as often as once a week.
   Never.

7. a) For how many years, if any, did you study French in *elementary* and/or *secondary* schools?

b) And, outside of elementary and/or secondary school, have you studied French?

c) And, outside of elementary and/or secondary school, where did you study French?

8. How important do you think the ability to speak English and French is in helping a young person to get ahead in Canadian life today? Would you say it is . . .

Very important?

Moderately important?

Not very important?

Doesn't matter at all?

- *Minority Language Services*

9. a) In which language or languages should the federal government provide service to the public?

English only.

French only.

Both English and French.

Other.

b) In which language or languages should the government of (province of interview) provide service to the public?

English only.

French only.

Both English and French.

Other.

c) In which language or languages should business in (province of interview) provide services to the public?

English only.

French only.

Both English and French.

Other.

10. a) Are French-/English-speaking residents of (province of interview) entitled to receive service in their own language when they buy stamps at the Post Office?

b) Are French-/English-speaking residents of (province of interview) entitled to receive hospital services in their own language?

c) Are French-/English-speaking residents of (province of interview) entitled to receive services in their own language in a department store?

d) Are French-/English-speaking residents of (province of interview) entitled to have their children educated in their own language?

11. If you needed information concerning your language rights, whom would you contact?

Government (unspecified).

Federal Government.

Provincial Government.

Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages.

Government agency other than Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages.

Lawyer.

Other.

12. a) Should French-/English-speaking residents of (province of interview) be entitled to receive service in their own language when they buy stamps at the Post Office?

b) Should French-/English-speaking residents of (province of interview) be entitled to receive hospital services in their own language?

c) Should French-/English-speaking residents of (province of interview) be entitled to receive services in their own language in a department store?

d) Should French-/English-speaking residents of (province of interview) be entitled to have their children educated in their own language?

13. Now, what about people who speak English/French and live in/outside the province of Quebec?

a) Should English-/French-speaking residents of Quebec/provinces outside Quebec be entitled to receive service in their own language when they buy stamps at the Post Office?

b) Should English-/French-speaking residents of Quebec/provinces outside Quebec be entitled to receive hospital services in their own language?

c) Should English-/French-speaking residents of Quebec/provinces outside Quebec be entitled to receive service in their own language in a department store?

d) Should English-/French-speaking residents of Quebec/provinces outside Quebec be entitled to have their children educated in their own language?

- *Intergroup Relations*

14. a) Right now, how good would you say relations are between English Canadians and French Canadians . . .

Good?

Fair?

Poor?

Not sure.

b) Right now, would you say that English-French relations in Canada are getting better, getting worse, or staying about the same?

Getting better.

Getting worse.

Staying about the same.

Not sure.

COMMISSAIRE AUX LANGUES OFFICIELLES

COMMISSIONER OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

RAPPORT ANNUEL 1985

Dossier spécial : option jeunesse

EN ATTENDANT...

- la séance ténante
- un appui accru pour nos minorités
- la révision de la Loi

COMMISSAIRE AUX LANGUES OFFICIELLES

COMMISSIONER OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

RAPPORT ANNUEL 1985

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Monsieur le Président
du Sénat
Ottawa

Monsieur le Président,

Conformément à l'article 34 (1) de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, je soumets au Parlement, par votre intermédiaire, le quinzième Rapport annuel du Commissaire aux langues officielles qui se rapporte à l'année civile 1985.

Je vous prie d'agréer, Monsieur le Président, l'assurance de ma très haute considération.

Le Commissaire aux langues officielles,

D'Iberville Fortier

Mars 1986

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de la Chambre des communes
Ottawa

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Avant-propos

> « Mon gouvernement s'est engagé à faire respecter l'égalité des deux langues officielles (...) Cette exigence est vitale pour notre originalité et notre identité nationale ; il importe donc qu'on la consacre également dans les faits (...) L'unité nationale exige en outre que les deux ordres de gouvernement collaborent pour appuyer les minorités de langue officielle et promouvoir le caractère multiculturel de notre pays. »
>
> *Extrait du discours du Trône du 5 novembre 1984.*

Sur le plan des principes, on ne saurait être plus clair. Aussi ai-je exposé avec confiance l'an dernier, dans mon premier Rapport annuel, un schéma de relance comportant une cinquantaine de recommandations relatives aux principaux volets de la réforme du régime linguistique. Il s'agissait de tirer à grands traits les leçons de quinze ans d'efforts plus ou moins fructueux pour mettre en œuvre la *Loi sur les langues officielles*.

Un an plus tard, même si le gouvernement s'en est le plus souvent tenu à des exposés de principe, notre confiance et nos espoirs n'ont pas fléchi. Le renouvellement attendu ne s'est pas produit, mais il est en gestation. Comme le dit notre page frontispice, « En attendant... la relance fédérale, un appui accru pour nos minorités, la révision de la Loi », nous nous sommes armés de patience, profitant de cette pause pour mieux cerner quelques notions fondamentales et nous interroger sur « l'option jeunesse ». Mais pour cette réorientation, qui tarde depuis plusieurs années déjà, l'essentiel à mes yeux est de définir des objectifs réalistes et audacieux en vue d'atteindre l'égalité édictée par la Constitution, d'instituer des mesures propres à en assurer l'entière application, et enfin, de rendre aux instruments de la réforme — notamment au secteur de l'éducation — leur juste part des crédits budgétaires. La place particulière du bilinguisme parmi les valeurs canadiennes, n'en demande pas moins. À la vérité, l'opinion publique telle que nous la révèlent en particulier certains sondages récents, paraît en avance sur l'évolution des gouvernements.

Nous nous sommes penchés une fois de plus sur les trois composantes fonctionnelles de l'égalité linguistique proclamée par la Loi et la Constitution — soit le droit du public d'être servi à son gré en français ou en anglais, le choix de la langue de travail et une place équitable pour les deux communautés linguistiques dans l'ensemble de la fonction publique fédérale. Les solutions suggérées dans le passé nous paraissent toujours valables et nous nous sommes employés cette année à les affiner.

Nous avons traité en particulier de la question de la ***langue de travail***, en tant que clé de voûte de la réforme du régime linguistique. Comme le rappelait récemment

Julien Green qui s'y entend : « On n'est pas la même personne dans des langues différentes... ». L'égalité commande que les fonctionnaires puissent être *eux-mêmes* le plus souvent possible. N'est-ce pas ainsi du reste que la Fonction publique tirera le meilleur parti de leurs valeurs personnelles ? À la question, pouvons-nous enfin nous attaquer avec de meilleures chances de succès à ce problème, nous avons répondu en proposant plusieurs voies complémentaires pour y parvenir.

S'il est important de se fixer des buts et d'arrêter des méthodes par secteur, nous proposons aussi pour l'ensemble de la Fonction publique une planification plus précise pour chaque organisme et un contrôle des performances beaucoup plus rigoureux. S'appliquant la même discipline, le Commissariat, après avoir revu ses propres objectifs et son organisation, a cherché à se donner les moyens d'une efficacité accrue. Il tentera aussi de mettre en place un système assurant que certaines de ses recommandations qui ne seraient pas mises en application dans un délai raisonnable reçoivent l'attention des organismes centraux qui ont le pouvoir d'en assurer l'exécution et, le cas échéant, du Parlement lui-même.

La question de l'appui à nos **minorités de langue officielle** et de leur protection reste au centre de nos préoccupations. Elle exigera un grand effort de la part du gouvernement fédéral en ce qui le concerne directement, ainsi que l'exercice d'un leadership vigoureux auprès des gouvernements provinciaux, des municipalités qui en relèvent et du secteur privé. Bon nombre de nos dirigeants provinciaux, j'ai pu m'en rendre compte, ont l'esprit ouvert, n'attendant bien souvent qu'Ottawa prenne l'initiative et prêche par l'exemple. Nous espérons que notre colloque d'octobre dernier sera pour tous les intéressés source d'inspiration et d'action.

Comme il est permis de prévoir pour un avenir assez proche que le gouvernement donnera suite à son intention de mettre à jour la **Loi sur les langues officielles**, nous avons rendu publiques conformément à la Loi dès décembre 1985 nos propositions en la matière. Nous voulions contribuer ainsi à l'effort de réflexion pour rajeunir et rendre plus efficace un instrument toujours indispensable, malgré l'insertion des droits linguistiques dans la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés*. Cette révision est d'autant plus urgente à nos yeux qu'elle a longtemps tardé et est indissociable d'une relance en profondeur.

C'est dans cet esprit de ressourcement que nous nous sommes intéressés au sort réservé à ce qu'on est convenu d'appeler « l'option jeunesse ». Ce rêve qui a servi aux uns d'idée-force pour préparer l'avenir, et aux autres d'alibi pour tenter de repousser de difficiles échéances, est-il en passe de devenir réalité ? Nos recherches, qui font l'objet de la partie V du présent rapport, nous incitent à la prudence dans le diagnostic, à un optimisme tempéré et à des efforts redoublés pour que demain soit mieux préparé.

Nous sommes nombreux à espérer que 1986 sera l'année d'un nouveau départ. Ce sera affaire de cœur autant que d'esprit, et il s'agira de situer de nouveau notre dualité linguistique au centre de nos valeurs collectives. Il faudra, à notre avis, trouver dans la sagesse et l'audace des nouvelles orientations une source d'inspiration pour la négociation devant permettre la rentrée du Québec dans la famille constitutionnelle. La « réconciliation nationale » pourra y puiser des éléments précieux, voire essentiels.

D'I.F.

PARTIE I

Perspectives de renouveau

Le bilinguisme et la réconciliation nationale : mettre le paquet

Si les termes bilinguisme et réconciliation nationale peuvent sembler contradictoires aux esprits cyniques, il importe néanmoins que le gardien de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* du Canada ait sa petite idée sur la façon dont ils pourraient s'harmoniser. Dans notre rapport de l'an dernier, nous notions avec enthousiasme que le gouvernement, dans son discours du Trône, avait mis l'accent sur deux aspects de la politique des langues officielles : une mise en œuvre rigoureuse de la Loi dans l'appareil fédéral, et un soutien direct et indirect accru aux minorités linguistiques, tout cela au nom de l'unité nationale. Cette attitude admirable nous a semblé si pertinente que nous sommes restés tout yeux, tout oreilles pendant une bonne partie de l'année 1985, impatients de voir comment le gouvernement allait, en tant que chef de file, traduire en actes ses engagements. Nous nous demandions si la nation se réconcilierait *grâce* au bilinguisme, ou simplement *avec* lui ; si le programme serait finalement présenté comme ce qu'il est, un hommage au réalisme et à la tolérance des Canadiens ; et si les autres grands partenaires de cette entreprise nationale qu'est l'établissement de la justice linguistique feraient l'objet d'une cour assidue, ou s'ils seraient laissés libres d'adhérer à l'esprit de la Constitution quand bon leur semblerait.

Prendre la barre

Pour mobiliser l'enthousiasme et l'énergie d'un peuple, il ne suffit pas de prendre position ; il faut agir. Aussi lorsque nous avons souligné dans notre dernier rapport annuel qu'une direction politique active était une condition *sine qua non* du progrès de la réforme du régime linguistique au Canada, nous espérions que l'action du gouvernement prendrait une forme un peu plus tangible que des généralisations sympathiques et un long réexamen de la politique, aussi nécessaire soit-il. Nous devons admettre que nous sommes quelque peu déçus. Il est certes fondamental pour une relance vigoureuse du programme des langues officielles que le gouvernement fasse un bilan complet de la situation et des moyens de l'améliorer. Mais on n'a peut-être pas assez tenu compte de ce que la réforme avait déjà perdu de son impulsion depuis au moins un an ou deux avant l'arrivée au pouvoir du gouvernement actuel, si bien que le manque de promotion en 1985 s'est ajouté au manque de dynamisme existant. Il nous semble évident que quelles que soient les orientations qu'on suivra éventuellement, il est toujours possible d'augmenter la productivité du programme *actuel* en témoignant de la volonté politique voulue.

Verbum sapienti

Nous sommes bien sûr conscients que tout cela est plus facile à dire qu'à faire, et que jongler avec les priorités politiques dans un climat économique difficile est peut-être la chose la plus complexe du monde. Après tout, assez d'indices ont été donnés en 1985 pour signaler clairement à ceux qui ont des oreilles pour entendre l'orientation générale de la philosophie du gouvernement en matière de bilinguisme officiel. Le Premier ministre n'a cessé de déclarer qu'il entendait personnellement asseoir le programme sur des bases solides ; contrer les aspects les plus « folkloriques » du français en tant que langue de travail au sein de l'appareil fédéral ; et inciter les provinces et le secteur privé à augmenter leur soutien à la fois symbolique et concret aux minorités nationales.

Les ministres fédéraux ayant un rôle clé dans ce domaine complexe ont repris et développé ces thèmes. Le président du Conseil du Trésor a continué de souligner que les divers éléments du programme devraient être mis en œuvre et gérés avec plus d'efficacité. Les secrétaires d'État successifs ont pour leur part affirmé sans équivoque qu'ils entendaient perfectionner les outils dont dispose le fédéral pour aider les minorités de langue officielle et en élargir la gamme. Plusieurs initiatives antérieures ont été poursuivies : le Programme d'aide à la contestation judiciaire a été reconduit, un minimum de 2 millions de dollars ayant été affectés sur une période de cinq ans à la clarification des droits linguistiques ; l'accord fédéral-provincial sur l'enseignement des langues officielles a lui aussi été prolongé ; et on a continué de travailler à divers projets et programmes bilatéraux avec certaines provinces, notamment en matière de traduction juridique et de bilinguisation des services. Entre-temps, le ministère de la Justice a coordonné un examen exhaustif de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* en vue de sa révision prochaine. Il a aussi pris position dans maintes causes relatives à la Constitution, soutenant que plusieurs provinces canadiennes ont des obligations historiques en matière de bilinguisme institutionnel, obligations qu'elles n'ont pas respectées dans la pratique. Signalons enfin que le ministère des Communications a fait connaître ses plans pour améliorer la prestation de services en langue minoritaire ; il versera notamment une subvention égale à celle de l'Ontario, soit 15 millions de dollars, pour aider à créer le nouveau réseau français de TVOntario.

Dans ces conditions, il peut sembler un peu cavalier de se demander si le message a réellement passé, ou si les hauts fonctionnaires fédéraux, provinciaux et autres ont bien compris la détermination du gouvernement à ranimer et à rationaliser la réforme du régime linguistique. Nos contacts avec des dirigeants et des hauts fonctionnaires des provinces nous ont donné la nette impression qu'ils se montreraient assez réceptifs à des initiatives fédérales substantielles. Comme nous nous préoccupons avant tout de savoir où en est la réforme et quelle quantité d'énergie et de ressources lui a été consacrée ces dernières années, nous aurions indubitablement préféré voir jouer quelques cartes politiques de plus, plutôt que d'entendre de simples annonces dans la meilleure tradition du poker.

Parallèlement, nous sommes heureux que le gouvernement ait apparemment pris à cœur certaines de nos principales suggestions de l'an dernier et qu'il ait à maintes reprises prié des ministres importants de se mettre à la disposition du Comité mixte permanent de la politique et des programmes de langues officielles. Nous sommes aussi heureux du ton positif adopté lors de ces comparutions même si, comme *The Economist* le faisait remarquer au sujet de l'esprit qui régnait au Sommet de Genève

l'an dernier, on a l'impression que les bons sentiments ne tardent pas à s'évanouir alors même que « tout le travail véritable reste à faire ». Nous convenons volontiers avec plus d'un ministre fédéral que l'efficacité de l'action du gouvernement central doit d'abord se faire sentir dans les rangs même de l'Administration. De toute évidence, voilà un domaine de la politique publique où la crédibilité du fédéral dépend, sinon d'un état de santé impeccable, du moins d'une relative bonne forme.

Un bulletin de santé réconfortant

À notre avis, le présent rapport démontrera que la réforme ne se porte pas si mal, même si cela est plus apparent pour les observateurs avertis du centre du Canada que pour la plupart des citoyens, qui s'y intéressent plus ou moins. Cependant, il nous semble que 15 à 18 mois est une bien longue période pour s'abstenir de déclarer ses intentions précises quant aux principaux buts du programme et quant aux ressources fédérales qui serviront à les atteindre, même pour un nouveau gouvernement. Cette pause nous aura néanmoins donné le temps de réfléchir un peu à la façon dont le gouvernement pourrait garder foi dans les buts de la réforme tout en remodelant le programme à son image ; aussi nous permettrons-nous de lui donner quelques conseils.

Les urgences

Des services bilingues de qualité

Les domaines où continuent d'achopper les efforts du fédéral pour mettre en œuvre la *Loi sur les langues officielles* changent peu d'une année à l'autre ; étant donné les ressources limitées consacrées à la réforme, il n'est sans doute pas possible de progresser efficacement dans tous ces domaines à la fois. Cependant, certains sont plus susceptibles que d'autres d'être améliorés à court terme ; aussi serait-il largement profitable au programme aussi bien qu'au gouvernement lui-même d'établir un ordre de priorité. Par exemple, il est bien connu que la qualité et la régularité des services fédéraux dans la langue officielle minoritaire diminuent progressivement au fur et à mesure que l'on s'éloigne des régions qui ont la plus grande capacité en matière de bilinguisme. Mais il n'est pas forcé qu'il en soit ainsi. Le gouvernement fédéral peut fort bien faire disparaître toutes ces entorses à la Constitution avant la fin de la présente décennie, à condition qu'il en fasse sa priorité numéro un et qu'il y affecte les ressources nécessaires.

L'enseignement dans la langue minoritaire

Si l'on envisage un autre aspect du programme, demandons-nous quelle est la place de l'enseignement dans la langue minoritaire, non pas dans l'échéancier mensuel du gouvernement, mais dans son ordre de priorité. Car si cette question lui tient vraiment à cœur, le gouvernement devra adopter une attitude nettement plus ferme pour réduire le nombre désolant des poursuites judiciaires visant à déterminer à quel point les lois provinciales sur l'éducation s'écartent des garanties de l'article 23 de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés*. Même le plus grand respect des compétences des provinces ne devrait pas empêcher le gouvernement fédéral de jouer pleinement son rôle de chef de file national. Si les provinces s'inquiètent à juste titre des répercussions concrètes d'un réalignement de leur législation et de la création d'établissements d'enseignement dans la langue de la minorité, le gouvernement fédéral devrait à tout le moins les aider à financer le gros du travail technique nécessaire pour résoudre ces problèmes. Il faut éviter à tout prix que les provinces soient paralysées par la succession des causes qui cheminent dans le labyrinthe des tribunaux. Seule une attitude fédérale ferme et dynamique peut empêcher une telle situation.

Autres priorités

Les deux autres domaines où les efforts du gouvernement fédéral méritent selon nous d'être rationalisés sont l'usage du français comme langue de travail dans l'administration, et les priorités financières en ce qui a trait aux langues officielles dans l'enseignement. Comme nous le verrons plus loin, le dossier de la langue de travail a atteint un point où il faut soit le mettre aux oubliettes, soit lui donner une vigueur nouvelle. Le dossier de l'éducation, au contraire, souffre presque du trop grand intérêt qu'on lui porte. Nous avons donc consacré une partie importante du présent rapport à examiner certaines questions essentielles, notamment : l'équilibre entre le financement affecté à l'enseignement dans la langue minoritaire et à celui de la langue seconde ; les résultats réels et prévus de diverses initiatives reliées à « l'option jeunesse » ; et enfin, la question de savoir si l'on consacre assez d'argent à cet aspect de la réforme pour lui permettre de répondre à tous les espoirs qui sont fondés sur lui.

Mise en œuvre de la Loi

La nécessité de refondre la *Loi sur les langues officielles* a déjà suscité une attention considérable de la part du gouvernement. Si nous partageons le point de vue selon lequel il est toujours préférable de commencer par énoncer le plus clairement possible dans la Loi le but de la réforme du régime linguistique au Canada, l'expérience nous a aussi appris que même les énoncés les plus clairs ne servent à rien sans les moyens pour les mettre en œuvre.

Discipline et inventivité

Nous répétons ce qui devrait être désormais l'évidence même : la *Loi sur les langues officielles* n'est que l'élément central d'un ensemble de changements à apporter. De plus, les changements d'attitudes qu'elle suppose chez les individus et les organismes ne se produiront pas — ou pas assez rapidement — si le gouvernement fédéral ne fournit pas un effort de promotion soutenu et coordonné. Cet effort comporte deux volets :

- le premier consiste à fixer des buts et un échéancier très précis sur le plan de l'exploitation, et à se montrer absolument impitoyable pour forcer tous les organismes fédéraux à les respecter ;
- le second consiste à établir un ordre de priorité à l'échelon fédéral pour faire en sorte que les *autres* partenaires en cause (les provinces, le secteur privé, le grand public) reçoivent leur juste part du financement.

Si nous devions ramener à deux seulement nos résolutions pour l'année 1986 et au-delà, ces résolutions seraient : d'abord, de renforcer la Loi et de resserrer les mécanismes de planification et d'imputabilité au sein de l'appareil fédéral, de même que ses méthodes d'enquête, pour empêcher les ministères et organismes de faillir régulièrement aux engagements clairs qu'ils ont pris[1] ; et, en second lieu, de persuader le gouvernement d'établir un programme promotionnel complet concernant

[1] À force de traîner dans les « limbes bureaucratiques », les recommandations même les plus valables, qu'elles soient générales ou précises, risquent fort de céder le pas à d'autres préoccupations « urgentes ». Aussi exigerons-nous désormais du gouvernement et de ses organismes qu'ils proposent, dans un délai déterminé (ou qu'ils nous disent pourquoi cela leur est impossible), des plans d'action détaillés et précis quant à la mise en œuvre de nos recommandations. De la sorte, nous pourrons mieux suivre l'évolution *chronologique* de leur rendement et en informer en conséquence, à l'occasion d'éventuels « rapports spéciaux », le greffier du Conseil privé, le conseil des ministres et le Parlement.

la participation des provinces, du secteur privé et du public, lequel a) indiquerait dans quelle direction s'oriente le bilinguisme officiel, b) fixerait les priorités pertinentes, c) ferait preuve d'inventivité, et d) prévoirait une répartition judicieuse des ressources financières.

Un bilinguisme à rabais...

Invité dans le cadre de la conférence Falconbridge, qui a eu lieu en novembre dernier à l'Université Laurentienne de Sudbury, le Commissaire aux langues officielles a choisi de traiter le thème « Le bilinguisme et les valeurs canadiennes », en partie parce qu'il semble y avoir une ambiguïté dangereuse et largement répandue quant aux profits que nous retirons de notre dualité linguistique par rapport à ses coûts. Quelle que soit notre attitude personnelle en la matière, nous devons admettre que les attentes créées par celle-ci sont aussi importantes que ce qui a été réalisé jusqu'ici. Les tenants de la théorie selon laquelle le bilinguisme est une « vache sacrée » (voir p. 138) ont raison à cet égard, car de nombreux Canadiens, de partout et de tous les milieux, ont déjà investi beaucoup de conviction et d'énergie pour faire du bilinguisme officiel une réalité. En fait, il n'est pas exagéré de dire que des milliers de Canadiens se sont consacrés davantage au respect linguistique mutuel que certains de leurs dirigeants.

Quoi qu'il en soit, une question s'impose à notre esprit : quelle est la *place* de cet idéal d'un pays équitablement bilingue dans l'ordre des valeurs canadiennes, et combien sommes-nous prêts à payer pour le concrétiser ? Comme nous le soulignons dans les chapitres ultérieurs, les dépenses fédérales au titre des langues officielles ont régulièrement décliné par rapport au budget total du gouvernement depuis près de dix ans. Dire que le bilinguisme est une grosse dépense, est une affirmation qui ne résiste pas à l'analyse. Dans un pays où le budget de la Défense nationale s'est accru de 114 p.100 au cours des six dernières années, les fonds consacrés à la réforme du régime linguistique n'ont augmenté au total que de 30 p.100 (voir le tableau I.1 ci-après).

Sans nous lancer dans le monde merveilleux des relativités socio-politiques et sans insinuer que la meilleure façon de consolider le bilinguisme officiel serait d'y investir aveuglément, nous voulons cependant exprimer l'avis suivant :

- pour résoudre les problèmes prioritaires au sein de la fonction publique et pour le faire efficacement, il faudra plus de ressources que le gouvernement ne semble disposé à en consacrer pour le moment ;
- dans les « secteurs de croissance » de la réforme en dehors de la fonction publique, le total des crédits fédéraux est trop modeste par rapport à ce que les Canadiens attendent de leur pays depuis que la Constitution l'a doté de deux langues officielles.

Tableau I. 1

Augmentation en pourcentage des dépenses nettes de divers ministères fédéraux et de divers programmes relatifs aux langues officielles, et part des dépenses du gouvernement affectée aux programmes de langues officielles, de 1979-1980 à 1984-1985 et de 1979-1980 à 1985-1986

		1979-1980 (en milliers de $)	1984-1985 (en milliers de $)	Augmentation (%)	1985-86 (en milliers de $)	Augmentation (%)
Défense nationale		4 389 000	8 926 000	103,4	9 383 223	113,8
Transports		1 630 000	3 701 000	127,1	2 680 254	125,8
Environnement		456 000	819 000	79,6	726 964	59,4
Agriculture		782 000	1 593 000	103,7	1 704 303	118,0
Santé nationale et Bien-être social		14 038 000	24 914 000	77,5	26 463 729	88,5
Dépenses nettes du gouvernement		52 364 000	100 254 000	91,5	102 530 583	95,8
Programmes des langues officielles	externes[1]	196 287	241 842	23,2	253 556	29,2
	internes[2]	194 135	254 620	31,2	251 978	29,8
	Total	390 422	496 462	27,2	505 534	29,5
Part des dépenses du gouvernement affectée aux programmes de langues officielles		**0,75**	**0,50**		**0,49**	

[1] Provinces, territoires et organismes.
[2] Programmes de la Fonction publique et des Forces armées.
Sources : Pour les dépenses fédérales : Comptes publics du Canada 1981 et 1985, prévisions 1985-1986 ; pour les programmes de langues officielles : Rapports annuels du Commissaire aux langues officielles.

Attitudes du public

Cela nous amène à la question épineuse qui consiste à déterminer ce que les Canadiens attendent exactement à cet égard. D'après les éléments dont nous disposons

actuellement, qu'il s'agisse de statistiques, d'articles dans les médias ou d'anecdotes entendues, nous pensons pouvoir dire sans nous tromper que :

- une bonne majorité de Canadiens estiment en principe qu'ils devraient pouvoir recevoir des services gouvernementaux et autres en français ou en anglais ;
- une majorité aussi importante de Canadiens estiment que tous leurs concitoyens ont le droit de recevoir un enseignement approprié en français ou en anglais, aussi bien en tant que langue minoritaire que comme langue seconde ;
- enfin, on peut avancer que beaucoup de Canadiens sont tout simplement fatigués des querelles linguistiques futiles et trop passionnées, et préféreraient qu'on adopte au plus tôt un système pratique permettant d'assurer la justice linguistique.

Ainsi, selon nous, le bilinguisme officiel au Canada n'est plus considéré comme un projet qu'il faut adopter ou refuser. Car il a déjà été adopté : le peuple canadien accepte largement l'idée que son pays est bilingue. Cela signifie que notre pays offrira un visage bilingue lors de manifestations comme Expo 86 ou les Jeux olympiques d'hiver de Calgary ; que les assemblées législatives et les tribunaux de certaines provinces et territoires respecteront leur obligation de fonctionner dans les deux langues officielles ; que les responsables de l'éducation s'attacheront à résoudre les problèmes administratifs complexes liés à l'enseignement dans la langue minoritaire au lieu de se détourner pour ne pas les voir ; que les Canadiens de diverses origines ethno-linguistiques trouveront de plus en plus naturel d'employer *soit* le français, *soit* l'anglais dans leurs affaires courantes et dans leurs rapports avec leurs compatriotes.

Si, comme nous le préconisons, *tous* les responsables fédéraux adoptent une ligne de conduite dynamique en ce qui a trait à la réforme du régime linguistique, il est essentiel qu'ils interprètent correctement ces signes. Aucun Canadien ne se laissera « imposer » le bilinguisme, mais la plupart sont manifestement disposés à consentir les efforts et les investissements de toutes sortes nécessaires pour se réaliser en tant que peuple, dans le respect mutuel. Voilà sans aucun doute une situation où le gouvernement n'a rien d'autre à craindre que ses propres craintes. Ou, pour paraphraser un certain homme d'État, si « la meilleure éloquence est celle qui permet d'obtenir que les choses se fassent », on peut dire que le gouvernement a maintes occasions, dont il ne se sert guère, pour déployer son éloquence au nom d'un bilinguisme canadien authentique. La capacité du gouvernement de mobiliser les Canadiens, c'est-à-dire de témoigner de ses convictions en adoptant un plan d'action complet et convenablement financé, demeure l'essentiel. Nous attendons ce plan d'action avec impatience.

Les droits linguistiques : quelques précisions nécessaires

Après un bref exposé des droits linguistiques au Canada, le présent chapitre traite de l'évolution récente de la jurisprudence en la matière, du développement du Programme d'aide à la contestation judiciaire et de la révision de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, qui doit être amorcée bientôt.

Il est difficile de se représenter exactement toute la complexité du droit des langues au Canada. Pour une vue d'ensemble, on doit prendre en considération à la fois la consécration constitutionnelle, le partage des compétences législatives entre le gouvernement fédéral et les gouvernements provinciaux, et le droit législatif pertinent du fédéral, des provinces et des territoires.

Historique

L'article 133 de la *Loi constitutionnelle de 1867* est la pierre angulaire des droits linguistiques au Canada. Plus tard, s'y est ajouté l'article 23 de la *Loi de 1870 sur le Manitoba*. Il convient de mentionner aussi l'article 110 de la *Loi sur les territoires du Nord-Ouest* d'alors. La *Loi sur les langues officielles* de 1969 marque une conception différente et élargie. En 1982, la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés* (articles 16 à 22) a étendu le champ des droits linguistiques constitutionnalisés aux rapports de l'État avec les administrés. À ce jour, le gouvernement fédéral et celui du Nouveau-Brunswick sont les seuls à s'être formellement engagés à cet égard. Quant aux droits à l'instruction dans la langue de la minorité prévus à l'article 23, ils concernent toutes les provinces et les territoires. Lors de la promulgation de la Charte, on s'attendait à une multiplication des litiges dans le domaine linguistique, notamment pour ce qui est des droits à l'instruction dans la langue de la minorité. Le nombre des causes alors en instance le laissait présager. La plupart reposaient sur des dispositions antérieures, dont l'article 133 de la *Loi constitutionnelle de 1867*, l'article 23 de la *Loi de 1870 sur le Manitoba* et l'article 110 de la *Loi sur les territoires du Nord-Ouest*. Ces articles, que certains vouaient à l'oubli, ont refait surface en 1985.

L'interprétation des textes anciens

Les textes anciens posent aux juristes des problèmes d'interprétation. On ne saurait en définir le sens sans prendre en considération la conception que les législateurs et les tribunaux se sont faite de leur portée au cours des cent dernières années, période bien vivante sur le plan constitutionnel. Le législateur d'aujourd'hui, autant que celui d'hier, sinon davantage, peut nous indiquer la voie et proposer des perspectives plus cohérentes et vraisemblablement novatrices. Pour une lecture nouvelle des dispositions anciennes, éclairée par des textes récents, les juges, les administrateurs et les politiques doivent parfois consentir un grand effort d'adaptation

aux besoins d'aujourd'hui. À cet égard, un des acquis les plus importants de l'année écoulée aura été la confirmation de l'hypothèse selon laquelle l'Alberta et la Saskatchewan se classent parmi les provinces qui doivent assumer des responsabilités constitutionnelles particulières en matière de langues officielles, dans l'administration de la justice. Malgré tous les débats, ces obligations impliquent un élargissement du champ du bilinguisme officiel ou, si l'on veut, du groupe des provinces à obligations séculaires en la matière.

Les droits nouveaux

Les droits à l'instruction dans la langue de la minorité, définis par l'article 23 de la Charte, dépassent largement les dispositions anciennes relatives aux écoles confessionnelles, dont l'article 93 de la Loi de 1867. Dans un domaine fondamental comme l'instruction publique, pour nos minorités de langue officielle, la Charte a un effet d'innovation et de renouvellement. On se demandera même à quel point les provinces signataires auraient pressenti les répercussions éventuelles de leur adhésion.

Sur ce point, il est bien évident que la pyramide formée de la constitution au sommet, des lois et réglementations à mi-hauteur, des directives et des programmes à la base est incomplète dans la plupart des provinces en ce qui concerne l'instruction dans la langue de la minorité. Il y manque, en quelque sorte, l'étage intermédiaire. Une constitution peut fort bien renfermer des énoncés de principe et consacrer des droits fondamentaux : par là elle crée des garanties prépondérantes, mais n'indique pas les modalités d'application ni les mécanismes de mise en œuvre. La constitution en ce domaine est en somme un point de départ, et non un aboutissement.

Déjà les tribunaux ont invalidé des articles de lois scolaires provinciales. Ils ont même défini l'obligation pour les législateurs provinciaux de modifier des textes législatifs de manière à faire respecter les droits constitutionnels à l'instruction dans la langue de la minorité. Mais jusqu'ici ils ont refusé de recourir aux ordonnances ou injonctions à l'endroit des autorités politiques.

Vers un élargissement des droits

Tout élargissement constitutionnel des droits linguistiques au Canada doit s'inspirer d'abord de l'esprit de l'article 133 de la Loi de 1867 et des articles 16 à 22 de la Charte, plus circonstanciés. En étendant la portée de ces dispositions à d'autres provinces, avec, bien entendu, les réserves et les adaptations nécessaires, on parviendra à favoriser l'évolution vers l'égalité de statut et d'usage du français et de l'anglais. De toute manière, se pose la question de savoir si la plupart des provinces et des territoires, sinon leur totalité, ne devraient pas reconnaître que le libellé de l'article 133 de la Loi de 1867 est largement dépassé. Ne conviendrait-il pas dans un avenir assez proche de le compléter en étendant, sous une forme ou une autre, le bilinguisme institutionnel à d'autres provinces en ce qui à trait notamment aux services gouvernementaux, et en définissant plus clairement la notion d'autonomie institutionnelle pour la minorité, entre autres dans le secteur de l'éducation.

La contestation judiciaire, on le sait, est une voie longue et coûteuse, aux issues aléatoires. De plus, elle risque de brouiller encore davantage l'atmosphère qui règne entre l'État et les administrés. Mais il arrive qu'il n'y ait pas d'autre issue pour des communautés minoritaires de langue officielle qui entendent faire valoir leurs droits. Elles ne s'adresseront le plus souvent aux tribunaux que si leurs démarches sur le plan politique n'ont pas donné les résultats escomptés ou que les rebuffades ont

été trop cuisantes. Elles savent, hélas ! que les droits arrachés par jugement déclaratoire peuvent se révéler assez éphémères, si les gouvernements ne consentent pas volontiers à les respecter. Plusieurs gouvernements répugnent, il est vrai, à traduire dans la législation les droits linguistiques qu'ils ont consentis eux-mêmes à inscrire dans la Constitution. Cet hiatus entre les paroles et les actes, de même que ses conséquences pour les citoyens, inspirent un profond sentiment de gêne aux gens de bonne volonté.

Voyons quelles ont été les principales décisions des tribunaux en matière de droits linguistiques au cours des douze derniers mois. Chose certaine, elles témoignent de problèmes dont la solution n'est pas imminente.

Éphémérides judiciaires

L'affaire du Manitoba

L'année 1985 a été féconde. Le grand événement judiciaire a été l'avis de la Cour suprême du Canada sur le renvoi fédéral touchant les articles 133 de la *Loi constitutionnelle de 1867* et 23 de la *Loi de 1870 sur le Manitoba*. À l'unanimité, les juges ont statué, le 13 juin 1985, que toutes les lois de l'Assemblée législative de la province (ainsi que toutes les règles et tous les règlements qui en découlent) étaient invalides, ayant été imprimées et publiées uniquement en anglais. Toutefois, pour tenir compte des exigences de l'ordre public et de la primauté du droit, la Cour a prudemment décrété que les lois en vigueur seraient tenues pour valides et opérantes jusqu'à l'expiration d'un délai pour les traduire.

La Cour suprême a ensuite invité le procureur général du Canada et le procureur général du Manitoba à proposer le délai pour traduire, adopter de nouveau, imprimer et publier dans les deux langues les lois en vigueur, d'une part, et les lois abrogées ou périmées, d'autre part. Au sujet de ces dernières, a-t-elle noté, il pourrait être nécessaire de les adopter, de les imprimer et de les publier de nouveau dans les deux langues officielles pour ensuite les abroger. Pour l'avenir, la Cour suprême a statué ainsi : la Constitution exige que toutes les nouvelles lois du Manitoba soient adoptées, imprimées et publiées dans les deux langues ; toute loi qui ne satisferait pas à cette exigence serait invalide.

Le 4 novembre, une ordonnance inusitée de la Cour suprême entérinait un arrangement hors cour intervenu entre les parties à cette affaire. Cette ordonnance met en vigueur l'engagement souscrit par le Manitoba à publier dans les deux langues, sur deux colonnes, la codification permanente des lois, les règlements provinciaux, les règles de procédure des tribunaux judiciaires et des tribunaux administratifs de la province. Elle prévoit deux échéances pour la réadoption et la publication : le 31 décembre 1988, pour la codification permanente des lois et la traduction des lois et des règlements provinciaux ainsi que des règles de procédure des tribunaux judiciaires et administratifs, et le 31 décembre 1990 pour la traduction des autres lois unilingues. Toute partie à cet accord peut, au besoin, demander à la Cour suprême de revoir l'ordonnance. Si les Franco-Manitobains se sont félicités de cette confirmation de leurs droits selon la lettre, il ne leur a pas échappé qu'il restait beaucoup à faire pour en traduire l'esprit dans les faits, notamment pour que soit reconnu leur droit à des services provinciaux en français.

La Saskatchewan et l'Alberta

En 1985, trois décisions ont porté sur le droit de faire usage du français devant les tribunaux de juridiction pénale en Saskatchewan et en Alberta. Dans chaque cause, il s'agissait d'établir si l'article 110 de la *Loi sur les territoires du Nord-Ouest*, dans

sa version de 1891, était demeuré en vigueur après la création des deux provinces. Cet article prévoyait le bilinguisme institutionnel.

Le 11 juin, dans l'affaire *Tremblay*, un tribunal de la Saskatchewan statuait que la procédure criminelle prévue par le dit article continuait de s'appliquer dans les affaires dont était saisie la Cour du Banc de la reine de cette province. En clair, le droit de s'exprimer en français ou en anglais devant une cour supérieure de juridiction criminelle subsiste en Saskatchewan, mais n'embrasse pas pour l'accusé le droit à un procès entièrement en français ; ce dernier a cependant le droit d'utiliser les services d'un interprète. De plus, la Cour a accueilli favorablement l'argument de l'accusé selon lequel la mise en œuvre, province par province, de l'article 462.1 du Code criminel, qui le privait de la protection et de l'avantage dont jouit toute personne parlant l'autre langue officielle, serait incompatible avec le paragraphe 15(1) de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés* (droit à l'égalité). En conséquence, le tribunal a déclaré cette disposition inopérante, dans la mesure où elle privait l'inculpé du droit d'être jugé dans la langue officielle qui est sienne. Cette question a donné lieu à un renvoi devant la Cour d'appel par le gouvernement de la Saskatchewan. L'affaire était en délibéré lorsque nous rédigions le présent rapport.

En Alberta, un tribunal statuait le 30 juillet, dans l'affaire *Paquette*, que même si le législateur n'avait pas eu l'intention d'inscrire dans la Constitution les droits linguistiques lors de la création de la province en 1905, l'article 110 de la *Loi sur les territoires du Nord-Ouest* avait alors été incorporé dans le droit de l'Alberta, et que la province ne l'avait jamais abrogé par la suite. Ainsi cet article est toujours en vigueur. D'autre part, l'Alberta ne serait pas compétente pour l'abroger dans le cas des procédures au criminel. Le juge a estimé cependant que le droit de faire usage du français ou de l'anglais dans une procédure n'englobe pas le choix de la langue d'audience. Néanmoins, le juge doit être en mesure de lire et de comprendre le français, même si cette obligation ne s'applique pas aux jurés[1].

En Saskatchewan, la Cour d'appel a enfin rendu, le 28 octobre, sa décision dans l'affaire *Mercure*, où on invoquait l'article 110 contre un tribunal provincial exerçant cette fois-ci sa compétence en vertu d'une loi pénale de la province. Par une opinion majoritaire, elle a maintenu le jugement de première instance, statuant que l'article 110 avait été reconduit en Saskatchewan lors de la création de la province en 1905. Cet article s'appliquerait aux tribunaux mais non à l'Assemblée législative. Toutefois, il n'obligerait pas à accorder un procès entièrement en français. Enfin, un refus à cet égard ne constituerait pas une négation du droit à une défense pleine et entière. En somme, l'article 110 serait toujours en vigueur, bien que non inscrit dans la Constitution. Et même s'il a été reconduit en 1905 par une disposition transitoire encore opérante, sa portée exacte serait aujourd'hui incertaine, faute de précisions suffisantes dans les lois de la province. N'est-ce pas là une situation paradoxale !

La Cour d'appel de la Saskatchewan entendait, en novembre, les plaidoiries dans un renvoi présenté par le gouvernement provincial, qui entendait faire préciser la portée exacte de l'article 110 relativement à l'administration de la justice dans la province. À la fin de l'année, l'affaire était toujours en délibéré.

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[1] En février 1986, un autre arrêt, en partie fondé sur le paragraphe 15(1) de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés*, établissait que ce droit comporte celui d'être entendu par un jury bilingue.

L'affaire de l'école Georges et Julia Bugnet en Alberta

Les parents des enfants francophones fréquentant l'école Georges et Julia Bugnet d'Edmonton, établissement privé, se sont présentés devant la justice afin de faire reconnaître, entre autres, leurs droits à une instruction financée à même les fonds publics dans un établissement qui serait géré par un conseil scolaire francophone. Dans son jugement, rendu le 24 juillet, la Cour du Banc de la reine attache une grande valeur morale à l'avis consultatif de la Cour suprême de l'Ontario dans le renvoi sur l'éducation présenté en 1984. Elle en reprend tous les arguments et donne raison aux requérants sur le plan des principes, mais rejette la plupart des conclusions touchant les faits. Les droits linguistiques minoritaires énoncés dans l'article 23 de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés* auraient été reconnus par une division scolaire catholique d'Edmonton, du fait de la création de l'école Maurice-Lavallée, qui est de langue française et qui comporte en outre deux classes immersives. Toutefois, la loi scolaire de la province diverge de la Charte en ce qu'elle n'assure pas aux parents francophones un degré suffisant de contrôle et de gestion. Le tribunal a invité le législateur à modifier la Loi, mais il l'a mis en garde contre la tentation de fixer dans la législation un minimum arbitraire pour déterminer le nombre d'élèves donnant droit à l'instruction dans la langue minoritaire.

Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards

Au Québec, la Cour supérieure accueillait favorablement le 25 juin une requête qui avait été présentée par diverses commissions scolaires protestantes et par leur association provinciale, et qui avait pour objet l'invalidation de la *Loi sur l'enseignement primaire et secondaire public* de la province. On se rappellera que cette loi visait essentiellement à transformer le régime confessionnel en un régime fondé sur l'appartenance linguistique. La Cour enjoignit le gouvernement « de ne prendre aucune mesure et de ne poser aucun geste visant à mettre en application la loi précitée ». Enfin, elle déclara inapplicables et sans effet les articles du Code de procédure civile exemptant la Couronne des recours extraordinaires et des mesures provisionnelles pour autant que leur mise en œuvre empêcherait toute personne ou classe de personnes d'obtenir la sanction et la protection judiciaire des droits qui leur sont conférés par les paragraphes 93(1) et (2) de la *Loi constitutionnelle de 1867*, qui portent sur les écoles confessionnelles du Québec. Le même tribunal rejeta en octobre la requête de même source visant à faire déclarer nuls plusieurs autres lois et décrets du Québec concernant l'éducation, et qui porteraient atteinte aux droits dont auraient joui certaines catégories de personnes (les protestants) au Québec, au moment où la confédération canadienne était créée.

Bien sûr ces deux jugements ne traitent pour l'essentiel que des droits à l'école confessionnelle garantis par la *Loi constitutionnelle de 1867*. Toutefois ils sont d'un intérêt manifeste pour la communauté anglophone du Québec et pour les minorités francophones de l'Ontario et du reste du Canada, de même que pour tous ceux qui ont à cœur la protection des droits constitutionnels des minorités au pays. D'après les décisions judiciaires, le droit à la confessionnalité scolaire et le droit à l'éducation en langue minoritaire connaîtraient souvent les mêmes infortunes, mais suivraient des cheminements bien distincts.

Autres questions

La Cour suprême du Canada et les cours d'appel de quelques provinces ont été saisies d'autres litiges relatifs à la nature ou aux conditions d'exercice des droits linguistiques dans notre pays. Ils portent sur l'unilinguisme de documents qui, par renvoi, font partie intégrante de certaines lois ; sur le droit pour la personne citée en justice à une sommation rédigée dans la langue officielle qui est la sienne ; sur

le droit pour un inculpé de se faire entendre par un juge ou des jurés qui sachent la langue officielle qui est la sienne ; sur le droit d'afficher publiquement et de faire de la publicité commerciale dans une autre langue que le français au Québec ; ou encore sur le droit pour certaines minorités à la gestion de leurs établissements scolaires. Ces décisions judiciaires seront déterminantes pour le bilinguisme canadien.

Un objectif commun sous-tend toutes ces contestations dans les provinces liées par des obligations particulières : la recherche de l'égalité devant la loi, conformément à l'idéal constitutionnel que s'est fixé le Canada en consacrant l'égalité de statut, de droits et de privilèges du français et de l'anglais dans ses divers organes législatifs, exécutifs et judiciaires. Ces débats juridiques suscitent chez nous l'espoir que les autorités provinciales s'emploieront plus activement à promouvoir l'harmonie entre les deux communautés de langue officielle, qu'à cette fin elles se garderont de multiplier ces contestations judiciaires et concrétiseront les droits linguistiques constitutionnels par des lois, des décrets et des dispositions administratives. Ce vœu est d'autant plus pertinent que sur de vastes étendues du territoire national les deux langues se côtoient dans un état de tension déplorable. La Commission royale d'enquête sur l'union économique et les perspectives de développement du Canada notait cette année que la différence essentielle entre la situation des Franco-Québécois et celle des Francophones des autres provinces tient au contrôle que les premiers exercent en tant que majorité sur leur propre cadre institutionnel. C'est d'ailleurs ce qui fait la spécificité du Québec. Sachons bien qu'il nous est possible de trouver des solutions aux difficultés d'ordre juridique, économique et culturel auxquelles se heurte la vie française en milieu canadien. C'est là une entreprise qui relève — à des degrés variables selon l'histoire, le droit et la situation démographique — des autorités fédérales, provinciales et municipales de tout le Canada, d'où la nécessité d'une concertation permanente en ce domaine.

Le Programme d'aide à la contestation judiciaire

Le gouvernement a décidé en 1985 d'étendre son Programme d'aide à la contestation judiciaire à un plus grand nombre de domaines relevant de la Constitution et de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés* ; il mettrait l'accent sur les droits à l'égalité, tout en maintenant son soutien aux causes types portant sur les droits linguistiques. La somme affectée à ce programme en 1984-1985 était de 200 000 dollars ; elle est passée à un million pour 1985-1986 et sera de deux millions les quatre années subséquentes. Désormais, le Conseil canadien de développement social, organisme privé sans but lucratif, administrera ce programme. Pour ce qui est des droits linguistiques constitutionnalisés, un crédit de 300 000 dollars leur a été affecté. Un sous-comité du Conseil a été chargé de répartir cette somme. Souhaitons que les associations minoritaires de langue officielle seront encore régulièrement consultées au même titre que les autres associations intéressées, de sorte qu'elles puissent elles aussi profiter pleinement des ressources qui peuvent être consacrées aux droits linguistiques en vertu de ce programme.

Le Commissaire et les tribunaux

La mise en œuvre de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés* relève, tout compte fait, des tribunaux, mais il va de soi que le Commissaire s'intéresse aux causes concernant les langues officielles du Canada, que celles-ci se fondent sur la Charte, sur d'autres dispositions constitutionnelles et législatives ou sur la *Loi sur les langues officielles*. Dès son entrée en fonction, il a établi clairement qu'il entendait jouer un rôle plus actif relativement aux poursuites judicaires à incidences linguistiques. Par certaines interventions auprès des autorités compétentes d'Ottawa, il a appuyé diverses demandes d'aide financière pour l'introduction de nouvelles instances. Le Commissaire a fait savoir au Premier ministre qu'il appuyait le renouvellement du Programme d'aide à la contestation judiciaire et la création de mécanismes appropriés pour assurer l'autonomie financière et administrative des parties à ces causes. D'une manière générale, le Commissaire cherche à favoriser, par des interventions mesurées, un règlement aussi généreux que possible dans ces affaires, tout en tenant compte des contraintes liées aux fonctions d'ombudsman linguistique que lui a confiées le Parlement.

Modifications à la *Loi sur les langues officielles*

Le premier Commissaire avait proposé, dans les premier et sixième rapports annuels, des modifications à la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, comme celle-ci l'y invitait. À l'occasion du discours du Trône, le 17 octobre 1977, le gouvernement révélait son intention de les effectuer, mais n'y a pas donné suite. Aussi le Commissaire est-il revenu à la charge dans ses rapports annuels de 1978, 1979 et 1980. En 1981, les membres du Comité mixte spécial sur les langues officielles, donnant un écho favorable à ces vœux, ont recommandé des retouches à la Loi. Dans sa réponse, le gouvernement a exprimé son accord sur plusieurs des propositions du Comité, mais n'est pas allé plus loin.

Notant l'intention du nouveau gouvernement d'étudier à son tour la question, le Commissaire formulait en décembre 1985, pour les membres du Comité mixte permanent de la politique et des programmes de langues officielles, une nouvelle série de propositions visant la mise à jour de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*. Ces propositions reprennent, précisent et complètent celles de ses prédécesseurs. Elles visent à mieux définir les objectifs de la Loi, au sein de l'administration fédérale et à l'extérieur ; à préciser les rapports entre cette loi et les dispositions pertinentes de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés* ; à déterminer le plus exactement possible le champ d'application de la Loi ; à préciser ou à accroître les pouvoirs du Commissaire. D'autres propositions suivront sans doute, notamment celles du Comité mixte permanent. On trouvera en annexe la liste des modifications proposées ; en voici les points essentiels.

Un préambule

Tout d'abord, le Commissaire est d'avis que pour expliciter l'intention du législateur, il y aurait intérêt à ce que la Loi soit assortie d'un préambule consacré aux deux principaux objectifs : 1) traitement égal du français et de l'anglais comme langues du service au public et langues de travail, ainsi que la pleine participation des deux groupes linguistiques à l'administration fédérale et dans les organismes qui en relèvent ; 2) promotion de l'égalité des deux langues officielles dans d'autres secteurs d'activité de la vie canadienne.

Ce préambule comprendrait aussi une déclaration par laquelle le Parlement reconnaîtrait la nécessité d'une harmonisation permanente des actions fédérales et provinciales, ainsi que des autres intervenants, en faveur des minorités de langue officielle, de manière à assurer le respect de la dualité linguistique du Canada ; on y trouverait aussi une invitation aux autorités fédérales et provinciales à se concerter pour assurer cette égalité dans la pratique.

Le préambule soulignerait en outre la valeur symbolique d'un bilinguisme effectif et équitable dans la région de la Capitale nationale et la nécessité, pour les autorités fédérales, provinciales et municipales, de coordonner leur action en ce sens.

Enfin, le préambule encouragerait l'entreprise privée et les associations volontaires à l'échelon national à assumer leur rôle respectif à l'égard du public canadien en ce domaine, conformément à l'esprit de la Loi et à l'intention du législateur.

Primauté et caractère exécutoire de la Loi

Le Commissaire propose de lever toute ambiguïté en ce qui concerne le caractère exécutoire de la Loi, en stipulant dans son dispositif que les droits qui y sont définis ont un caractère exécutoire devant les tribunaux ; cet énoncé se ferait en des termes analogues à ceux de l'article 24 de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés*. Il faudrait aussi ajouter à la Loi un article lui attribuant la primauté sur les autres lois fédérales, à moins que celles-ci ne contiennent une disposition expresse à l'effet contraire, afin de bien marquer que la Loi a pour objet de préciser des droits fondamentaux inscrits dans la Constitution.

Conciliation de la Loi et de la Charte des droits

Il va de soi que le libellé de la Loi doit être harmonisé avec celui de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés*, sans qu'on y reprenne tous les articles de celle-ci. Le Commissaire souhaiterait cependant que soit examiné l'article 4 relatif à la publication bilingue des actes législatifs et autres, afin de déterminer s'il faut maintenir les deux exceptions à la règle qui y sont prévues. Il recommande aussi une étude rigoureuse de l'article 11, qui porte sur l'audition des témoins ; il s'agirait d'établir quelle est la pratique actuelle à l'échelon fédéral et de déterminer si les garanties actuelles en faveur des droits des témoins sont suffisantes.

Le Commissaire souhaite qu'on retienne dans la Loi l'énoncé, présent aussi dans la Charte, d'un droit personnel à des services dans l'une ou l'autre langue, ainsi que l'obligation institutionnelle de les assurer. Le Commissaire a constaté que la notion de districts bilingues, telle qu'elle est présentement formulée, s'est heurtée à des difficultés qui en ont empêché la concrétisation. Il estime néanmoins que la modification de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* doit toujours tenir compte des considérations suivantes :

- la délimitation des territoires où, eu égard à la situation démographique relativement à la langue maternelle, les services fédéraux doivent comporter l'offre active ainsi que l'accessibilité dans les deux langues officielles, que les bureaux fédéraux visés se trouvent ou non dans ces territoires ; cela pourrait être réalisé par une réglementation du gouverneur en conseil pour les régions dites « bilingues », établies en vertu de la politique gouvernementale actuelle, et pour d'autres régions susceptibles d'y être adjointes ;
- cette délimitation ne doit pas interdire la désignation d'autres bureaux fédéraux où, en raison du volume de la demande de services, ou de la « vocation » de ces bureaux, le public puisse obtenir des services fédéraux et communiquer en français ou en anglais ;

- les autorités fédérales doivent faire en sorte que : a) les territoires ainsi délimités coïncident dans la mesure du possible avec les régions désignées par les autorités provinciales ou locales à des fins similaires ; b) là où ce serait possible, et après les consultations appropriées, les services fédéraux, provinciaux et locaux dans les deux langues soient regroupés dans des locaux communs d'accès facile pour les minorités de langue officielle.

Pour ce qui est de la langue de travail dans l'administration fédérale, le Commissaire souhaite que soit explicité dans le dispositif de la Loi le droit des employés de tous les organismes fédéraux de remplir leurs fonctions dans la langue officielle qui leur convient, et que soient énoncées les conditions d'exercice de ce droit, relativement par exemple au service au public. Cela pourrait se faire soit en modifiant la Loi elle-même, soit par voie d'un règlement établi par le gouverneur en conseil conformément à l'article 35.

Les propositions comportent plusieurs autres points relatifs aux traités internationaux, aux ententes fédérales-provinciales, ainsi qu'à une élucidation de la portée et du champ d'application de la Loi. Sur ce dernier point, le Commissaire estime, par exemple, que lorsque la Couronne (aux droits du Canada) détient une proportion importante des actions d'une entreprise, celle-ci devrait être soumise à la *Loi sur les langues officielles*. La Loi devrait aussi prévoir que la société acquéresse, en cas de privatisation, serait tenue de s'engager tout au moins à servir les Canadiens dans les deux langues. Lorsqu'il y a prestation de services au public par suite d'une entente, d'une contribution ou d'un contrat gouvernemental, l'organisme fédéral responsable doit aussi s'assurer que ces services sont également accessibles dans les deux langues. Les organismes fédéraux de contrôle seraient tenus de prendre en considération le service au public dans les deux langues dans leur réglementation des activités des entreprises relevant d'eux. Enfin, il y aurait avantage à ce que soient précisés le mandat et les pouvoirs du Commissaire relativement à la tenue d'instructions, à la demande de mesures réparatrices, à la protection législative contre les actions en justice et à l'autonomie administrative.

Toutes ces propositions ont pour objet de mieux répondre aux attentes des Canadiens en ce qui concerne les questions liées aux deux langues officielles et de faire de la Loi un outil vraiment efficace dans la poursuite de la réforme du régime linguistique.

Certains se demanderont si la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés* et la *Loi constitutionnelle de 1982* ne suffisent pas, s'il ne conviendrait pas simplement d'harmoniser les deux textes. Mais la Charte est loin de tout couvrir. Et, par définition, une constitution est forcément moins précise qu'une loi ordinaire et, dans certains cas, moins généreuse. Par exemple, la Charte ne prévoit pas pour le public le droit de faire usage du français ou de l'anglais dans ses rapports avec les bureaux des organismes fédéraux établis hors du Canada. Elle ne reconnaît pas explicitement non plus aux fonctionnaires fédéraux le droit de travailler en français ou en anglais. Bref, si la Charte constitue en quelque sorte la garantie suprême de nos droits linguistiques, c'est la *Loi sur les langues officielles* qui en établit les modalités d'application.

Le Comité mixte permanent : un tour d'horizon

À toutes fins utiles, 1985 aura été la première année d'existence du Comité mixte permanent de la politique et des programmes de langues officielles. C'est pourquoi la plupart de ses dix-neuf réunions publiques ont été à caractère exploratoire ; en s'inspirant du Rapport annuel du Commissaire, le groupe a surtout cherché à comprendre les principaux éléments du dossier. Au cours de cette phase initiale, il a donc convoqué le Commissaire ainsi que des représentants du Conseil du Trésor, du Secrétariat d'État et de la Commission de la Fonction publique afin de connaître de façon à la fois générale et concrète leurs attributions respectives, ainsi que les relations entre celles-ci. Ces échanges lui ont permis de dégager certains thèmes, notamment la grande complexité des programmes et la nécessité pour le nouveau gouvernement d'inscrire en grande priorité à son ordre du jour la relance de la réforme du régime linguistique.

À ce stade, le Comité s'est aussi fait un devoir de rencontrer les représentants des groupes directement visés par le programme. Les dirigeants de la Fédération des Francophones hors Québec et d'Alliance Québec, entre autres, ont éloquemment décrit les conditions de vie et les préoccupations des minorités de langue officielle, qui comptent toutes sur l'appui concret et moral du Parlement pour relever les défis auxquels elles font face. Des universitaires et d'autres spécialistes ont aussi exprimé leur avis sur la façon dont la réforme répond ou non aux besoins des Canadiens.

Après ce tour d'horizon, le Comité a tenu des audiences portant expressément sur le Rapport annuel de 1984 du Commissaire et sur le rendement linguistique de quelques organismes fédéraux, dont le Parlement (l'Administration du Sénat et celle de la Chambre des communes), Air Canada, la Société canadienne des postes et le ministère des Travaux publics.

Après analyse de ces premières constatations, il a présenté en juin son premier rapport au Parlement, dont les principales conclusions étaient les suivantes :

- Il faut de toute urgence relancer la réforme du régime linguistique, à l'aide de mesures gouvernementales concertées.
- Une telle stratégie est essentielle à l'application vigoureuse et intégrale, au sein de l'administration fédérale, de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* et de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés* ; il conviendrait au départ de formuler des propositions visant à améliorer le rendement interne et notamment

à établir des mécanismes rigoureux pour assurer l'offre active de services au public.

- Il faudrait également établir un cadre général de coopération fédérale-provinciale afin de protéger les collectivités minoritaires contre l'assimilation et la faiblesse de l'encadrement institutionnel ; à cette fin, il faudrait entamer immédiatement des discussions bilatérales et convoquer, au plus tard à l'automne 1986, une conférence fédérale-provinciale sur ce thème.
- Le gouvernement devrait redoubler d'efforts pour inciter le secteur privé à servir la clientèle dans l'une et l'autre langues officielles, en imposant par exemple des normes linguistiques aux organismes qu'il finance ou réglemente.
- Le Programme d'aide à la contestation judiciaire, qui a servi à aider financièrement les parties désireuses d'obtenir des tribunaux une décision au sujet de droits garantis par la Constitution, devrait être renouvelé et continuer de relever du Secrétariat d'État.

Réponse du gouvernement

Ce programme chargé a par la suite été soumis au gouvernement. Dans sa réponse, quelque peu sibylline, celui-ci s'est contenté de réaffirmer son engagement ferme à défendre le bilinguisme officiel — comme il l'avait fait dans le discours du Trône en 1984 — sans toutefois préciser ce qu'il entendait faire à ce sujet. Cela pouvait évidemment s'expliquer par le fait qu'il était alors en plein réexamen de sa propre politique. Il a néanmoins fait remarquer que :

- le Premier ministre avait chargé les trois principaux ministres concernés, soit le président du Conseil du Trésor, le Secrétaire d'État et le ministre de la Justice, de faire une évaluation exhaustive des lignes de conduite en vigueur dans leur domaine de compétence respectif, et de proposer des mesures propres à améliorer la situation ;
- on était à étudier diverses façons de mettre à jour la *Loi sur les langues officielles* ;
- le Programme d'aide à la contestation judiciaire avait bel et bien été renouvelé et on prévoyait, au cours des cinq prochaines années, consacrer annuellement au moins 300 000 $ à des procès relatifs à des questions linguistiques ;
- des mesures seraient prises pour améliorer l'offre active de services au public dans la langue de la minorité ;
- la coopération intergouvernementale à l'appui des collectivités de langue minoritaire figurait déjà à son programme.

Si le gouvernement n'a pas entériné toutes les recommandations du Comité, ses bonnes intentions étaient de nature à rassurer. Mais un programme de cette envergure ne peut pas être interrompu le temps que les gouvernements se livrent à des examens et dressent des plans.

Voilà bien un domaine qui fait mentir l'adage « pas de nouvelles, bonnes nouvelles ». Comme le Comité et les membres des collectivités minoritaires, nous attendons maintenant de voir comment ces engagements généraux se traduiront en des mesures propres à assurer véritablement la prestation de services dans les deux langues officielles.

Le Comité a par la suite consacré deux réunions à interroger le nouveau Secrétaire d'État, qui joue un rôle clé dans le domaine linguistique en raison des nombreuses activités de soutien direct que comporte son mandat. Il a été question d'une foule de sujets, dont les subventions aux minorités, l'aide aux gouvernements provinciaux désireux d'améliorer leurs services dans la langue minoritaire, la faible capacité bilingue des juges de la Cour de la citoyenneté, et les services de traduction au sein de l'administration fédérale. Mais le point qui a le plus retenu l'attention du Comité a sans doute été la réaffirmation, par le Secrétaire d'État, de l'engagement du gouvernement et de son ministère à revitaliser le programme de réforme afin que l'égalité linguistique passe de la théorie à la pratique. Par contre, les intentions du gouvernement sont restées vagues en ce qui concerne la façon d'influencer les provinces et la nécessité de prendre la situation fermement en main.

À l'agenda

Vers la fin de l'année, le Comité s'est penché sur la façon la plus judicieuse d'affecter ses ressources au cours des mois à venir. Un examen détaillé des propositions d'amendement de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* s'impose en priorité. Parmi les autres dossiers jugés importants, signalons le relâchement constaté chez certains grands organismes fédéraux dans leurs efforts pour réaliser l'égalité de traitement entre le français et l'anglais et, bien sûr, les problèmes persistants que connaissent toutes et chacune de nos minorités nationales.

Sur ce dernier point, le Comité a sérieusement envisagé la possibilité de nouer un dialogue avec les groupes minoritaires sur leur propre terrain. Il s'est évidemment interrogé sur l'utilité d'une grande tournée nationale du style commission royale, pour finalement écarter cette option. Il nous semble toutefois utile de retenir le principe d'un contact direct avec les citoyens et de rester ouvert à la possibilité de visites périodiques mais limitées à l'une ou l'autre région. Nous croyons également que les actes et les conclusions unanimes de notre colloque d'octobre 1985 — qui visait justement à donner au Parlement et au gouvernement une meilleure idée de la situation précaire des minorités — devraient être examinés en profondeur par le Parlement et servir de point de départ à l'élaboration d'un plan d'action.

Afin d'explorer le mieux possible ce champ extrêmement vaste, le Comité pourrait aussi créer un sous-comité chargé d'analyser des questions précises comme celles que nous avons mentionnées et de faire rapport de ses constatations. Cela pourrait être un moyen particulièrement efficace de veiller à ce que les organismes fédéraux respectent scrupuleusement et quotidiennement leurs obligations. Rien n'incite davantage un sous-ministre ou un cadre supérieur à assumer ses responsabilités à cet égard que de savoir qu'un comité ou un sous-comité parlementaire procède à un examen systématique des mesures concrètes qu'ils ont prises pour donner suite aux recommandations qui leur ont été faites au fil des ans, comme à leurs promesses.

Avant la fin de l'exercice, le Commissaire a présenté au Comité ses propositions au sujet de la mise à jour de la Loi. Il en est question au chapitre précédent. Compte tenu du travail qu'il a déjà accor .pli et de la perspective de mesures législatives prochaines de la part du gouvernement, nous pouvons espérer que le Comité fera tout en son pouvoir pour rendre la Loi aussi efficace et pertinente que possible.

Bilinguisme et multiculturalisme : les affinités électives

La reconnaissance officielle de la dualité linguistique du Canada repose sur une prémisse bien simple : la grande majorité des Canadiens emploient surtout le français ou l'anglais pour communiquer entre eux. À ce titre, ils sont tributaires des grandes communautés culturelles qui ont donné au Canada d'aujourd'hui son impulsion initiale. Si le multiculturalisme dans un cadre bilingue suscite toujours chez certains une méfiance à peine déguisée, c'est parce qu'ils craignent de voir se juxtaposer ou se confondre deux politiques aux visées distinctes mais complémentaires.

Données démographiques

Qu'on l'aborde sous l'angle du multiculturalisme dans un cadre bilingue ou sous celui de nos deux grandes communautés linguistiques, qui sont elles-mêmes d'un multiculturalisme croissants, la réalité reste la même : quelque huit millions de Canadiens sont issus de plus de 70 groupes ethniques qui avaient à l'origine une langue et un patrimoine culturel propres. Il est intéressant en effet de voir comment la population canadienne a évolué depuis cent ans. Si les Canadiens d'origine britannique et française constituent encore la plus grande partie de la population, leur proportion par rapport à la population totale a sensiblement changé. Ainsi, la proportion des Canadiens d'origine britannique est tombée de 60 p.100 en 1871 à environ 44 p.100 en 1971, puis à 40 p.100 en 1981 ; et celle des Canadiens d'origine française a fléchi de 31 p.100 en 1871 à 29 p.100 en 1971, puis à 27 p.100 en 1981. D'autre part, la proportion des Canadiens d'origine autres que britannique ou française a plus que quadruplé, passant de 7 p.100 en 1871, à 27 p.100 en 1971, pour atteindre 33 p.100 en 1981. Cette évolution se poursuivra semble-t-il, et les antécédents linguistiques des immigrants qui viendront s'établir au Canada auront une incidence certaine non seulement sur l'évolution des programmes de multiculturalisme, mais encore sur la politique en matière de langues officielles.

Un tiers de la population canadienne est constitué de groupes ethniques qui ont dû souvent mettre au point des mécanismes pour faciliter leur adaptation au Canada en créant leurs propres associations, qui sont par la suite devenues un important facteur de cohésion et de survie pour ces groupes. D'ailleurs, il existe apparemment une relation assez directe entre le souci des personnes de préserver leur identité, et leur participation aux activités de leur association. La nature et les objectifs de

ces organismes varient bien sûr selon l'époque où leurs membres sont arrivés au Canada et selon leurs priorités depuis leur établissement. Bon nombre d'entre eux se sont réunis en fédérations et, depuis 1981, un Conseil ethnoculturel du Canada regroupe près d'une trentaine d'associations nationales. Ce Conseil joue un rôle de porte-parole auprès des gouvernements et des personnalités politiques auxquels il explique les aspirations de ses membres à une égalité authentique au sein de la société canadienne.

La conservation de la langue maternelle

Selon les dirigeants de beaucoup de groupes ethniques, la conservation de la langue maternelle revêt pour leurs membres une importance capitale. Il ne semble cependant pas que beaucoup de chercheurs se soient intéressés à cette question. Comme Ronald Wardhaugh le fait remarquer dans son ouvrage intitulé *Language and Nationhood, The Canadian Experience*, publié en octobre 1983 :

> Il n'y a pas eu d'étude approfondie sur les langues non officielles depuis la publication en 1976 de l'ouvrage d'O'Bryan, Reitz et Kuplowka intitulé *Les langues non officielles : étude sur le multiculturalisme au Canada*. Par ailleurs, cette recherche ne portait notamment que sur cinq régions métropolitaines (...) et sur les langues patrimoniales des dix groupes les plus importants (...)[1].

En dépit de ces limites, l'étude en question reste une importante source de renseignements. Elle révèle par exemple qu'une très grande majorité des personnes interrogées (71 p.100 contre 9 p.100) étaient favorables à la préservation de leur langue maternelle. Les auteurs de l'étude constatent en outre que, selon leur échantillon, les groupes les plus désireux de conserver leur langue maternelle étaient les Grecs, les Italiens et les Chinois (83 p.100, 77 p.100 et 79 p.100 approximativement). Il s'est avéré en revanche que les Néerlandais et les Scandinaves y tenaient assez peu. Enfin, ce désir tend à diminuer de génération en génération. Ainsi, 75 p.100 des immigrants de la première génération ont dit être soit très, soit assez partisans de conserver leur langue, mais ce pourcentage tombe à 66 p.100 pour la deuxième génération et à 59 p.100 pour la troisième. Le professeur Wardhaugh conclut :

> L'aptitude à parler sa langue peut se perdre très rapidement au sein de certains groupes, même chez les immigrants. Les auteurs constatent que même si le taux de perte varie d'un groupe à l'autre, les écarts ne sont pas sensibles et les pertes se poursuivent en ligne droite au même rythme[1].

Les données du recensement de 1981 semblent confirmer cette hypothèse, puisqu'il y a dans chaque groupe ethnique un pourcentage élevé de personnes qui déclarent parler à la maison une langue autre que leur langue maternelle.

Voici les données pour les huit premières langues déclarées comme langues maternelles, après le français et l'anglais : (voir le tableau I.2 ci-après.)

[1] Notre traduction

Tableau I.2

Taux de transferts linguistiques pour les huit langues les plus parlées au Canada, autre que le français et l'anglais

Langue	Langue maternelle	Langue parlée à la maison	Taux de transferts %
Italien	531 285	338 180	36,3
Allemand	515 515	152 825	70,4
Ukrainien	285 115	88 440	69,0
Chinois	224 135	172 230	23,1
Portugais	164 615	122 605	25,5
Néerlandais	160 100	24 695	84,6
Polonais	127 400	51 460	59,6
Grec	123 235	87 830	28,7

Source : Statistique Canada, Recensement de 1981.

Il serait bien hasardeux de spéculer sur les causes de ce phénomène sans faire de recherches poussées. Mais dans la mesure où les groupes concernés souhaitent conserver leur langue maternelle, la société canadienne doit établir des principes clairs visant la reconnaissance et la protection de ce patrimoine, et s'assurer qu'ils sont connus de tous. Or le débat sur le rapport entre la politique en matière de langues officielles et celle sur le multiculturalisme au Canada n'est pas très avancé. À notre avis, tant qu'on ne fera pas des efforts concertés pour expliciter ces lignes de conduite qui sont essentielles pour l'avenir même de notre pays — comme l'ont reconnu la Commission B.B. et tous nos gouvernements depuis vingt ans — on ne dissipera pas les malentendus qui nuisent encore à ces deux programmes. Comme le signalait un éditorialiste du *Globe and Mail* le 15 mai dernier :

> Nous nous évertuons à imaginer un multiculturalisme qui ne consacre pas l'inégalité, ne creuse pas de fossés entre les Canadiens de génération en génération, ne décourage pas l'individu dans sa recherche de valeurs nouvelles, ne masque pas l'universalité fondamentale de l'homme ou ne nuise pas paradoxalement au développement d'une identité canadienne qui nous soit commune.

Les événements marquants de l'année

Heureusement, des événements importants prouvent que le processus de concertation est bien amorcé. Une première conférence fédérale-provinciale sur le multiculturalisme a eu lieu en mai dernier à Winnipeg. Elle a réuni le ministre d'État au Multiculturalisme et les ministres des provinces et des territoires responsables des communautés ethnoculturelles. Cette réunion n'a pas abouti à des résultats spectaculaires, mais elle a néanmoins permis à tous d'échanger des informations sur ce qui se fait pour aider ces communautés à préserver leur patrimoine culturel et linguistique tout en facilitant leur intégration sociale.

À la suite d'une recommandation du Comité spécial du Parlement sur les minorités visibles dans la société canadienne (mars 1984), le ministre d'État au Multiculturalisme a annoncé en juillet dernier la création d'un Comité permanent du Parlement chargé de favoriser et de surveiller la mise en œuvre de la politique fédérale en matière de multiculturalisme. Le Comité s'est déjà réuni à plusieurs reprises, et tout porte à croire que les témoignages qu'il entendra lui permettront de mieux éclairer la démarche du gouvernement. Suite à une recommandation formulée dans une étude du Conseil de la radiodiffusion et des télécommunications canadiennes intitulée *Une politique de radio-télévision qui reflète la diversité culturelle et linguistique du Canada*, un groupe de travail a été constitué afin de définir le mandat d'un éventuel comité consultatif national sur la télédiffusion ethnique. Le ministre de l'Emploi et de l'Immigration a déposé pour sa part un projet de loi concernant l'équité en matière d'emploi. Ce projet vise à corriger les préjudices que subissent à cet égard les minorités visibles, entre autres.

Pour ce qui est de l'éducation, la Direction du multiculturalisme du Secrétariat d'État a versé aux provinces durant l'exercice financier 1984-1985 près de 4 millions de dollars pour l'enseignement de langues ancestrales à plus de 117 000 élèves répartis dans 1 142 écoles. (Le lecteur trouvera plus de détails à ce sujet dans la partie V.) Enfin, le Centre des langues modernes de l'Institut d'études pédagogiques de l'Ontario a ouvert cette année un centre d'information sur l'enseignement des langues ancestrales.

Perspectives d'avenir

Toutes ces initiatives en vue de protéger la diversité ethnique et culturelle du Canada constituent à nos yeux un pas en avant vers la liberté, vers le droit à la différence. Mais ce droit, comme tout droit, s'exerce dans un cadre bien défini ; soit un pays officiellement bilingue. L'acceptation et le respect de la dualité linguistique sont en quelque sorte la prémisse d'une ouverture plus grande envers d'autres langues et cultures. Malheureusement, ces affinités électives sont assez mal comprises, tant des minorités ethniques que de nos minorités nationales.

À notre avis, face à cette incompréhension, il faut de toute évidence établir une stratégie des relations interculturelles afin d'encourager les diverses associations ethniques à resserrer leurs liens avec les communautés francophones et anglophones, et notamment les groupes minoritaires de langue officielle. Dans le cadre d'un tel programme, il faudrait favoriser les projets organisés conjointement par des organismes ethniques et des organismes représentant soit les minorités de langue officielle, soit la majorité. Par ailleurs, les initiatives qui pourraient contribuer à mettre en évidence la complémentarité entre le bilinguisme et le multiculturalisme devraient être privilégiées. Un tel programme révélerait sans doute aux uns et aux autres des correspondances insoupçonnées. Enfin, les personnalités politiques de tous les ordres de gouvernement doivent situer clairement, lors de leurs déclarations publiques, le multiculturalisme dans le cadre de la dualité linguistique officielle.

L'apprentissage d'une langue officielle

Il convient de dire combien il est important de favoriser l'enseignement du français ou de l'anglais aux immigrants, et surtout aux femmes immigrantes, pour faciliter leur intégration à la société canadienne. Les programmes existants ne répondent pas toujours aux véritables besoins, car trop souvent ils sont conçus aux seules fins de leur permettre de se trouver un emploi. Il est à souhaiter que les divers gouvernements se concerteront davantage pour chercher des formules susceptibles d'aider tous les nouveaux venus désireux de le faire d'apprendre l'une ou l'autre langue officielle.

Les droits et privilèges des autres langues

Le Commissaire a pour sa part suggéré, parmi les modifications qu'il a proposées à la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, d'élargir et de formuler plus positivement l'actuel article 38 concernant les droits et privilèges dont jouissent les autres langues, afin, notamment, de consacrer dans la Loi le caractère complémentaire de la démarche fédérale en la matière. Disons, pour conclure, que nous avons assuré le ministre d'État au Multiculturalisme que nous sommes prêts à chercher avec lui le moyen de dissiper les ambiguïtés de la politique du bilinguisme et de celle du multiculturalisme.

Nous recommandons au gouvernement fédéral :

- de développer un programme de relations interculturelles dont l'objectif serait d'encourager les groupes ethniques à resserrer les liens avec les minorités de langue officielle ;
- d'établir un programme d'information sur la complémentarité entre le bilinguisme et le multiculturalisme à l'intention des dirigeants des organismes des communautés ethniques et des minorités de langue officielle ;
- de favoriser l'enseignement des langues autres que les langues officielles à tous les niveaux ;
- de favoriser l'enseignement des langues officielles aux immigrants pour faciliter leur intégration aux communautés d'accueil.

Les communautés autochtones

Le principe du multiculturalisme dans un cadre bilingue n'a qu'un lointain rapport avec les droits et libertés ancestraux des peuples autochtones du Canada, dont aucun Canadien ne peut se désintéresser. Cependant comme les groupes ethniques, les communautés autochtones ont intérêt à ce que leurs langues soient préservées et valorisées. Bien que 29 p.100 des 492 000 Autochtones aient comme langue maternelle une langue autochtone, à peine 22 p.100 d'entre eux parlent une de ces langues à la maison. Comme l'indique Gordon E. Priest, « (...) l'anglais se substitue aux langues autochtones au foyer. Cette tendance est particulièrement manifeste en Ontario, dans l'Ouest et dans le Grand Nord. Au Québec, non seulement les langues autochtones, mais aussi le français, sont en régression au profit de l'anglais comme langue parlée à la maison dans les familles autochtones[1]. » Les Autochtones vivent donc, eux aussi, un phénomène de transfert linguistique. Il se pourrait que l'enseignement accru des langues autochtones soit la seule solution à long terme.

À l'heure actuelle, le gouvernement fédéral a charge de l'instruction des Indiens inscrits dans les réserves situées dans le sud du Canada et dans les territoires du Grand Nord. Il a pour politique de confier à la communauté locale le soin de décider si l'enseignement sera dispensé dans l'une des langues autochtones et, en pareil cas, jusqu'à quel niveau. À l'exclusion du Yukon et des Territoires du Nord-Ouest, quelque 33 880 élèves autochtones (42 p.100 des inscriptions) suivent des programmes où une langue autochtone est utilisée comme langue d'enseignement ou

[1] Gordon E. Priest, « Les langues des Autochtones au Canada », *Langue et Société*, hiver 1985, p. 15.

enseignée comme matière. Le ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord a pour sa part établi depuis plusieurs années déjà des programmes en vue d'encourager l'utilisation des langues autochtones en assurant la formation et l'embauche de professeurs autochtones et en veillant à l'élaboration de matériel didactique.

Les Territoires du Nord-Ouest et le Yukon s'intéressent de plus en plus à la protection des langues et cultures autochtones. On a donc lieu d'espérer qu'il en résultera une meilleure connaissance des problèmes, et des lignes de conduite mieux adaptées aux besoins. (La partie V contient des renseignements supplémentaires sur l'enseignement des langues autochtones.)

PARTIE II

L'égalité linguistique : les trois principes

Le service au public : les deux côtés de la médaille

Comme on le sait, l'adoption de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, qui proclamait l'égalité de statut, de droits et de privilèges du français et de l'anglais au sein des institutions fédérales, n'a pas déchaîné un concert d'approbations. Au contraire, cela a suscité passablement de scepticisme chez certains, notamment quant à ses effets sur l'activité quotidienne de l'Administration. Dans quelle mesure ces appréhensions ont-elles été fabriquées de toutes pièces pour intimider les partisans d'une réforme du régime linguistique, c'est là une question qu'il ne nous appartient pas de trancher. Ce qui est par contre indéniable, c'est que les Canadiens en sont venus au fil des ans à considérer que la prestation de services dans les deux langues officielles devrait être pratique courante au sein des ministères et organismes fédéraux.

Pour une raison ou une autre, nous avons tous des contacts avec la Fonction publique. Et en tant que contribuables, nous voulons en avoir pour notre argent. Pour les Canadiens francophones hors du Québec et pour les Anglophones de cette province, un bon service doit répondre à un critère fondamental : on doit pouvoir l'obtenir dans sa propre langue. Soucieux d'établir ce fait, qui n'est pas encore évident pour tout le monde, notre Commissariat a consulté les Canadiens à l'occasion d'un sondage national portant sur le bilinguisme.

Les services désirés

Quatre des questions du sondage avaient pour objet de déterminer dans quelle mesure la population estimait que les administrations fédérale et provinciales ainsi que le secteur privé devaient offrir des services dans les deux langues officielles. Aux Anglophones de l'extérieur du Québec, on a demandé non seulement s'il fallait assurer des services dans la langue de la minorité dans leur province, mais aussi ce qu'ils savaient sur les droits réels de celle-ci. Les mêmes questions ont été posées aux Québécois francophones. Enfin, on a demandé aux uns et aux autres ce que *devraient être*, à leur avis, les droits des minorités dans les autres provinces. (On a par exemple demandé aux Anglo-Albertains leur avis sur les droits dont les Anglo-Québécois devraient jouir.) Les résultats, fort intéressants, ont été ventilés selon l'âge, le sexe, l'instruction, la région et la langue.

Tableau II.1

Pourcentage des Canadiens estimant que les gouvernements et le secteur privé devraient offrir leurs services dans la langue officielle de la minorité, selon la langue du répondant

	Langue du répondant		
Prestataire de services	**Français** %	**Anglais** %	**Total** %
Gouvernement fédéral	88	69	74
Gouvernement provincial	71	53	57
Secteur privé	74	46	53

Source : Sondage national sur les langues officielles, Réalités canadiennes, 1985.

Tableau II.2

Pourcentage des Canadiens estimant que les gouvernements et le secteur privé devraient offrir leurs services dans la langue officielle de la minorité, selon l'âge et le sexe

	15-24		25-34		35-49		50+		Total global		Total global
Prestataire de services	H %	F %	H %	F %	H %	F %	H %	F %	H %	F %	%
Gouvernement fédéral	84	86	79	75	69	71	61	67	73	75	74
Gouvernement provincial	63	75	59	62	52	52	47	52	55	60	57
Secteur privé	66	70	50	57	46	50	40	48	50	56	53

Source : Sondage national sur les langues officielles, Réalités canadiennes, 1985.

Comme il ressort des tableaux II.1 et II.2, la plupart des personnes interrogées estiment que le gouvernement fédéral doit assurer ses services dans les deux langues officielles. Cette opinion était plus répandue — on le conçoit — chez les Francophones (88 p.100) que chez les Anglophones (69 p.100). Chez ces derniers, les jeunes se sont révélés sensiblement plus favorables au bilinguisme que leurs aînés. Le sondage indique également que la majorité des Canadiens sont favorables à des services *provinciaux* dispensés en français et en anglais, quoique cette majorité diminue à mesure que l'on va vers l'Ouest. L'attitude à l'égard des services assurés par le secteur privé est assez similaire.

On a demandé aux répondants si les services *étaient assurés* dans leur province aux membres de la minorité linguistique officielle, et s'il *fallait les assurer* dans certains cas précis : les bureaux de poste, les hôpitaux, les grands magasins et les maisons d'enseignement.

Il apparaît que non seulement les Francophones du Québec reconnaissent que la minorité anglophone a incontestablement droit à des services dans sa langue, mais qu'ils trouvent légitimes ses revendications à cet égard. La prestation de services

Tableau II.3

Pourcentage des Canadiens qui estiment que la minorité de langue officielle de leur province *a droit* à des services dans sa langue

Prestataire de services	Anglophones hors du Québec %	Francophones du Québec %
Écoles	72	91
Services hospitaliers	61	91
Bureaux de poste	56	87
Grands magasins	32	85

Source : Sondage national sur les langues officielles, Réalités canadiennes, 1985.

Tableau II.4

Pourcentage des Canadiens qui estiment que la minorité de langue officielle de leur province *devrait avoir droit* à des services dans sa langue

Prestataire de services	Anglophones hors du Québec %	Francophones du Québec %
Écoles	71	91
Services hospitaliers	68	91
Bureaux de poste	58	87
Grands magasins	43	84

Source : Sondage national sur les langues officielles, Réalités canadiennes, 1985.

à la minorité linguistique semble également bénéficier d'une opinion largement favorable dans tout le Canada, en dépit de réserves sérieuses dans l'Ouest touchant l'emploi du français dans les affaires.

Devrait-on accorder aux membres des groupes minoritaires des autres provinces des services dans leur langue ? Les réponses à cette question sont paradoxales. Si les Francophones du Québec ont à peu près les mêmes points de vue sur les droits de la minorité anglophone de leur province et sur ceux des diverses minorités francophones, les Anglophones des autres provinces souscrivent plus volontiers aux revendications des Anglo-Québécois qu'à celles de leur minorité francophone.

Ainsi, un grand nombre de Canadiens sont favorables à la prestation de services dans les deux langues officielles, notamment parmi les jeunes et les gens les plus instruits, ainsi que dans les provinces qui comptent une minorité linguistique importante. Ce n'est certes pas la découverte du siècle, mais on peut tout de même en éprouver une douce satisfaction, et surtout continuer à espérer. Cela devrait inciter les diverses administrations à rompre avec l'indécision, les ambiguïtés et autres

dérobades bureaucratiques, et à se mettre au travail. Après tout, le droit de la population à des services dans sa langue est l'un des éléments clés de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* et a été réaffirmé dans l'article 20 de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés*. Il s'agit donc d'un objectif tout à fait réalisable au cours de la présente décennie.

Pour des services utiles

Aussi simple que puisse sembler la notion de services appropriés sous l'angle linguistique, l'égalité effective de statut pour le français et l'anglais à cet égard demeure un objectif bien vague aux yeux de certains. C'est que la prestation d'un service dans une langue donnée repose sur un ensemble de facteurs qui ne se conjuguent pas automatiquement : un fonctionnaire qui se sente tout à fait à l'aise dans les deux langues ; des indications et un accueil témoignant d'une offre active de services bilingues ; et bien sûr des clients de la minorité linguistique qui, malgré de mauvaises expériences, aient assez de cran pour exiger, sans désarmer, d'être servis dans leur langue.

Même en 1985, le principe d'un traitement égal relève encore de la chimère dans un nombre étonnant de milieux ou de situations — par exemple à bord d'un avion d'Air Canada, dans le hall d'un immeuble gouvernemental à Ottawa, ou encore lors de grandes manifestations sportives tels les Jeux du Canada au Nouveau-Brunswick. Ce qui rend particulièrement irritantes les défaillances dans les services, c'est la conviction intime qu'avec un peu plus de sensibilité et de prévoyance, la grande majorité auraient pu être évitées.

Une étude sur le vif

D'autre part, l'année 1985 a aussi démontré que tout n'est pas perdu à jamais. Afin d'obtenir une évaluation impartiale de l'offre effective de services dans la langue de la minorité dans des bureaux de l'administration fédérale censément bilingues, nous avons chargé une firme d'étude de marché d'effectuer un sondage incognito auprès d'une sélection d'organismes fédéraux dans quatre villes, soit Moncton, Cornwall et Edmonton, pour ce qui est du service en français, et Québec pour le service en anglais. *Que se produit-il* lorsque des clients de langue minoritaire en quête de renseignements se présentent dans un bureau de l'Administration et exercent leur droit constitutionnel de demander et de recevoir ceux-ci dans la langue officielle qui est la leur ? Pour le découvrir, nous avons d'abord établi un échantillon de neuf organismes fédéraux chargés d'un mandat public important, soit six ministères et trois sociétés de la Couronne : Agriculture, Consommation et Corporations, Emploi et Immigration, Environnement, Santé et Bien-être, Revenu (Douanes et Accise), Air Canada, la Société canadienne des postes et Via Rail. La recherche a porté non sur les bureaux fédéraux pris dans leur ensemble, mais sur ceux qui, censément, « sont en mesure de dispenser à temps plein des services au public dans les deux langues officielles[1] » (dans le cas des ministères), ou qui devraient raisonnablement posséder cette aptitude (pour ce qui est des sociétés de la Couronne). Les enquêteurs de Réalités canadiennes ont ensuite tenté d'obtenir l'information appropriée,

[1] *À votre service dans les deux langues officielles*, répertoire des bureaux bilingues établi par le Conseil du Trésor du Canada, 1984.

Tableau II.5

Visites en langue minoritaire et en langue majoritaire[1]

Ville	Langue minoritaire	Langue majoritaire	Total
Moncton	41	12	53
Cornwall	31	10	41
Edmonton	60	13	73
Québec	59	13	72
Total	**191**	**48**	**239**

[1] Les visites dans la langue de la majorité ont été effectuées à des fins de contrôle.

en suivant des scénarios déterminés, puis ont noté les résultats. On trouvera au tableau II.5 la répartition par ville des visites effectuées.

Étant donné les critères de sélection de ces bureaux, il nous a semblé raisonnable de présumer que le service dans la langue minoritaire officielle serait assuré dans tous les cas. Les règles du jeu étant établies, le tableau qui se dégage en matière d'offre et d'accessibilité comporte des côtés réjouissants et des côtés décevants. D'une part, un ensemble de faits démontre que le système peut fonctionner :

- Dans 94 p.100 des cas, les demandes de renseignements dans la langue minoritaire ont éventuellement fait l'objet d'une réponse dans cette langue, après des temps d'attente assez courts ou, du moins, pas sensiblement plus longs que pour les demandes présentées dans la langue majoritaire.
- La compétence linguistique de ceux qui *ont pu* servir le public de langue minoritaire n'a été qualifiée de « faible » que dans 8 p.100 des cas.
- Les demandes de renseignements présentées dans l'une ou l'autre langue ont été traitées avec à peu près la même bienveillance et la même courtoisie.
- Neuf fois sur dix, le visiteur saluant le préposé dans la langue minoritaire était salué en retour dans la même langue.

Manifestement, notre plaidoyer de l'an dernier en faveur d'une offre active de services dans les deux langues officielles n'a pas alerté tous les fonctionnaires. Il faut cependant admettre que ces résultats, malgré les imperfections qu'ils révèlent, indiquent que le bilinguisme est en train de s'intégrer aux pratiques administratives fédérales.

Du côté négatif, certaines faiblesses apparaissent, particulièrement si l'on analyse les données en détail, qui viennent gravement ternir ces bons résultats. Rappelons-nous qu'il s'agit uniquement ici de bureaux *répertoriés* officiellement comme bilingues (ou l'équivalent), et examinons les constatations ci-après.

- À Edmonton et à Cornwall, 11 et 10 p.100 respectivement des « clients » francophones *n'ont pu* obtenir de réponses en français ; pour les autres, le temps d'attente a été passablement plus long que dans les deux autres villes.

- Le tiers des demandes de renseignements dans la langue minoritaire *n'ont pas* fait l'objet d'une attention *immédiate* dans la même langue. En poussant l'analyse, on a de nouveau constaté des disparités étonnantes : si les bureaux de Québec ont obtenu la note impressionnante de 95 p.100 à cet égard, les chiffres ont été beaucoup plus bas ailleurs, notamment à Edmonton où deux demandes en français sur trois ont d'abord fait l'objet d'une réponse en anglais. On ne s'étonnera pas qu'à Edmonton les enquêteurs aient le plus souvent donné la note « faible » pour l'aisance en français dans les cas où la réponse avait d'abord été faite dans cette langue, soit 26 p.100, alors que pour les échanges en anglais à Québec la note « passable » a été accordée plus souvent qu'ailleurs (34 p.100).
- Parmi les bureaux visités à Edmonton et à Moncton, le pourcentage offrant un affichage en anglais seulement (12 et 10 p.100 respectivement) ne saurait être considéré comme négligeable seize ans après la promulgation de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*.
- Une autre marque importante d'offre active de services en anglais faisait le plus souvent défaut à Québec : plus de 60 p.100 des bureaux comportant des comptoirs ou des guichets n'offraient aucune indication à cet égard, alors qu'on sait très bien qu'un tel service peut faire défaut.

Bref, la performance du fédéral en ce qui a trait à la prestation de services dans la langue minoritaire comporte du bon et du mauvais. À notre avis, cela traduit l'absence d'un effort concerté en vue d'établir des normes communes de services pour l'ensemble des bureaux bilingues. Que le Conseil du Trésor se le tienne pour dit. Nonobstant les nombreux points positifs, les lacunes persistantes incitent à croire que l'égalité de statut du français et de l'anglais proclamée par la *Loi sur les langues officielles* et par la *Charte des droits et libertés* n'est pas pour bientôt, et que l'annonce officielle de services bilingues n'est pas une garantie de leur accessibilité.

Sondage téléphonique par le Conseil du Trésor

L'ampleur de ces carences a été révélée par un sondage téléphonique qu'a mené le Secrétariat du Conseil du Trésor. L'enquête a touché le quart des bureaux officiellement bilingues de trente-trois ministères hors du Québec et de la région de la Capitale nationale. On a d'abord constaté que l'accueil téléphonique était souvent inapproprié : dans 46 p.100 des cas, on ne répondait qu'en anglais ou on négligeait d'offrir expressément un service bilingue. Une fois l'interlocuteur mis en contact avec un agent censément bilingue, les chances de bénéficier d'un service satisfaisant en français s'amélioraient (79 p.100), mais laissaient encore à désirer. Quelles sont les conclusions du Conseil ? Il reconnaît honnêtement que l'accessibilité des services en français n'est pas accomplie, et que cette carence est très répandue. Les sous-ministres ont été informés de ces résultats, et on leur a rappelé ce qu'il fallait entendre par « offre active ». Le Conseil du Trésor vérifiera en outre les mesures d'amélioration.

Nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de citer en terminant un triste exemple d'absence de service « visible et audible » dans la langue de la minorité. En septembre et en octobre, des agents de notre Commissariat, effectuant un suivi de notre vérification de 1983 à la Société canadienne des postes, ont visité une cinquantaine de bureaux où, selon la Société, on pouvait facilement se faire servir dans les deux langues officielles. Or moins de la moitié de ces bureaux offraient le service bilingue à leur

clientèle au moyen d'écriteaux appropriés. En outre, dans 18 bureaux sur 52, il fut impossible à au moins une occasion d'obtenir un service au comptoir dans la langue de la minorité. Le service au téléphone n'était guère meilleur, 17 bureaux sur 41 ayant failli l'épreuve à au moins une reprise. Cela est tout simplement inacceptable.

Survol régional

Aux sondages transversaux on peut ajouter les interprétations personnelles que nous apporte le courrier, ainsi que nos contrôles quotidiens auprès des divers organismes. Ces sources reproduisent elles aussi le mélange habituel de bonnes et de mauvaises nouvelles, et tendent à confirmer le point de vue ci-après : si on a beaucoup accompli, les lacunes et les déceptions deviennent de plus en plus irritantes d'une année à l'autre. Voyons un peu comment la situation se présente dans les régions.

La **Colombie-Britannique** vit à l'heure de l'Exposition internationale. Expo 86, à Vancouver, offrira aux Canadiens une occasion toute spéciale de se faire valoir aux yeux du monde entier. Toutefois, à mesure que l'Exposition prenait forme en 1985, les médias et les minorités linguistiques, ainsi que notre Commissariat, se sont élevés contre l'image d'un Canada unilingue anglophone qui y était projetée. Ainsi, le journal *The Globe and Mail* a noté que la quasi-absence du français sur le site de l'Exposition constituait un grand problème pour les organisateurs. Si le pavillon canadien s'affichait bilingue, la seule autre exception était due à IBM, qui assurera des services de renseignements bilingues grâce à l'installation de terminaux séparés pour le français et l'anglais. Ces interventions ont eu pour effet de sensibiliser le gouvernement fédéral et celui de la Colombie-Britannique, un peu tardivement, au fait que le français *a sa place* à Expo 86, non seulement en tant que langue officielle et langue de millions de Canadiens, mais comme témoignage du prix que le Canada attache à la valeur internationale de cette langue.

En **Alberta**, la disponibilité des services en français s'est accrue aux centres de tourisme et de renseignements de Parcs Canada. D'autre part, la majorité des plaintes provenant de cette province ont eu pour cible la Société canadienne des postes.

En **Saskatchewan**, les services fédéraux en français sont au mieux parcellaires, notamment hors de Regina et de Saskatoon. Si le Bureau des passeports et la Commission de l'Emploi et de l'Immigration mènent la marche, Air Canada, Via Rail et la Société canadienne des postes traînent assez loin derrière.

Même si on a cherché à améliorer les services en français au **Manitoba**, il reste encore un bon bout de chemin à parcourir. Par exemple, bien que Winnipeg ait été désignée en avril 1982 région bilingue pour les fins du service au public, la situation y est fort disparate. La plupart des établissements fédéraux peuvent assurer, jusqu'à un certain point, des services en français, mais bien peu sont en mesure d'offrir un traitement qui se rapprocherait de l'égalité. L'offre active de services en français, selon nos estimations, s'y pratique dans moins de 20 p.100 des bureaux. Un sondage maison effectué par le *Winnipeg Free Press* a révélé que cinq bureaux fédéraux sur onze omettaient jusqu'à la salutation usuelle en français prévue dans la

politique officielle. Heureusement, le Conseil du Trésor a réalisé sa propre appréciation des services fédéraux en français par téléphone dans les bureaux de Winnipeg. Les ministères et organismes ont établi des plans pour améliorer la situation, et on se propose d'en vérifier les résultats en 1986.

Dans les régions septentrionales, les Francophones visitant le Northern Heritage Centre, à Yellowknife, l'un des lieux touristiques des **Territoires du Nord-Ouest**, devaient se débrouiller de leur mieux, les légendes des objets exposés n'étant qu'en anglais. Le sens des affaires, pour ne rien dire des subtilités de la loi, exigerait pourtant qu'on accorde au français sa juste place dans des domaines comme celui-là ; après tout, il s'agit d'une région qui s'est elle-même proclamée officiellement bilingue. Pour ce qui est du **Yukon**, nous aurions aimé y voir plus de témoignages d'un effort pour assumer véritablement les obligations linguistiques. Il nous semble étrange, par exemple, qu'une vacance à la Cour territoriale ait été annoncée sans la moindre mention des exigences liées aux langues officielles, d'autant plus que le bilinguisme se fait très rare chez les juges déjà en fonction.

En **Ontario**, la situation est très inégale. Le secteur Est, qui comprend Ottawa, présente toujours de bons résultats, consolidant ses gains des dernières années. Cependant, même notre Capitale nationale n'est pas à l'abri des défaillances. Prenons par exemple l'un des grands bureaux de poste d'Ottawa ; est-ce un mauvais rêve, ou se peut-il qu'à deux pas du Parlement, dans un vaste centre commercial, un bureau très fréquenté et à fonctions multiples ait du mal à assurer ses services en français ? Une partie des difficultés tient à ce qu'une file unique mène à des préposés qui ne sont pas tous bilingues. Cette forme aléatoire de service est plus qu'il n'en faut pour inciter les Francophones mécontents à se précipiter vers les messageries privées.

Le service de qualité, semble-t-il, est souvent affaire de lieu et de moment. Songeons au pauvre touriste francophone qui s'est adressé en français à un douanier de Cornwall en rentrant des États-Unis un 24 juin — jour de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste, pour comble. La collégienne en stage d'été qui posa, tout miel, les questions d'usage ne savait que l'anglais. Le Ministère a fourni l'explication suivante : « ... pour des raisons d'origine administrative, (la stagiaire) ne connaissait pas la marche à suivre dans le cas d'un voyageur francophone. En conséquence, elle n'a pas offert de service en français. » Que l'étudiante en question ne parlât pas un mot de français, cela avait-il un quelconque rapport ? À cet égard, nous avons appris non sans malaise que sur les 129 stagiaires recrutés en Ontario par le ministère du Revenu national (Douanes et Accise) pour assurer le service aux aéroports et aux postes frontières durant l'été, 17 seulement étaient bilingues. Point n'est besoin d'être grand clerc pour calculer la probabilité qu'un voyageur francophone tombe sur un étudiant bilingue à l'un ou l'autre de ces postes, au cours d'une période de 24 heures. Pour ceux qui ne répugnent pas aux comparaisons détestables, signalons que les 108 stagiaires occupant des postes semblables au Québec étaient tous bilingues.

Par contre, Emploi et Immigration nous a apporté une note de réconfort. À ses 13 comités consultatifs régionaux de langue française, qui avaient été mis sur pied en 1984 avec mission d'améliorer les programmes de formation en français, elle a affecté un budget considérable pour l'élaboration de cours de français dans les collèges communautaires et les universités de l'Ontario. Les présidents de ces comités sont aussi membres d'office des conseils consultatifs locaux du Ministère,

lesquels ont reçu un large mandat pour élaborer des plans de création d'emplois ; nous comptons bien que, grâce à ces chassés-croisés fructueux, les besoins linguistiques particuliers des Franco-Ontariens recevront toute l'attention qui convient. Emploi et Immigration s'est aussi distingué en tant que principal organisateur parmi les services fédéraux de l'exposition française mise sur pied en septembre à l'occasion de la Semaine francophone de Toronto.

Au **Québec**, la communauté anglophone peut trouver un certain réconfort dans les progrès réalisés sur deux fronts traditionnellement difficiles. Les centres d'Emploi et Immigration ont sensiblement accru leurs ressources pour servir le public dans l'une ou l'autre langue officielle, tandis que Pétro-Canada s'employait lentement mais sûrement à respecter son engagement de donner une image bilingue à ses stations-service. Nous avons aussi, hélas, de quoi alimenter les esprits chagrins : l'offre active de services en anglais demeure à des niveaux inacceptables dans plusieurs ministères et organismes tels la Société canadienne des postes et le ministère de l'Agriculture, alors qu'Air Canada mène le peloton des sociétés de la Couronne qui persistent à ne faire usage que du français pour l'affichage. En réponse à des plaintes sur de la publicité unilingue française dans le métro de Montréal, Air Canada s'explique ainsi, avec sérénité : « Nous avons recours à ce moyen pour rejoindre la communauté francophone, qui utilise régulièrement le métro pour ses déplacements quotidiens. De son côté, la communauté anglophone utilise moins le métro, préférant le train et la voiture. »

Aussi éloquentes que soient ces anecdotes, il ne faudrait pas oublier nombre de difficultés moins visibles, notamment les longs délais de traduction de certains documents scientifiques. L'accessibilité des services en français ou en anglais dans d'autres domaines spécialisés est également incertaine, comme en témoigne notre vérification des relations linguistiques entre cinq sociétés de la Couronne et leurs fournisseurs québécois. Le non-respect des préférences de ceux-ci en matière de langue s'élevait à 9,3 p.100 envers les tenants de l'anglais et au chiffre époustouflant de 18,5 p.100 envers les citoyens assez téméraires pour s'accrocher au français.

On a observé la même attitude ambiguë à l'égard du service lorsque la Société du Vieux-Port de Montréal, filiale de la Société immobilière du Canada, organisa l'inauguration d'un parc d'attractions pour enfants au cours de la fin de semaine de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste. Comme le matériel ne venait pas du Québec, la Société aurait dû se méfier. Mais non. Lorsqu'on a ouvert au public les manèges, les autos tamponneuses et autres engins, il s'est révélé que toutes les indications, dont celles touchant la sécurité, n'étaient rédigées qu'en anglais. Chose peut-être plus grave encore, certains préposés ne savaient pas un traître mot de français. Devant les plaintes, la Société a fait preuve d'une présence d'esprit remarquable : on a improvisé des indications en français et de nouveaux préposés aux terrains de jeux se sont adressés au public en français et en anglais. Avec un minimum de prévoyance, la Société aurait pu s'éviter tous ces embarras.

Dans l'Est, nous avons connu une déception extrême : on n'a pas su donner sportivement sa chance au bilinguisme lors des Jeux du Canada, à Saint-Jean, au **Nouveau-Brunswick**. (Pour le détail épicé de cette affaire, le lecteur voudra bien se reporter au chapitre consacré aux plaintes.)

Nos vérifications touchant les divisions J (Nouveau-Brunswick) et L **(Île-du-Prince-Édouard)** de la GRC ont fait ressortir, malgré des progrès sensibles, qu'il restait beaucoup de travail à faire avant que les services de la police soient assurés aux Francophones et aux Anglophones de manière égale. Si la division J est maintenant bilinguisée à 50 p.100, la division L ne compte qu'un bilingue de plus, ce qui ne fait toujours que 7 p.100.

En **Nouvelle-Écosse**, la disponibilité des services fédéraux en français n'a encore rien de renversant, notamment en dehors du sud-ouest de la province ; dans certains cas, des ministères et des organismes ont aggravé mutuellement leurs problèmes, en toute inconscience. Ainsi, Parcs Canada a contacté le ministère des Transports de la Nouvelle-Écosse pour l'inciter à améliorer la signalisation routière désignant les parcs nationaux et les lieux historiques en vue de favoriser la croissance du tourisme dans la province. L'organisme consentit ensuite à ce que son logo (un castor) figure sur des panneaux communs, et s'engagea à assumer une partie des coûts de l'opération. Mais les touristes francophones étaient en droit de se demander pourquoi ces panneaux placés à leur intention, avec un concours financier fédéral bien intentionné, n'étaient rédigés qu'en anglais. Il semble que Parcs Canada ne se soit pas avisé que la province avait pour politique de se limiter à l'anglais dans sa signalisation. L'organisme réfléchit toujours à la question.

Pour ce qui est de **Terre-Neuve** et du **Labrador**... autant ne pas en parler.

Nos bévues linguistiques ont même franchi les frontières. Lors d'une visite au Salon aéronautique du Bourget, à Paris, un événement qui attire plus d'un million de visiteurs, un Francophone a eu la surprise d'être accueilli par un préposé unilingue anglais au kiosque de renseignements du pavillon canadien. Heureusement, on l'a dirigé vers un autre employé qui, lui, s'exprimait en français. Le ministère des Affaires extérieures a reconnu que trois des huit agents assurant la permanence au kiosque ne parlaient pas le français. Toutefois, les horaires de travail avaient été établis de façon qu'un ou deux agents bilingues soient de service en même temps qu'un agent unilingue, le cas échéant. Le Ministère a ensuite ajouté avec une candeur quelque peu déplacée : « Ce n'est pas la première fois que nous recevons des plaintes semblables ces dernières années. » Vraisemblablement, il considère ses larmes de crocodile comme le fin mot de la diplomatie.

Cette litanie de faux pas confirme qu'en dépit d'améliorations effectives, il subsiste encore trop d'infractions marquées et inexplicables à la loi. Sans vouloir accuser d'indolence qui que ce soit, nous constatons que pour bon nombre de gestionnaires, la prestation d'un service bilingue sans lacunes n'entre pas pour beaucoup dans l'échelle du rendement des fonctionnaires et que trop souvent, hélas ! on peut compter sur la haute direction pour trouver des excuses à tous ces petits péchés.

Élan politique et administratif

On ne saurait quitter ce champ essentiel de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* sans rappeler que la qualité d'ensemble des services fédéraux offerts au public en français et en anglais est largement fonction de la détermination de la gent politique et des décisionnaires. Certains sous-ministres et cadres supérieurs se sont très fermement engagés à assurer un service bilingue efficace. Nous leur en savons gré. D'autres ont tant de préoccupations de toutes sortes qu'ils ne feront aucun effort particulier pour faire avancer un programme que la plupart, à tort ou à raison, ne considèrent pas comme une haute priorité du gouvernement.

Le gouvernement *a réaffirmé*, en termes généraux, qu'il importe d'assurer des services fédéraux dans la langue officielle qui convient à chaque citoyen et, comme il l'a noté dans sa réponse au second rapport du Comité mixte permanent, que « la qualité et l'accessibilité de ces services sont souvent inégales dans certaines régions du pays ». Mais ces conclusions ne se sont pas encore imposées à l'ensemble de la fonction publique. Le gouvernement a admis, en particulier, que la politique de l'offre active de services bilingues devait être raffermie, de même que les mécanismes de contrôle. À cette fin, il s'est engagé à assurer :

- une désignation plus précise et plus explicite des points de service bilingue dans les bureaux fédéraux ;
- une correspondance plus étroite entre la capacité bilingue existante et les points de service où on en a besoin ;
- une sensibilisation accrue chez les fonctionnaires fédéraux aux droits linguistiques du public et aux obligations qui en découlent.

Les besoins en question ayant été admis il y a déjà longtemps, on se demande pourquoi le gouvernement a été aussi lent à agir, avec les dangers que cela comporte. Au rythme où vont les choses, l'année 1986 sera bien avancée et le second anniversaire du gouvernement tout proche avant que des interventions importantes n'aient eu un effet quelconque sur la prestation de services.

Dans un effort pour préciser les obligations institutionnelles du gouvernement dans ce domaine, les hauts dirigeants du Conseil du Trésor, du ministère de la Justice et du Bureau du Conseil privé, entre autres, se sont appliqués à établir une interprétation pratique des critères constitutionnels régissant la prestation de services bilingues au public, tels que les énonce l'article 20 de la *Charte des droits et libertés*. Ils se sont penchés notamment sur la notion de « demande importante », et sur les cas où « la vocation du bureau » exige une compétence dans les deux langues. On peut se demander si les jours et les semaines que l'on a consacré cette année à cette nouvelle quête du Graal ont été employés à bon escient. Tant que le service bilingue sera au rabais là où il y a une demande manifeste, quelle fin poursuit-on en s'adonnant à des calculs infinitésimaux de cette « importance » — si ce n'est de démontrer sa propre mesquinerie face à la question du service au public ? Nous aimerions signaler encore une fois que les problèmes auxquels nous nous heurtons aujourd'hui relèvent essentiellement de l'imputabilité en matière d'exploitation ; il s'agit de s'assurer d'une part que chacun est en mesure de remplir ses obligations, et d'autre part qu'il s'en acquitte effectivement. Les établissements fédéraux sont tout à fait capables de régler ces problèmes *dès maintenant*, en suivant la politique en vigueur et en accordant une attention suffisante au contrôle de la qualité.

La participation équitable : à part entière

Dès 1971, le gouvernement a établi le principe que la Fonction publique devrait refléter dans sa composition les deux groupes de langue officielle du pays. Cette composante fondamentale se retrouve dans la *Résolution parlementaire sur les langues officielles* de 1973, où la « pleine participation » des collectivités francophone et anglophone est vue comme un objectif que l'on peut atteindre plus facilement par un sain usage du français et de l'anglais en milieu de travail. Avec les années, la vision de la question s'est raffinée, passant d'une simple équivalence arithmétique globale à une représentation équitable dans chacun des multiples secteurs de l'administration fédérale, sur les plans régional, hiérarchique et professionnel.

Mais voilà, la « pleine participation » ou « participation équitable » est la plus délicate des trois composantes de la réforme du régime linguistique, puisque d'ordre à la fois personnel et collectif. Elle touche davantage la fibre linguistique des Canadiens, en particulier parmi les fonctionnaires fédéraux. Par comparaison, les questions matérielles — affichage, publications ou documents de travail — paraissent d'une extrême simplicité. Au palier de difficulté suivant, on trouve le service en personne et l'encadrement qui font appel aux compétences linguistiques des individus. Nous avons finalement le point le plus subtil, le plus sensible, parfois même le plus explosif, soit la participation équitable, où sont en cause les deux groupes linguistiques et l'identité linguistique de chacun et chacune. Comment s'étonner alors que le sujet éveille parfois amertume et méfiance, sachant que ses paramètres ne sont ni définis ni toujours définissables avec précision. Mais en dépit de cette difficulté et au-delà du degré d'équilibre global enfin atteint, se dessine une tendance à la persistance, voire à l'accentuation des déséquilibres hiérarchiques et régionaux. Tout dérapage de ce genre doit être contré avec énergie et méthode, car il compromettrait une composante essentielle de l'égalité linguistique reconnue par le Parlement du Canada.

Ainsi que l'indique le tableau II.6, on assiste depuis quelques années à une stabilisation des taux de participation des Francophones et des Anglophones dans la Fonction publique. Le taux global correspond approximativement à la répartition nationale des deux groupes linguistiques : 27,8 p.100 des 226 403 personnes *employées par le Conseil du Trésor* ont le français comme première langue officielle[1].

[1] La proportion globale pour les sociétés de la Couronne est estimée à 25 p. 100.

Tableau II.6

Représentation des Francophones et des Anglophones dans la Fonction publique

	Francophones %	Anglophones %
1965	21,5	78,5
1974	24,3	75,7
1975	25,6	74,4
1976	26,0	74,0
1977	26,2	73,8
1978	26,0	74,0
1979	26,4	73,6
1980	26,7	73,3
1981	27,2	72,8
1982	26,8	73,2
1983	27,5	72,5
1984	27,8	72,2
1985	27,8	72,2

Sources : Pour 1965, échantillonnage de la Commission B. B. portant sur la langue maternelle des employés dans l'ensemble des ministères et organismes fédéraux. Par langue maternelle on entend d'habitude la première langue apprise et encore comprise. Pour 1974 et les années subséquentes, les chiffres sont tirés du Système d'information sur les langues officielles.

On serait donc tenté de considérer l'objectif atteint et d'entonner le chant de la victoire.

Or, en examinant dans le détail les données en la matière, on découvre des problèmes que masque le chiffre global. Chose plus regrettable encore, ces problèmes, malgré un progrès d'ensemble, sont à peu près identiques à ceux que nous avons exposés dans tous nos rapports annuels depuis 1980 : sous-représentation des Anglophones au Québec et dans la catégorie Soutien administratif ; chez les Francophones, sous-représentation parmi les gestionnaires (civils et militaires), les scientifiques et spécialistes, et dans les régions bilingues hors du Québec.

Disséquons un peu

La gestion

L'examen des plus récents résultats (résumés au tableau II.7) fait apparaître entre les catégories d'emploi des déséquilibres qui sont d'autant plus inacceptables qu'ils se prolongent. Ainsi, la proportion de Francophones dans la catégorie Gestion, qui était de 20,5 p.100 en 1984, comme en 1981 d'ailleurs, a baissé à 19,9 p.100 en

1985. Si l'on tient compte des gestionnaires des autres catégories professionnelles, le chiffre est encore plus faible, soit 18,8 p.100. Voilà qui n'est guère réconfortant, surtout si l'on songe à l'importance stratégique de ce secteur pour un État dont la Constitution consacre l'égalité linguistique. Enfin, la relève au sein de cette catégorie ne semble pas assurée : alors que les Francophones forment 20,8 p.100 du groupe de la Direction, ils n'entrent que pour 19,2 p.100 dans celui de la Gestion supérieure, qui le suit immédiatement. Aux plus hauts niveaux de la bureaucratie, par contre, les Francophones constituent 31 p.100 des 500 sous-ministres et autres grands commis de l'État nommés par arrêté-en-conseil. À l'autre extrémité, les Francophones sont toujours aussi surreprésentés dans la catégorie Soutien administratif (33,6 p.100), ce qui n'est une façon équitable ni pour les uns, ni pour les autres, de compenser la pénurie de gestionnaires de langue française.

Soutien administratif

Cette catégorie du Soutien administratif renferme une proportion particulièrement élevée de postes bilingues dotés de façon « impérative », c'est-à-dire dotés obligatoirement d'employés déjà bilingues : 80 p.100, contre 49 p.100 chez les Scientifiques et spécialistes, et 26 p.100 dans la catégorie Gestion. Les nécessités du service au public et aux employés peuvent expliquer ces différences dans une certaine mesure, mais les justifient-elles pleinement ? Nullement, à notre avis. Les gestionnaires, qui déterminent le profil linguistique des postes, n'auraient-ils pas tendance à exiger davantage de leurs subordonnés que de leurs pairs ? Auraient-ils trouvé un secret pour se faire exempter, au moins provisoirement, d'obligations imposées à d'autres ? Par ailleurs, cette haute proportion de postes soumis à la dotation dite « impérative » a tendance à écarter davantage les candidats anglophones qui, plus souvent que les Francophones, sont demeurés unilingues. Est-il étonnant, dans ces conditions, que la proportion des Anglophones ait fléchi de 68,2 p.100 en 1980 à 66,4 p.100 en 1985 ?

Malgré des progrès constants, la présence des deux groupes linguistiques est encore inégale chez les scientifiques et spécialistes, avec un rapport de 22/78. Les contrastes sont marqués à l'intérieur même de la catégorie : plusieurs petits groupes comptent plus de 30 p.100 de Francophones, mais ces derniers ne représentent encore que 15, 13 et 9 p.100 des biologistes, des physiciens et des chercheurs scientifiques qui sont beaucoup plus nombreux. Les progrès accomplis depuis 1980, année où les proportions étaient de 11, 6 et 6 p.100 respectivement, ne doivent pas nous faire oublier que nous n'avons parcouru qu'une petite partie du chemin.

Autre particularité, la proportion des Francophones est relativement plus élevée dans les postes pour ainsi dire « mous » : 32 p.100 aux postes à durée déterminée et 37,2 p.100 pour ceux à temps partiel, contre 27,6 p.100 aux postes à durée indéterminée ou « permanents ».

Mais pour qui scrute la boule de cristal, l'avenir peut sembler prometteur. En effet, la proportion des Francophones recrutés parmi les diplômés d'universités, de cégeps et de collèges communautaires est nettement supérieure à leur représentation actuelle dans la Fonction publique : 30,4 p.100. Il semble donc que la relève francophone soit assurée à moyen terme, sinon dans les hautes sphères, du moins pour l'ensemble des postes d'« agents », où ils forment maintenant 25,4 p.100 de l'effectif.

Tableau II.7

Répartition numérique et proportionnelle des fonctionnaires francophones et anglophones, par catégorie professionnelle, dans l'ensemble de la Fonction publique en 1980 et 1985[1]

Agents		Francophones nombre	%	Anglophones nombre	%	Total
Gestion	80	257	20,6	993	79,4	1 250
	85	851	19,9	3 422	80,1	4 273
Scientifiques et	80	4 091	19,1	17 375	80,9	21 466
spécialistes	85	5 214	22,4	18 028	77,6	23 242
Administration et	80	14 033	27,4	37 188	72,6	51 161
service extérieur	85	16 721	29,4	40 154	70,6	56 875
Techniciens	80	4 890	18,7	21 268	81,3	26 158
	85	5 766	20,7	22 091	79,3	27 857
Total partiel	**80**	**23 271**	**23,2**	**76 824**	**76,8**	**100 095**
	85	**28 552**	**25,4**	**83 695**	**74,6**	**112 247**
Autre personnel						
Soutien administratif	80	22 168	31,8	47 623	68,2	69 791
	85	23 770	33,6	47 035	66,4	70 805
Exploitation	80	27 063	26,5	74 913	73,5	101 976
	85	10 685	24,6	32 666	75,4	43 351
Total partiel	**80**	**49 231**	**28,7**	**122 476**	**71,3**	**171 707**
	85	**34 455**	**30,2**	**79 701**	**69,8**	**114 156**
TOTAL	**80**	**72 502**	**26,7**	**199 300**	**73,3**	**271 802**
	85	**63 007**	**27,8**	**163 396**	**72,2**	**226 403**

[1] Canada et étranger.

Source : Système d'information sur les langues officielles, 1980 et 1985.

D'un océan à l'autre

Une étude transversale de la Fonction publique selon les régions fait ressortir des distorsions aussi importantes. Les extrêmes s'y touchent : comme le montre le tableau II.8, c'est dans les régions unilingues et dans la plus bilingue (la Capitale nationale) que les fonctionnaires reflètent le mieux la composition linguistique de la population. Par contre, les secteurs bilingues du Québec et de l'Ontario, ainsi que le Nouveau-Brunswick, accusent des écarts marqués par rapport à la population locale ; ces écarts sont d'autant plus inquiétants qu'ils se produisent dans des régions où les besoins en service dans les deux langues officielles sont considérables et où les ressources en personnel bilingue ne devraient pas faire défaut. Si la situation s'améliore dans l'Ontario bilingue et surtout au Nouveau-Brunswick, elle s'aggrave en revanche dans les régions bilingues du Québec, où — malgré les récents progrès du recrutement — les Anglophones ne forment plus que 7,3 p.100 de l'effectif de la Fonction publique. Le déclin est lent mais constant depuis 1982.

Quand on considère que leur nombre décroît également dans le reste du Québec, alors que partout ailleurs au Canada la participation des Francophones, même déficitaire, est en progrès, il est pertinent de s'interroger sur les causes véritables de cette situation et sur l'efficacité des mesures correctives prises à ce jour. La politique linguistique provinciale voulant que le français soit la langue de travail par excellence dans les entreprises du Québec ne saurait rendre compte du phénomène, étant donné qu'il s'agit ici d'organismes fédéraux et que la proportion des bilingues chez les Québécois de langue anglaise s'est considérablement accrue.

Obstacles

Recrutement

Ne serait-ce pas là l'exemple type d'une situation où les Canadiens de langue officielle minoritaire peuvent s'interroger à juste titre sur leur présence dans la Fonction publique et, par conséquent, au gouvernement de leur pays ? Ce scepticisme est souvent fondé sur des signes fort révélateurs quant à l'attitude et aux comportements des majorités. Les candidats en puissance ont-ils pu lire l'offre d'emploi dans leur langue, dans un média de cette langue ? Quand ils se sont présentés à l'organisme fédéral pour poser leur candidature, ont-ils été accueillis dans leur langue ? Tous les services et tous les documents qui touchent le processus de dotation ont-ils été offerts en français et en anglais ? Le jury de sélection était-il composé uniquement de membres de la majorité linguistique ? Ces circonstances attirent ou éloignent les candidatures des groupes linguistiques minoritaires, influent sur l'appréciation du « mérite » et font de la Fonction publique des chasses gardées locales ou, au contraire, un milieu ouvert à tous. C'est là affaire de psychologie, diront certains, de bureaucratie, diront d'autres, sans pouvoir trancher s'il s'agit d'un système borgne ou d'un préjugé machinal.

Mais que dire de l'organisme qui refuserait au postulant une entrevue dans sa langue ? C'est pourtant ce qui semble être arrivé l'été dernier à un Montréalais anglophone à qui le comité de sélection a posé toutes ses questions en français. Malheureusement, le ministère du Revenu national (Impôt) n'a pu confirmer ni infirmer l'incident, faute du nom du candidat, que nous n'avions pu divulguer.

Les objectifs des organismes et du gouvernement devront donc consister en premier à éliminer les entraves liées au recrutement. Mais il ne suffit pas d'écarter les obstacles. Là où les écarts persistent ou se creusent, c'est par des moyens actifs qu'il faut tendre à les compenser, tout en respectant le principe du mérite. Il n'y a rien de tel pour cela qu'une présence dans les médias et les établissements d'enseignement qui témoigne que l'accès aux emplois fédéraux ne privilégie aucune communauté. Des mesures de cet ordre ont été couronnées de succès au ministère de l'Environnement. Grâce à une action concrète et suivie auprès des universités de langue française et à un programme de stages pour étudiants en milieu de travail, ce ministère est parvenu à accroître la représentation des Francophones dans la catégorie Scientifiques et spécialistes de 15 p. 100 en 1981 à 19 p. 100 en 1985. Par contre, des méthodes de recrutement furtives, fondées avant tout, semble-t-il, sur des réseaux de connaissances personnelles, expliqueraient que le Service canadien du renseignement de sécurité n'ait pu découvrir dans le Canada tout entier plus de 5 p.100 de Francophones parmi ses recrues de 1985.

Tableau II.8

Répartition proportionnelle des minorités de langue officielle dans la population et dans la Fonction publique, par région, de 1980 à 1985

	Population de langue officielle minoritaire	Fonctionnaires de langue officielle minoritaire				Écart 1982-1985
		1982	1983	1984	1985	
Provinces de l'Ouest	2,7	1,7	1,9	2,0	2,1	+ 0,4
Ontario unilingue	2,0	2,5	2,7	2,9	3,0	+ 0,5
Ontario bilingue	32,3	21,6	22,7	23,2	23,3	+ 1,7
Région de la Capitale nationale	35,4	34,6	35,4	35,7	35,7	+ 1,1
Québec bilingue	19,8	8,1	7,9	7,3	7,3	− 0,8
Québec unilingue	4,2	5,0	4,7	4,2	4,0	− 1,0
Nouveau-Brunswick	33,6	22,3	25,9	26,8	27,6	+ 5,4
Autres provinces atlantiques	2,9	3,0	3,4	3,6	3,7	+ 0,7
Territoires	2,5	3,0	3,8	4,0	3,5	+ 0,5

Sources : Statistique Canada, recensement de 1981 et Système d'information sur les langues officielles.

Langue de travail

En un deuxième temps, il convient de veiller dans les régions bilingues à ce que la minorité puisse effectivement travailler dans sa langue. Le lien entre un régime satisfaisant à cet égard et un taux équitable de participation est peut-être plus étroit qu'on ne le pense. L'histoire de la Fonction publique l'a d'ailleurs amplement démontré : là où le travail s'effectue presque exclusivement dans une seule des deux langues, la possibilité d'attirer du personnel de l'autre groupe linguistique désireux de travailler dans sa langue est extrêmement réduite. Et sans une présence importante — numérique et proportionnelle — de membres de cette communauté, que vaut une politique de libre choix linguistique ?

Nous avons exhorté les organismes, dans nos rapports de vérification et nos suivis, à adopter des plans d'action et à recourir à des méthodes de recrutement plus dynamiques. On a vu tout le succès qu'on pouvait remporter en allant au-devant des candidats. D'autre part, nous avons formulé de nombreuses recommandations au sujet de la langue de travail. Les mesures en question, conjuguées aux interventions des organismes gouvernementaux intéressés, ne seraient pas étrangères à certaines évolutions heureuses, dont la reprise du recrutement d'Anglophones au Québec. De 1983 à 1985, le nombre de candidats inscrits sur les listes a triplé, ainsi que celui des Anglophones qui se sont présentés aux entrevues. Quant aux nominations d'Anglophones, elles sont passées de 6,7 à 8,9 p.100.

Manque de données

Les proportions de Francophones et d'Anglophones que nous avons indiquées jusqu'ici ne valent que pour les quelque 226 000 fonctionnaires. Il faut aussi compter environ 345 000 personnes (militaires, gendarmes et employés des sociétés de la Couronne), soit près de 60 p. 100 du personnel de l'État. Si nous savons quelles sont les parts respectives chez les militaires (27/73 pour l'ensemble et 23/77 pour les officiers) et les gendarmes (15/85), en revanche nous ne possédons pas de données précises pour certaines sociétés de la Couronne, ce qui oblige à des

approximations peu conformes à l'obligation qu'elles ont de rendre compte de leur situation linguistique au Parlement. En remaniant la *Loi de l'administration financière*, à l'automne 1984, le gouvernement s'était pourtant donné l'instrument d'un contrôle sur ces organismes, mais il n'en aurait pas encore pleinement tiré parti.

Il en résulte un manque de précision dans les données que l'on possède au sujet du rendement linguistique des sociétés d'État, manque de précision qui rend difficile la comparaison avec les autres organismes, et quelquefois hasardeuse l'évaluation de leur conformité à la Loi.

Il n'est pas certain que la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, dans sa formulation actuelle, autorise le Commissaire à *exiger* de ces sociétés la mise sur pied de systèmes de gestion destinés à la collecte de ces données. À moins que le gouvernement ne choisisse lui-même de leur imposer ces obligations, la Loi, selon nous, devrait contenir une telle exigence. Car le gouvernement, tout comme le Commissaire, doit posséder toutes les données nécessaires, de la part de tous les organismes, pour pouvoir dûment faire rapport au Parlement.

Sur mesure

Un dernier point reste à examiner : la création de plusieurs patrons qui permettraient aux couturiers des langues officielles de tailler sur mesure l'habit de la participation. En effet, s'il a été relativement facile de s'entendre sur une norme nationale, généralement proportionnelle à l'importance numérique des deux groupes de langue officielle, il n'est sans doute pas réaliste de penser qu'on puisse l'appliquer à tous les organismes fédéraux. Tout écart à la norme nationale ne saurait être qualifié de « déviation » ; qu'on songe à l'Administration de pilotage du Pacifique ou à la Société des transports du Nord, pour lesquelles on admet volontiers des accommodements.

On pourrait ainsi concevoir des variantes selon que les organismes ont ou non leur siège dans la région de la Capitale nationale et selon que leurs activités ont ou non une portée nationale, par le territoire ou par la clientèle. Appartiendraient ainsi à la catégorie nationale les dix plus grands ministères, la Société canadienne des postes, la Société canadienne d'hypothèques et de logement et divers ministères : Statistique Canada, Affaires extérieures, Énergie, Mines et Ressources, Consommation et Corporations, Expansion industrielle régionale et Communications. Ayant leur siège à Montréal, Air Canada, le Canadien national et Via Rail ne devraient-ils pas compter plus de 26 p. 100 de Francophones ? Inversement, un objectif de plus de 74 p. 100 d'Anglophones ne serait-il pas plus naturel pour Pétro-Canada qui a son siège à Calgary et pour le Ministère des Affaires des anciens combattants, établi à Charlottetown ?

Il paraît normal a priori que des organismes régionaux comme la Voie maritime du Saint-Laurent, la Société de développement du Cap-Breton, la Société canadienne des Ports ou la Commission canadienne du blé s'alignent davantage sur le profil linguistique de leur région. Ce principe pourrait sans doute s'appliquer également aux organismes « nationaux », qui se trouvent concentrés dans la région de la Capitale nationale, tels les Musées et le Secrétariat du Conseil du Trésor. Viennent ensuite les différences liées à la nature ou au lieu de résidence de la clientèle ; les

ministères des Pêches et Océans, des Affaires indiennes et du Nord et la Gendarmerie royale touchent une proportion de Francophones qui doit être minutieusement jaugée, mais qui peut légitimement être inférieure à la proportion nationale. Inversement, l'Office national du film et Radio-Canada, en raison de leur mission culturelle, ainsi que le Secrétariat d'État, du fait de son rôle auprès des minorités, doivent assurer une représentation beaucoup plus équilibrée des deux groupes. La taille de l'organisme, dans ce domaine comme dans bien d'autres, intervient aussi ; en effet, dans beaucoup d'organismes de petite taille, il semble légitime d'accroître la *proportion* du groupe linguistique minoritaire pour qu'il occupe *numériquement* une place significative.

D'autres considérations peuvent entrer en ligne de compte. Le bassin de recrutement est-il national ou régional ? Quelles sont les ressources en personnel qualifié offertes par les deux groupes ? Les candidats doivent-ils être spécialisés au moment de l'embauche et, le cas échéant, où peut-on obtenir les qualifications ? Quel est le nombre des bureaux régionaux et où sont-ils situés ? Quelle est la nature du travail ?

Ces facteurs, et d'autres sans doute, devraient permettre de produire, sinon des modèles rigides, du moins des scénarios de participation plus équitables et plus justifiables par rapport à *l'esprit* de cet objectif. L'important, c'est de pouvoir établir des diagnostics et de définir des objectifs réalistes et rentables, tout en clarifiant une situation parfois entachée d'incertitudes et d'appréhensions. Nous évoquions plus haut l'idée d'établir des patrons permettant aux couturiers des langues officielles de faire du « sur mesure » en matière de participation. Voilà donc quelques patrons suggérés. Mais attention ! Il ne s'agit pas seulement de vêtir quelques danseurs... mais toute une troupe de ballet, ce qui complique naturellement la chose. Il faudra tenir compte de l'équilibre de l'ensemble ainsi que des évolutions. Tel organisme créé par exemple il y a une quinzaine d'années peut comporter un nombre plus élevé de Francophones recrutés en quelque sorte pour compenser des déséquilibres existant ailleurs en sens inverse. Il faudra donc aussi que le chorégraphe (en l'occurrence le Secrétariat du Conseil du Trésor) tienne compte de l'évolution des organismes les uns par rapport aux autres dans la recherche progressive de la participation équitable... et qu'il n'oublie jamais le principe du mérite, car on ne fait de bons ballets qu'avec de bons danseurs. Le Commissariat poursuivra ses études et ses analyses en ce domaine au cours de 1986 afin d'éclaircir certaines questions.

On ne saurait trop appeler à la prudence dans le maniement des paramètres que nous venons d'esquisser. Il peut être dangereux, en effet, de se livrer à une opération purement mathématique qui finit par estomper l'objet même de la démarche.

En résumé

À la lumière de ce qui précède, nous recommandons qu'au cours des deux prochaines années :

- les organismes fédéraux fixent des objectifs en matière de participation et établissent des échéanciers précis, dûment nuancés et ventilés par secteur, par niveau et catégorie, pour l'administration centrale et les régions ;

- ces objectifs soient liés
  a) à un plan de recrutement et de développement qui tienne compte des possiblités actuelles et potentielles du marché du travail ;
  b) à des pratiques de publicité, de dotation et de langue de travail qui soient équitables pour les deux groupes linguistiques ;
- les organismes non ministériels colligent et publient d'ici le 31 décembre 1986 toutes les données nécessaires à l'appréciation de leur rendement en matière de participation.

La langue de travail : les mots pour le faire

La prochaine étape

Décréter l'égalité de statut du français et de l'anglais en tant que langues officielles, c'était ipso facto reconnaître à l'une et l'autre langue la même légitimité au sein de l'administration fédérale. Si la *Loi sur les langues officielles* ne dit pas explicitement que les fonctionnaires ont le droit, à certaines conditions, de travailler en français ou en anglais, c'est pourtant ainsi que le Parlement et le gouvernement ont toujours interprété la « Déclaration du statut des langues » (art. 2) de la Loi de 1969 ; et l'on a rarement songé à mettre en doute cette interprétation. Du reste, cela a été reconnu de façon nette et claire lors de l'adoption unanime, en 1973, de la *Résolution parlementaire sur les langues officielles* dont découlent bon nombre des orientations actuelles du gouvernement en matière de langues officielles. Il nous paraît dès lors que la prochaine étape — modeste, mais nécessaire — doit être de refondre la *Loi sur les langues officielles* en y incorporant sans équivoque le principe de l'égalité des deux langues au travail. C'est d'ailleurs ce que nous proposions une fois de plus à la fin de 1985. (On trouvera à l'annexe C l'essentiel des modifications proposées par le Commissaire.)

Les Canadiens de langue française, faut-il le rappeler, ne sont pas des Anglophones qui auraient mal tourné. Non seulement parlent-ils une langue différente (encore qu'apparentée), ils entretiennent en outre des vues différentes en matière culturelle, historique, intellectuelle et même juridique. Ils n'en sont pas moins aussi « Canadiens » que leurs compatriotes de langue anglaise. Imaginer un seul instant que les Franco-Canadiens peuvent s'identifier et participer à l'œuvre nationale — dont l'appareil fédéral est l'un des instruments clés — alors même que les valeurs qui la fondent et l'orientent leur sont très largement transmises par le truchement d'une autre langue, c'est faire violence au sens commun. En bref, une administration fédérale qui — de façon consciente ou non — subordonne l'une des langues officielles à l'autre, ou n'y recourt le plus souvent que pour la traduction, tout à la fois viole la Constitution et risque de mettre en péril la société canadienne elle-même. Nous ne le répéterons jamais assez : l'égalité ne survit pas aux demi-mesures. Tant que le régime fédéral de la langue de travail favorisera l'anglicisation des Francophones, il restera l'une des causes d'un mal qu'il devrait pourtant chercher à guérir.

À bien des égards, la reconnaissance du droit de travailler en français ou en anglais comporte des conséquences tout aussi importantes que celles découlant du droit du public canadien d'être servi dans l'une ou l'autre langue officielle, à son gré. Il suffit pour s'en convaincre de réfléchir quelques instants aux aspects matériels de

la question. Il est relativement simple pour un organisme de canaliser ses ressources bilingues de façon à offrir des services dans les deux langues partout où la demande est soutenue ; par contre, pour que les *fonctionnaires* des deux groupes puissent utiliser librement l'une ou l'autre langue, il n'existe, en théorie, que deux modèles d'organisation possibles : soit que l'on établisse une forme quelconque de répartition selon la langue de travail dominante, soit encore que l'on accepte la nécessité d'un taux très élevé de bilinguisme individuel. En d'autre mots, il devient possible de travailler, disons en français, parce que l'organisation en a fait la langue prédominante de l'unité de travail, ou parce qu'une très grande proportion des collègues comprennent cette langue. Bien entendu, toutes sortes d'accommodements personnels et institutionnels, comme bien des formules différentes de concentration linguistique, peuvent offrir un éventail plus ou moins large de choix. Mais, pour l'essentiel, telles sont les solutions qui s'offrent à nous.

Du reste, le gouvernement fédéral n'a jamais pris parti à cet égard. En attendant, les événements et les faits observés en 1985 démontrent la persistance d'une déformation, disons professionnelle. Notre rapport de 1984 faisait état du marasme qui prévalait généralement en matière de langue de travail ; lorsque l'attention du Premier ministre a été attirée en Chambre sur ce passage, il a vivement déploré que l'emploi du français au travail relevât du « folklore » et a promis de se pencher sur ce problème. À ce jour, rien de concret n'a suivi cette déclaration. En soi, cela n'est guère surprenant. C'est que le mal est profond, et les divergences d'opinion quant aux remèdes tout aussi profondes ; d'où la gravité dans tous les cas de leur incidence politique.

Énoncé de la politique

Résumons d'abord les volets clés de la politique *actuelle*. Tout fonctionnaire a, en théorie, le droit de choisir le français ou l'anglais comme langue de travail ; ce droit n'est limité que par les considérations suivantes :

- Le service au public doit être assuré dans la langue officielle des citoyens.
- Le droit n'est censé s'exercer de façon complète que dans les régions désignées bilingues aux fins de la langue de travail[1].
- Le droit est subordonné aux exigences linguistiques d'un poste : les titulaires de postes « français essentiel » ou « anglais essentiel » n'ont pas, dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions, la liberté de choisir une autre langue de travail.
- Un surveillant qui encadre des employés occupant des postes aux exigences linguistiques différentes n'a pas seulement à être bilingue mais aussi à respecter, de façon générale, les préférences linguistiques de ses subalternes.
- Enfin, les fonctionnaires travaillant dans les services internes — tel celui du personnel — doivent communiquer avec les collègues qu'ils servent dans la langue de ces derniers.

La politique en vigueur laisse supposer qu'à l'intérieur de ces limites générales, les employés francophones sont à peu près aussi libres d'utiliser le français que les employés anglophones l'anglais. Mais de la politique à son application, il y a loin. Et pourtant les dispositions actuelles ont été édictées il y a plus de douze ans ; entre-temps, les postes désignés bilingues se sont multipliés ; une proportion

[1] Ces régions, désignées par le gouvernement fédéral, comprennent essentiellement : la région de la Capitale nationale ; tout le Nouveau-Brunswick ; Montréal, les Cantons de l'Est et Gaspé au Québec ; l'est et le nord de l'Ontario.

toujours croissante de leurs titulaires sont — en principe, du moins — bilingues ; et l'on a même progressivement haussé le niveau de compétence exigé d'eux en langue seconde. Cependant, il semble très peu probable que l'utilisation du français au travail — telle, du moins, que nous arrivons à la mesurer — ait progressé au même rythme. Le fait est que dans les régions bilingues, le français n'est pas utilisé dans les communications internes aussi spontanémment et fréquemment qu'on serait en droit de s'y attendre, étant donné l'importance numérique des fonctionnaires francophones. S'il fallait se fonder sur l'usage qui s'en fait lors des réunions des comités interministériels ou des sous-ministres pour déterminer la place du français dans l'appareil fédéral, on serait porté à penser qu'il n'en a aucune.

On a coutume d'expliquer cette situation en disant par exemple que la compétence en langue seconde exigée des Anglophones, souvent factice ou insuffisante, ne permet pas un véritable choix ; que les gestionnaires ne surveillent pas la cuisson du soufflé, alors qu'on leur a fourni tous les ingrédients en plus du moule ; enfin, que bon nombre de fonctionnaires francophones de la génération actuelle ont tout naturellement appris à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur de la fonction publique qu'il valait mieux, au nom des impératifs de la tâche, renoncer à leur droit d'employer le français. Ces affirmations possèdent chacune, certes, leur part de vérité. Mais peuvent-elles expliquer à elles seules la situation de la langue de travail, ou suggérer des moyens susceptibles de vraiment l'améliorer ? Que l'on nous permette d'en douter.

L'année 1985

Dans un an, dans cinq ans, même dans dix, la situation sur le front de la langue de travail sera ce qu'elle était en 1985, à moins que le gouvernement ne change radicalement sa stratégie. À la fin de 1984, la Commission de la Fonction publique avait émis l'hypothèse qu'un accroissement du nombre des postes bilingues — dont les exigences linguistiques seraient en même temps relevées — et le maintien des mesures d'encouragement aux initiatives des gestionnaires, devraient faire avancer les choses. À en juger par les réactions, on n'était pas nombreux dans les ministères à penser que la « bonification » des exigences linguistiques provoquerait de soi des changements notables à brève échéance ; on craignait même que cela n'entraîne des suites fâcheuses. Il est bien évident que le rehaussement des exigences illustre la détermination du gouvernement en la matière : pour obtenir un poste bilingue intéressant, un fonctionnaire doit posséder effectivement la compétence requise en langue seconde. Mais la véritable question est ailleurs. Comment des employés anglophones, arrivés à mi-course dans leur carrière sans jamais avoir eu à tenir compte fonctionnellement du français, ni avoir senti que la haute direction brûlait d'un vif désir de voir cette langue employée au travail, peuvent-ils acquérir une compétence effective, et solide, en langue seconde[1]. D'après nous, c'est une erreur

[1] Entre 1980 (date du premier sondage effectué par le Conseil du Trésor auprès des fonctionnaires des régions bilingues sur la langue du travail) et 1985, la proportion de fonctionnaires répondant aux exigences linguistiques de leur poste a évolué comme suit :

Niveau	1979		1985	
	Nombre	%	Nombre	%
A (élémentaire)	10 761	24,5	7 167	11,2
B (intermédiaire)	28 021	63,6	49 250	77,1
C (avancé)	3 191	7,3	5 304	8,3
Autre	1 910	4,4	2 169	3,4

Source : Système d'information sur les langues officielles.

de penser qu'*en l'absence d'autres incitations* cela puisse se produire du seul fait qu'on aura relevé les exigences linguistiques des postes bilingues. Ce serait s'imaginer que plus le sac de graines est gros, plus grosses seront les fleurs.

Répertoire des initiatives

Le Conseil du Trésor, gestionnaire linguistique du gouvernment, n'a pour ainsi dire pas modifié ses lignes de conduite en la matière, ni les exigences des postes depuis 1981. Seule contribution notable du Conseil au régime de la langue de travail en 1985 : il a publié, assez discrètement, un répertoire des initiatives ministérielles visant à ranimer une politique languissante. Parmi celles qui semblent les plus répandues, signalons : la production de documents de référence, de banques de données électroniques et de lexiques bilingues ; la conception sur mesure de programmes internes de formation linguistique ; la création de services de correction et de révision ; et même l'élaboration, dans certains cas, de directives touchant les réunions.

Même si les effets de ce répertoire n'ont fait l'objet, à ce jour, d'aucune évaluation officielle, il ne fait aucun doute que la publication d'un tel document, destiné à la fois à promouvoir le bilinguisme auprès des gestionnaires, et à leur servir de guide, est un pas dans la bonne direction. Mais elle n'a, hélas, suscité que peu d'initiatives inédites ou généralisées, du moins d'après nos vérifications de 1985, lesquelles montrent que les progrès ont été minimes — voire inexistants — et qu'un grand nombre des pratiques injustes du passé continuent de sévir. Ainsi, la langue d'encadrement est encore bien souvent celle du patron ; la langue minoritaire est généralement laissée à la porte des salles de réunion ; les communications écrites en français entre les bureaux d'Ottawa et du Québec ne sont pas aussi fréquentes qu'elles le devraient ; enfin la part des documents fédéraux rédigée en français est toujours aussi dérisoire.

En l'absence d'une politique bien articulée, les ministères et les organismes se débrouillent au meilleur de leur connaissance. D'après un calcul sommaire, il semblerait qu'un organisme sur dix, environ, ait pris des mesures concrètes pour améliorer les choses dans les communications internes. Signalons cependant quelques mesures dignes d'intérêt : brochures expliquant aux employés leurs droits et obligations en matière de langue de travail (Pêches et Océans, Revenu National — Impôt) ; cours internes de langue seconde conçus pour aider les employés dans leur travail (Banque du Canada) ; macarons et affiches « Aidez-moi à améliorer mon français (ou mon anglais) » (Emploi et Immigration) ; rédaction conjointe dans les deux langues d'un document de référence (Chambre des communes) ; recours plus fréquent aux services de réviseurs pour faciliter la rédaction en langue seconde (Énergie, Mines et Ressources, Santé et Bien-être).

Localiser la cause du mal

Il est possible que des changements dans les attitudes et dans l'utilisation des langues se produisent en vérité, mais que, trop subtils, ils échappent actuellement à nos grossiers instruments d'analyse. Le Conseil du Trésor tente continuellement, tout comme le Commissariat, d'affiner ses outils (sondages, questionnaires) afin de cerner les aspects les plus critiques des rapports entre fonctionnaires francophones et anglophones à cet égard. De nouvelles données plus précises devraient nous permettre d'éclairer cette question en 1986. En attendant, le gouvernement travaille à la révision de sa politique, et on peut d'ores et déjà émettre quelques hypothèses quant à ses éventuelles conclusions.

Limites du modèle actuel

Présentement, la politique se fonde sur l'idée du choix individuel ; à l'intérieur des restrictions énumérées ci-dessus, en effet, les fonctionnaires devraient, « règle générale », pouvoir travailler dans la langue officielle qui leur convient. Mais un choix du genre se répercute inévitablement sur les choix d'autrui. « Un climat se créera dans lequel les fonctionnaires des deux groupes linguistiques pourront travailler ensemble vers des buts communs, en utilisant leur propre langue et en s'inspirant de leurs valeurs culturelles respectives, tout en appréciant à leur pleine valeur et en respectant celles des autres[1] », disait en 1966 le premier ministre Pearson, rêvant sans doute d'un avenir linguistique où « le loup habite avec l'agneau ». Hélas ! sa vision était loin de correspondre aux virtualités d'alors — et même d'aujourd'hui.

Lorsqu'on parle de langue de travail dans la fonction publique canadienne, il ne faut jamais oublier la faiblesse relative, au départ, de la position du français. Il n'y a pas si longtemps, au cours des années 60, l'anglais prédominait au sein de l'appareil fédéral, même au Québec, où les Francophones étaient pourtant majoritaires. Nous avons fait beaucoup de chemin depuis, notamment grâce aux Unités de langue française, parfois décriées mais efficaces ; en dépit de tous les obstacles, on a fait la preuve par neuf que le français avait droit de cité dans de nombreux domaines d'activité, sinon dans tous.

Égalité théorique, égalité pratique

Le maintien d'un système déjà vieux d'une dizaine d'années donne à penser qu'aux yeux des responsables la proclamation, dans les principes de la gestion, de l'égalité du français et de l'anglais est un levain qui fera lever le pain quotidien de l'égalité. Or, que l'égalité soit parfaite ou non sur le plan théorique — et nous savons qu'elle ne l'est pas — les pressions réelles qui s'exercent sur les langues n'ont guère changé. La loi du nombre favorise toujours l'anglais dans les communications au Canada, en Amérique du Nord et dans le monde ; et le déséquilibre de la représentation et celui des compétences en langue seconde continuent de lui donner une bonne longueur d'avance dans la plupart des milieux de travail. Les obstacles à l'utilisation du français à l'extérieur du Québec peuvent sans doute provenir des défauts du système ou de la torpeur des gestionnaires ; nous oserons cependant proférer le blasphème suivant : avec la politique actuelle, on est peut-être incapable de faire mieux. Pour que le français — langue sous-utilisée et subordonnée au départ — puisse concurrencer à armes égales l'anglais — langue dominante dont la position est établie depuis longtemps — et remporter des adhésions individuelles, suffit-il d'accorder aux deux langues une parité apparente sur le plan de la gestion ? C'est une question qu'il est grand temps d'aborder de front.

Nécessité et utilité

Comme l'a fort bien souligné le professeur Jean-Denis Gendron, du Centre international de recherches sur le bilinguisme, lors de sa comparution devant le Comité mixte permanent, c'est le prestige — professionnel, social et économique — dont on auréole les langues qui constitue le cœur du problème de la langue de travail. Tant qu'on ne donnera pas aux individus et aux organismes une raison sérieuse — peu importe au départ qu'elle soit artificielle ou non — de travailler dans une langue perçue depuis longtemps comme inférieure sur le plan pratique, ils continueront

[1] Hansard, le 6 avril 1966, p. 3915.

de choisir la langue dominante. En se basant sur l'expérience du Québec, le professeur Gendron faisait remarquer :

> La seule façon de justifier la langue française au Québec à long terme aux yeux, non seulement des non-Francophones, mais des Francophones (...) c'est que le français soit une langue nécessaire et utile au Québec.

La fonction publique fédérale au Québec a connu une évolution semblable à celle qu'a vécue la province : non seulement le français y est-il devenu nécessaire et utile, mais il constitue dans la plupart des cas *la* langue de travail de la majorité des employés fédéraux. Par contre, dans la région de la Capitale nationale, au Nouveau-Brunswick, et dans les régions bilingues de l'Ontario, on est loin de reconnaître au français le caractère de nécessité et d'utilité que le poids relatif des deux groupes justifierait. Il est vrai que les concepts de « nécessité » et d'« utilité » sont relatifs. Dans la région de la Capitale nationale — où les postes bilingues se comptent par dizaines de milliers — la connaissance du français est certes un atout du point de vue professionnel. Mais rares sont les situations où la nécessité du français s'impose dans l'accomplissement d'une tâche. C'est ainsi que le français constitue aujourd'hui une denrée appréciée dans la Capitale sans être devenu — sauf exception — une langue de travail au sens plein.

Rétablir l'équilibre

Comme nous le savons, les possibilités réelles d'utiliser le français au travail varient en fonction de différents facteurs :

- le nombre de Francophones au sein de l'unité de travail et leur rang au sein de la hiérarchie ;
- l'âge, les attitudes et les compétences relatives en langue seconde des Francophones et des Anglophones ;
- les occasions qu'ont eues les uns et les autres de se familiariser avec leur langue seconde à l'école, au travail et dans leur vie quotidienne ;
- l'accessibilité et l'efficacité des systèmes de soutien habituels : personnel et documentation (électronique ou sur papier) bilingues, perfectionnement professionnel, directives centrales et ministérielles ;
- enfin, la détermination et la cohérence manifestées par les gestionnaires, individuellement et collectivement, dans la mise en œuvre des lignes de conduite.

Le poids des variables

Dans l'état actuel de la politique, telles sont les principales variables qui agissent sur l'emploi des deux langues ; que l'une ou deux d'entre elles défavorisent le français, et l'emploi de celui-ci est gravement compromis. Prenons un exemple vécu. Nous avons reçu une plainte relative à une équipe de travail fédérale au Nouveau-Brunswick composée de médecins et de personnel infirmier. Le ministère concerné, aux prises avec certaines réalités, avait jugé bon d'émettre une directive qui interdisait au personnel infirmier d'utiliser le français au travail en présence d'un Anglophone unilingue qui eût à savoir ce qui se disait. Comme les cinq membres du haut personnel ne parlaient qu'anglais, il était facile de deviner la portée réelle de cette

directive : même si près de 50 p.100 des employés étaient francophones, l'emploi de l'anglais était le plus souvent de règle.

La morale de l'histoire ? Non, le ministère n'était pas spécialement irresponsable ou malveillant, mais, face à une réalité qu'il ne lui semblait pas pouvoir modifier dans l'immédiat, il a agi selon la tradition. Et, en somme, ce n'est là que trop souvent la situation du français au travail à l'extérieur du Québec. Chaque fois que la politique entre en conflit avec les réalités sociologiques du milieu de travail, c'est la politique qui plie l'échine ; l'utilisation du français, officiellement reconnue, tolérée à l'occasion, s'achoppe aux « réalités » de la vie. Si la situation peut — comme nous le croyons — se résumer ainsi, il faut alors se demander quelles sont les orientations que l'on peut envisager de donner à notre politique en la matière.

Orientations possibles de la politique

La première possibilité, c'est bien sûr de continuer à appliquer — de façon peut-être un peu plus intense — les mêmes mesures en se disant qu'à la longue le relèvement des exigences, la bonne volonté de tous les intéressés et une gestion plus fervente nous sortiront de l'impasse. Par contre, si, compte tenu du fait qu'on a affaire à des êtres humains, on estime d'une part que la politique actuelle ne parviendra pas à contrecarrer efficacement la tendance naturelle de l'administration à aller au plus facile en employant l'anglais ; si d'autre part, on est déterminé à donner vraiment au français sa chance en tant que langue de travail, il faut de toute évidence envisager des mesures susceptibles de compenser jusqu'à un certain point les effets d'une tendance aussi profonde.

La répartition linguistique

Après mûre réflexion, nous en sommes venus à la conclusion — à l'instar de la Commission B.B. — que le cadre institutionnel sans doute le plus approprié à cette fin devrait comporter un certain degré de répartition selon la langue de travail dominante. Or les tentatives en ce sens — désignation d'Unités de langue française (ULF) ou d'Unités travaillant en français (UTF) dans la région de la Capitale nationale — n'ont guère suscité d'enthousiasme par le passé, que ce soit auprès des Francophones ou des Anglophones. Comme on a eu vite fait alors de prononcer le vilain mot « ghetto », les décisionnaires ont prestement retraité, se disant : « Mieux vaut l'inégalité dans le choix qu'un régime étroit de français obligatoire. »

Ce point de vue ne serait pas déraisonnable, du reste, si les possibilités réelles de choix s'élargissaient par ailleurs. Mais lorsque le français semble croupir à l'état quasi folklorique[1], nous devons nous demander une fois de plus si le moment n'est pas venu d'explorer les mérites de la répartition. Au Commissariat, nous continuons de croire qu'il serait utile de créer des unités au sein desquelles le français aurait, pour une fois, plus d'atouts dans son jeu. Nous ne pensons pas pour autant qu'il faille créer des ghettos, ni empêcher le français de nager dans les grandes eaux de la fonction publique. L'astuce consistera bien sûr à repérer d'abord les secteurs au sein desquels le français a déjà la cote et, tout en ne brimant pas l'emploi de l'anglais,

[1] Les fonctionnaires francophones de la région de la Capitale nationale, qui constituent plus de 35 p.100 des effectifs, travaillent en anglais plus de 60 p.100 du temps. Dans les régions bilingues de l'Ontario, les proportions équivalentes sont de 23 et 66 p.100. Ainsi, environ un quart des employés utilisent leur langue seconde les deux tiers du temps.

à accorder ensuite au français le statut de langue « nécessaire et utile » dans un secteur ou à l'occasion d'un travail donnés.

Cela entraînerait tout naturellement la désignation d'autres secteurs, unités ou équipes de travail au sein desquels l'anglais jouirait officiellement d'un statut privilégié. À condition, il va sans dire, qu'on ne les confonde pas avec « tout le reste de la fonction publique », rien ne s'oppose à la création de telles unités. Les secteurs privilégiant le français ou l'anglais devraient en effet cohabiter avec les secteurs existants (ceux désignés bilingues et ceux où le choix de la langue est laissé libre). Nous sommes conscients des problèmes liés à la désignation de secteurs privilégiés — dont la détermination de la durée de ce statut — mais nous croyons que c'est peut-être l'unique façon de créer un éventail assez large de milieux professionnels au sein desquels une majorité de Francophones comme d'Anglophones choisirait de plein gré de travailler en français. Voyons un exemple.

L'Unité privilégiant le français (UPF)

Ministère de taille moyenne, à vocation technique, le ministère X[1] a son administration centrale dans la région de la Capitale nationale. Le taux de participation des Francophones y est de 35 p.100 et ils forment 18,5 p.100 de l'ensemble des gestionnaires. Cependant, l'utilisation moyenne de l'anglais par les employés francophones dépasse les 60 p.100. Par ailleurs, ces derniers sont relativement bien répartis entre les diverses catégories d'emplois, encore qu'ils soient, comme partout ailleurs, surreprésentés dans celle du Soutien administratif. La mission du ministère s'étend à l'ensemble du pays. L'administration centrale comprend une centaine d'unités de travail dirigées soit par un cadre supérieur, soit par un chef de section de rang légèrement inférieur. Même si plusieurs de ces unités regroupent des Anglophones bilingues et des Francophones, l'utilisation professionnelle du français écrit ou oral reste marginale. L'idée prévaut qu'il est plus efficace de n'utiliser qu'une langue, qui peut difficilement être autre que l'anglais. Sortir de cet engrenage — que nous ne connaissons que trop bien — exigerait des manifestations de volonté répétées. Il faudrait donc désigner « unités privilégiant le français » — ne serait-ce que pour quelques mois — les secteurs, unités ou équipes qui possèdent déjà les caractéristiques linguistiques voulues, si l'on veut que les employés puissent, sans tomber dans le chauvinisme, faire l'expérience commune du travail accompli le plus souvent en français.

Notre intention n'est pas d'inciter le gouvernement à procéder, comme il l'a fait en 1976, à la désignation en masse d'unités travaillant en français. On peut cependant déjà chercher dans quels secteurs précis des régions bilingues à l'extérieur du Québec — et notamment dans la région de la Capitale nationale — on pourrait mettre de façon plus ou moins officielle un tel régime à l'épreuve. À la question de savoir pourquoi nous croyons que de telles unités pourraient se révéler plus utiles que les ULF ou les UTF, il y a plusieurs réponses. L'histoire de ces deux concepts assez voisins exigerait à elle seule un chapitre complet ; résumons cependant : l'expérience des ULF (1971-1973) a généralement été couronnée de succès[2], même si elles étaient trop peu nombreuses à Ottawa pour y avoir un effet marquant ; quant aux UTF (1976-1977), elles en sont pour ainsi dire restées à l'état de projet, d'une

[1] Notre ministère X réunit les traits caractéristiques de différents ministères de taille moyenne.

[2] En 1973, le président du Conseil du Trésor affirmait au Parlement : « L'expérience des Unités de langue française a été une réussite. » L'utilisation globale du français avait augmenté d'environ 5 p.100 au sein de ces unités entre 1971 et 1973.

part parce que le plan de mise en œuvre proposé n'était pas assez sélectif, d'autre part parce qu'on trouvait qu'elles excluaient trop l'emploi de l'anglais. Par ailleurs, la situation linguistique et les compétences en langue seconde à Ottawa sont bien meilleures en 1986 qu'elles ne l'étaient il y a dix ans. À notre avis, personne ne peut aujourd'hui affirmer que le français n'est pas viable en tant que langue de travail de plein droit dans de nombreux secteurs de l'administration fédérale à l'extérieur du Québec, pour la bonne raison qu'on n'a jamais sérieusement tenté l'expérience. Dans les quelques cas où les unités françaises ont survécu — notamment à l'ACDI et aux Affaires extérieures — , tous s'en félicitent car il est indéniable qu'elles ont contribué à faire du français une réalité fonctionnelle au sein de ces organismes.

L'engagement personnel

Rien de ce qui précède ne vise à minimiser l'importance de l'engagement personnel, des efforts consentis par les employés des deux groupes pour utiliser au travail — même à contre-courant — la langue de la minorité. Mais comme on l'a souvent dit : compter exclusivement sur les convictions personnelles, le non-conformisme ou l'héroïsme des troupes pour assurer le succès d'une politique, c'est tout simplement tenter le diable. Il faut asseoir celle-ci sur des bases solides, notamment sur la reconnaissance, en tant que principe fondamental, d'une obligation civique réciproque liant en matière de langue de travail les deux groupes linguistiques. D'après nous, une telle mesure contribuerait largement à transformer les relations dans ce domaine et à améliorer de façon concrète et durable la situation du français dans la fonction publique. Du côté anglophone, et notamment pour les surveillants, l'obligation civique devrait consister à encourager de façon active l'emploi du français et à créer un milieu propice ; quant aux Francophones, ils seraient en contrepartie moralement tenus d'utiliser leur propre langue au travail ; les uns et les autres devant cependant se conformer aux dispositions limitatives définies par ailleurs. Cela dit, ce principe fondamental prévaudrait sur toutes autres règles régissant l'activité professionnelle. Quelle que soit la décision du gouvernement au sujet de la répartition selon la langue de travail dominante, il se doit de définir aux yeux de tous sa position en ce qui a trait à l'obligation civique, complément inévitable et corollaire obligé, d'après nous, du droit de choisir sa langue de travail. Une consécration théorique de ce concept ne suffira cependant pas. Il faudra faire en sorte qu'il imprègne et anime les structures et les dispositifs organisationnels, si l'on veut que les générations futures de fonctionnaires francophones et anglophones puissent se convaincre qu'en choisissant de travailler en français, ils font un choix professionnel pertinent et valorisant.

Aussi recommandons-nous vivement au gouvernement de mettre à l'épreuve ces deux concepts : la répartition selon la langue de travail dominante (conformément aux réalités des années 80) et l'obligation civique. Nous n'avons sans doute plus besoin des ULF ou des UTF telles qu'on les concevait il y a dix ou douze ans, mais il nous faudra peut-être en retenir le principe jusqu'à ce que le français puisse trouver sa niche écologique dans un système dont le tropisme est largement déterminé par l'anglais.

S'en tenir à la politique actuelle, même enjolivée, serait selon nous s'abandonner au désespoir. L'expérience fédérale d'hier et d'aujourd'hui nous incite à penser qu'on n'a pas exploré toutes les possibilités. Qu'attendons-nous pour le faire ?

Enfin, un dernier mot : le « prestige » du français à l'extérieur du Québec tient largement à l'idée qu'on se fait des avantages que nous vaut son utilisation. Nous avons été frappés de voir des membres de tous les partis fédéraux — soucieux sans doute de leur cote au Québec — se mettre en quatre au Parlement pour qu'on sache partout que la langue de Molière, de Marie-Claire Blais ou de Roch Carrier ne leur est pas étrangère. Plût au Ciel que cette sensibilité aux rapports entre le prestige et la politique infiltrât les structures du pouvoir de la bureaucratie outaouaise, au sein de laquelle — nous regrettons d'avoir à le répéter — la haute direction donne, en général, un exemple lamentable.

Les plaintes : cris et chuchotements

Soucieux d'assurer la protection des droits linguistiques des citoyens et la défense du principe de l'égalité du français et de l'anglais, le législateur a doté la *Loi sur les langues officielles* d'un important dispositif d'instruction des plaintes. Vu le caractère stratégique de ces mesures — et le fait qu'à une plainte donnée correspond le plus souvent des dizaines, voire des centaines d'autres plaintes qui ne sont jamais formulées — nous avons réexaminé cette année nos propres procédures et méthodes à cet égard, afin de les rendre plus efficaces encore. L'objectif ultime, de toute évidence, est d'amener les ministères et organismes fédéraux à résoudre les problèmes que nous signalent les plaignants. Aussi nous sommes-nous employés à améliorer notre processus d'instruction des plaintes, au bénéfice de tous les intéressés.

Au-delà de leurs préoccupations personnelles, les plaignants expriment souvent les soucis de leur collectivité. La plupart savent bien que, quant à eux, le mal est fait ; mais ils aiment à penser que leur plainte permettra peut-être d'éviter que des incidents similaires ne se reproduisent, et qu'ils contribuent ainsi à la réforme du régime linguistique.

Un nouvel angle d'attaque

Dans le passé, nous nous empressions de transmettre chaque plainte à l'organisme intéressé. Les plaignants en étaient bien sûr très satisfaits, comme l'a révélé une enquête menée il y a trois ans, mais cette pratique accaparait beaucoup de ressources humaines tant au Commissariat que dans les organismes fédéraux en cause. À la suite d'une étude rétrospective du processus, nous sommes arrivés à la conclusion que le fait d'enquêter individuellement sur chaque infraction à la Loi nous faisait peut-être perdre de vue notre objectif ultime, qui est de favoriser la mise en œuvre de réformes structurelles, susceptibles d'apporter des solutions durables. Nous nous proposons donc à l'avenir de regrouper autant que possible les plaintes avant d'engager une action. Nous pourrons ainsi, croyons-nous, axer nos enquêtes sur les questions particulièrement délicates et accroître nos chances d'obtenir des résultats ; peut-être rendrons-nous par le fait même futiles les efforts des ministères pour masquer leur déficiences les plus criantes.

Cela nous permettra en outre d'élargir la gamme de nos techniques d'investigation ; il pourra s'agir d'un simple appel téléphonique dans le cas d'un relâchement mineur, d'une vérification en bonne et due forme dans le cas d'un problème systémique ou encore de contacts directs au plus haut niveau lorsque la situation l'exige. Cette façon de procéder devrait assurer une répartition plus judicieuse des ressources et

une plus grande efficacité. De leur côté, les plaignants auront une meilleure idée du contexte dans lequel s'inscrit leur plainte ainsi que des suites qui lui sont données par le Commissariat et par l'organisme intéressé. Il va sans dire que cette méthode ne sera fructueuse que si les organismes fédéraux se montrent résolus à s'attaquer aux causes profondes des problèmes.

Quelques données numériques

Nous avons reçu 1 079 plaintes en 1985, contre 1 421 l'année précédente. Cette baisse a été particulièrement sensible dans deux secteurs : la signalisation bilingue et la publication des annonces de l'administration fédérale dans la presse minoritaire. Les plaintes au sujet d'organismes ne relevant pas de la compétence fédérale ont également diminué depuis que certaines provinces se sont dotées de bureaux à cette fin ; au fur et à mesure que les gens apprennent l'existence de ces services, ils ont tendance à s'adresser aux autorités provinciales plutôt qu'au Commissariat.

Le nombre de plaintes portées contre chaque organisme varie d'une année à l'autre en fonction de circonstances ou d'événements particuliers. Cette année, par exemple, nous avons reçu moins de plaintes contre Air Canada, vraisemblablement parce que les voyageurs comprenaient que les conflits de travail l'accaparaient grandement. Par contre, le nombre de plaintes portant sur la langue de travail est passé de 95 en 1984 à 163 cette année. La plupart avaient trait à la diffusion de documents en anglais seulement au personnel, particulièrement au ministère de la Défense nationale et au Service canadien du renseignement de sécurité. Qu'il suffise de dire ici qu'une floppée d'organismes n'ont pas encore compris, seize ans après l'adoption de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, ce que signifie l'égalité linguistique en milieu de travail.

Le service au public : les contacts directs

Il n'y a rien au monde de plus frustrant, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de régler une question importante, que d'avoir affaire à un interlocuteur qui n'entend rien à votre langue. Dans le cas d'un service gouvernemental, qu'on ne peut, presque par définition, se procurer ailleurs, et qu'on finance par le biais de ses impôts, pareille situation est proprement exaspérante. Bien que la *Loi sur les langues officielles* ait justement pour objet d'éliminer les problèmes de cet ordre, un bon quart des plaintes reçues portent toujours sur les carences du service direct au public. C'est ainsi qu'un Francophone, qui téléphonait à un Centre d'emploi du Canada, à Moncton, s'est fait donner la réponse familière : « *Do you speak English ?* » Le message était clair : si vous voulez un service rapide, parlez anglais. Nous avons reçu des plaintes semblables contre quatre Centres d'emploi de Montréal, où le service en anglais a été d'une lenteur exaspérante ou n'a tout simplement pas été assuré. À Ottawa, une plaignante s'est littéralement cognée la tête contre les murs en téléphonant au ministère de l'Expansion industrielle régionale ; il lui a fallu le demander trois fois avant de se faire servir en français. Est-ce vraiment trop demander que les employés unilingues apprennent et utilisent les quelques mots qui leur permettraient de laisser savoir au client qu'un employé bilingue viendra bientôt s'occuper de lui ? La simple courtoisie peut faire beaucoup pour surmonter la barrière des langues.

Dans la plupart des cas, nous avons reçu l'assurance, comme d'habitude, que les employés en question s'étaient fait rappeler à l'ordre. Mais après seize ans de bilinguisme officiel, de simples rappels sont manifestement insuffisants. Les employés visés occupent selon toute apparence des postes bilingues, et ont donc été clairement informés par la direction de la façon d'échanger avec le public dans la langue appropriée. Une réprimande écrite versée au dossier ou une suspension de la prime au bilinguisme aiderait peut-être à leur rafraîchir la mémoire. Par contre, si le supérieur immédiat n'a pas donné de directives explicites, la haute direction pourrait leur envoyer un petit mot bien senti.

La force coercitive

La situation est encore plus délicate lorsqu'elle met en rapport direct un citoyen et un fonctionnaire occupant un poste d'autorité, qu'il s'agisse de décider de l'octroi d'une subvention ou d'appréhender un suspect. Quand quelqu'un est placé en situation d'infériorité, et surtout lorsqu'un pouvoir coercitif peut être exercé, il est doublement important de lui faire savoir clairement qu'il a le droit d'être servi dans sa langue. Qu'on en juge par l'exemple suivant. À Niagara Falls, une douanière anglophone a carrément refusé de parler français à trois Francophones ; mais au moment de leur départ, portant l'insulte à son comble, elle leur fit savoir, en français, qu'elle avait tout compris de ce qu'ils avaient dit. Après enquête, le Ministère s'est dit incapable de déterminer l'identité de l'employée en cause, ajoutant cependant qu'il rappellerait à tous ses agents de douane leur obligation d'offrir le service dans la langue du client. Compte tenu des pouvoirs de coercition considérables dont disposent ces fonctionnaires, cela nous paraît nettement insuffisant. Lors de notre vérification de 1983, nous avions recommandé au Ministère d'établir des mécanismes de contrôle ; bien que certaines mesures en ce sens aient été prises, des cas comme celui-là nous prouvent qu'il lui faudra faire bien davantage.

En Saskatchewan, un automobiliste francophone s'est plaint qu'un agent de la GRC lui ait dressé une contravention sans faire aucun effort pour s'adresser à lui en français. Vers la même époque, une vérification interne dans ce secteur révéla que le service en français n'était pas toujours offert spontanément, surtout dans les cas d'infractions au civil ; les enquêteurs recommandèrent que l'organisme applique plus rigoureusement sa politique. Par suite de cette plainte, les agents ont reçu l'instruction de faire appel au besoin à un collègue bilingue, et de montrer aux Francophones la version française (non officielle) de la contravention. Dans l'ensemble, nous avons été satisfaits de cette réaction. Mais si la situation avait été suivie de près, les observations des enquêteurs auraient sans doute été plus favorables, la Gendarmerie s'étant déjà conformée aux exigences de la Loi.

Toutes les enquêtes de la GRC n'ont pas une fin aussi heureuse. En Nouvelle-Écosse, un Francophone s'est plaint d'avoir reçu une assignation en anglais d'un Anglophone unilingue. La Gendarmerie a donc envoyé un agent francophone chez le plaignant, qui nous avait autorisé à révéler son identité. Après cette visite, nous avons appris que ce dernier avait déclaré de plein gré que sa plainte ne portait que sur l'unilinguisme du document, le premier agent ayant agi de façon exemplaire. Sans vouloir douter des bonnes intentions de la Gendarmerie, nous croyons que l'intervention d'un deuxième policier pouvait avoir des allures d'intimidation. Informées de nos préoccupations, les autorités de la GRC ont convenu de ne plus agir ainsi dans l'avenir.

Le public voyageur

Bien que la *Loi sur les langues officielles* mentionne expressément le public voyageur, celui-ci ne jouit pas toujours d'un traitement d'égalité à bord des trains, des avions et des bateaux en service au pays. Les principaux contrevenants sont Air Canada, Via Rail et CN Marine, et les plaintes portent généralement sur l'absence de service en français aux guichets ou sur des annonces faites en anglais seulement. Personne, bien entendu, ne conteste le droit des voyageurs d'être informés dans leur langue de l'heure à laquelle le train arrivera à la prochaine gare et encore moins celui de comprendre les directives qui leur seraient données en cas d'urgence. Pourtant, ces renseignements, parfois d'importance vitale, ne leur sont pas toujours transmis en français. La difficulté tient essentiellement aux clauses d'ancienneté des conventions collectives de certaines des sociétés de la Couronne visées, qui empêchent parfois d'affecter un employé bilingue là même où le besoin s'en fait sentir. Si le gouvernement et les sociétés en question ne peuvent donner à la Loi et à la Constitution priorité sur toute convention de travail, certains citoyens décideront peut-être de demander aux tribunaux ce qu'ils en pensent.

Langue de travail

Un autre principe souvent laissé pour compte est celui selon lequel les fonctionnaires devraient, sauf exceptions clairement définies, pouvoir travailler à leur gré en français ou en anglais. Or, ou bien les organismes délinquants trouvent à redire sur la façon de l'appliquer, ou ils oublient tout simplement de le mettre en œuvre. C'est ainsi qu'un employé francophone du Service correctionnel s'est plaint du fait que l'anglais était imposé comme langue de travail au Service de santé du pénitencier Dorchester, au Nouveau-Brunswick, où près de la moitié des employés sont pourtant de langue française. Au cours de notre enquête, on nous a signalé qu'un plan serait établi afin de bilinguiser le service, sans toutefois fixer de date précise. Entre-temps, seul l'anglais pourrait être utilisé en présence d'employés unilingues anglophones. Nous avons jugé cette situation inacceptable, et le Commissaire a rencontré les hauts dirigeants de l'organisme pour en discuter. Par la suite, le Ministère a décidé que tous les éléments du service seraient bilinguisés d'ici 1987, sauf les dossiers médicaux. Ces documents continueront d'être établis en anglais pour les cinq prochaines années, ce qui nous paraît beaucoup trop long.

Un autre exemple est celui du Bureau du Contrôleur général, qui a distribué aux autres ministères un document de travail en anglais seulement. Il a maintenu que le document en question n'était pas « définitif » et que la traduction aurait occasionné des retards. Devant des réponses de ce genre, nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de penser à ce qui se serait produit si le document n'avait été diffusé qu'en français. À notre avis, un texte qui mérite d'être diffusé, mérite de l'être dans les deux langues ; autrement, quelqu'un — habituellement un Francophone — se trouvera dans la situation ingrate d'œuvrer dans une langue en se guidant sur un document rédigé dans une autre.

Le ministère de l'Environnement, pour sa part, a fait l'objet d'une plainte pour avoir produit un cours sur la technologie des levés des glaces en anglais seulement, pour

la simple raison qu'il y avait très peu de Francophones parmi les dix ou douze candidats qui se présentent chaque année. Voilà un bel exemple de cercle vicieux : le cours n'est pas offert en français parce qu'il y a peu de candidats francophones, et il y a peu de candidats francophones parce que le cours n'est pas offert en français. Le Ministère a promis de s'amender en 1986.

Nous avions noté l'an dernier que le nouveau Service canadien du renseignement de sécurité éprouvait des difficultés à traiter en français avec son bureau régional du Québec. On nous avait répondu que ce n'était qu'une question d'organisation, et que les choses s'amélioreraient avec le temps. Or il semble que la situation se soit plutôt détériorée. Nous avons en effet reçu en 1985 quinze plaintes faisant état de près de deux cents cas de communications en anglais seulement entre l'administration centrale et le bureau du Québec sur des questions très importantes. Devant une telle avalanche de preuves, il nous a fallu conclure que le dossier linguistique n'est pas la priorité numéro un du Service. Nous y entreprendrons une vérification tous azimuts au début de 1986.

Ce ne sont là que quelques exemples parmi bien d'autres qui montrent que l'administration sacrifie encore trop souvent le droit des employés de travailler dans leur langue au nom d'une prétendue efficience. Pour rectifier leur tir, bien des organismes devront revoir sérieusement leurs méthodes, car le laisser faire n'a manifestement pas porté fruit.

La planification

On a trop souvent tendance à oublier les aspects linguistiques lorsque vient le temps de planifier les activités. Chaque fois que nous portons pour la énième fois les mêmes plaintes à l'intention des intéressés, on nous assure invariablement que la situation sera corrigée ou qu'on tentera de faire mieux la prochaine fois. De telles réponses irritent pour la simple raison qu'elles sont usées jusqu'à la corde, et qu'elles donnent à penser mêmes aux âmes charitables que les exigences du service en langue minoritaire sont oubliées dans le wagon de queue de la planification.

C'est ce qui s'est produit cette année lorsqu'on a organisé les Jeux du Canada, à Saint-Jean (Nouveau-Brunswick), une manifestation parrainée entre autres par Condition physique et Sport amateur. Nous avons reçu dix plaintes portant sur des communiqués de presse en anglais seulement ou rédigés dans un français boiteux, et sur l'absence de services en français au centre des médias et au centre des services de transport desservant les divers emplacements. Dans son édition du 15 août, le journal *La Presse* de Montréal faisait état de textes en mauvais français et en donnait plusieurs exemples, dont le suivant : « Quand la course est fini *(sic)*, le film est processer, nettoyer et insérer dans un téléspectateur *(sic)*. » Étant donné leur courte durée, il était à toutes fins utiles impossible de remédier à la situation avant la fin des Jeux. Cependant, le Commissaire a par la suite rencontré les autorités compétentes pour s'assurer que cela ne se reproduirait pas aux Jeux du Cap-Breton en 1987 ou aux Olympiques d'hiver à Calgary en 1988.

Chaque année, des contribuables se plaignent de n'avoir pu obtenir des formules de déclaration d'impôt dans une langue ou l'autre, habituellement en français, à certains bureaux de poste et ce, malgré que les formules soient imprimées en

énorme quantité dans les deux langues. Les raisons données varient selon les ans : une année, c'est une grève chez l'imprimeur qui est à blâmer, une autre, c'est une grève à la Société canadienne des postes. Nous avons reçu en 1985 une douzaine de plaintes à ce sujet, toutes de Francophones, et nous avons insisté pour qu'une solution durable soit trouvée. La Société canadienne des postes et le ministère du Revenu national (Impôt) ont donc étudié le problème ensemble et ont adopté diverses mesures pour améliorer le système de distribution des formules. Revenu national (Impôt) enverra davantage de formules en français aux bureaux de poste, simplifera le processus de distribution interne et fera parvenir les formules personnalisées le plus tôt possible. Nous verrons bien en 1986 si ces interventions ont été fructueuses.

Domaines échappant à la compétence fédérale

Bien que la *Loi sur les langues officielles* ne s'applique qu'aux organismes fédéraux, nous recevons aussi des plaintes contre les administrations provinciales et le secteur privé. Depuis que le Manitoba, l'Ontario et le Nouveau-Brunswick ont établi des bureaux chargés de veiller à la prestation de services en français, nous leur transmettons les plaintes les concernant. Ailleurs, nous nous efforçons de trouver le bon interlocuteur. On nous fait généralement bon accueil. En ce qui concerne le secteur privé, nous tenons pour acquis que les entreprises souhaitent connaître l'opinion de leurs clients au sujet des services offerts. Tout en ayant soin de rappeler aux intéressés que nous ne sommes nullement habilités à intervenir, nous signalons la plainte à la direction de l'entreprise en lui offrant de transmettre ses observations au correspondant. La plupart des entreprises réagissent favorablement ; elles essaient dans la mesure du possible d'aider le plaignant, ou à tout le moins présentent des excuses. Quelques-unes, bien sûr, ne sont pas aussi bien disposées. Nous avons reçu deux plaintes presque identiques concernant des entreprises ayant refusé un chèque libellé en français. Dans le premier cas, la société a tout simplement fait la sourde oreille. Dans l'autre, un représentant de l'entreprise nous a priés de transmettre ses excuses au plaignant et nous a signalé qu'une directive avait été envoyée à tous les magasins de la province leur interdisant de refuser des chèques en français. Soulignons que cette dernière réaction est la plus fréquente.

Conclusion

Tout en reconnaissant que l'erreur est humaine, il nous apparaît que la sempiternelle répétition des mêmes bévues traduit manifestement un problème de structure ou d'attitude, sinon les deux. Voilà, à notre avis, ce qu'il faut changer. Après tout, la raison d'être de la fonction publique, c'est de servir le public ; et dans le cas qui nous occupe, de le servir dans les deux langues, ainsi que l'exige la Loi. Comme l'a dit Verlaine : « Et tout le reste est littérature. »

PARTIE III

L'égalité linguistique : les responsables

Ministères et organismes : à l'œuvre on connaît l'ouvrier

Nous avons choisi cette année de consacrer l'essentiel de ce chapitre aux organismes centraux, aux ministères et organismes qui emploient de larges effectifs, aux administrations qui ne jouent pas le jeu, ou très maladroitement, en matière de langues officielles ainsi qu'à celles — la Résidence du Gouverneur général, par exemple — qui revêtent aux yeux des Canadiens une importance symbolique de premier plan. Ceux ou celles qui ont fait l'objet d'une vérification ou, conformément au système récemment adopté, d'un suivi périodique, sont marqués d'un astérisque. Les autres, les absents pourrait-on dire, n'ont pas été oubliés pour autant ; ils réapparaîtront quand nous y aurons effectué une vérification ou un suivi, ou encore s'ils se signalent d'une manière ou d'une autre à notre attention.

Le mot d'ordre du Rapport de l'an dernier, la relance, a constitué cette année notre cadre de référence. C'est pourquoi nous nous sommes particulièrement attachés à vérifier si le service était offert et dispensé tout naturellement dans les deux langues, si les administrations fédérales dotées de pouvoirs coercitifs se montraient plus vigilantes que les autres à cet égard, et si l'on accordait aux besoins non seulement linguistiques mais aussi culturels des minorités toute l'attention qu'ils méritent. Ce dernier point est d'une importance cruciale pour celles-ci, car il ne suffit pas de leur assurer les services essentiels ; il faut aussi faire en sorte qu'elles participent à l'élaboration et à la mise en œuvre des décisions socio-économiques qui les touchent de près.

L'activité quotidienne

C'est la Direction des plaintes et vérifications qui est chargée de recueillir les données sur lesquelles se fondent nos appréciations. Aussi son personnel entretient-il des contacts suivis avec les ministères et les sociétés de la Couronne dont le dossier leur est confié. Ils rencontrent périodiquement les responsables du programme des langues officielles de ces administrations pour évaluer les progrès, et, le cas échéant, leurs gestionnaires pour régler les plaintes qui parviennent au Commissariat. Leurs vérifications, qui les entraînent parfois à visiter les antennes d'un ministère ou d'un organisme partout au pays, les mettent aux prises ici et là avec des situations épineuses : interférences des conventions collectives et des droits et obligations en matière linguistique ; effets nocifs de la piètre compétence linguistique de certains surveillants sur la langue de travail ; problèmes particuliers soulevés par la vocation

ou la situation géographique d'un organisme en ce qui a trait au recrutement et à la demande de services. Dans tous ces cas, les observations et suggestions des agents doivent être nuancées, réalistes et d'un bon rapport coût-efficacité.

En plus des vérifications et du suivi des recommandations qu'ils effectuent, nos agents sont souvent appelés lors de leurs visites à prodiguer des conseils et à aplanir des difficultés, en s'inspirant d'expériences qui se sont révélées efficaces dans d'autres ministères. Ils s'intéressent également aux grands événements nationaux et internationaux en préparation, à l'occasion desquels l'absence de services bilingues pourrait susciter des remous. Comme il vaut mieux prévenir que guérir, ils sensibilisent les organismes concernés à leur devoir à cet égard et les aident dans leurs préparatifs. Par ailleurs, les agents sont en contact avec nos bureaux régionaux, qui les renseignent sur la situation linguistique à l'extérieur d'Ottawa, ainsi qu'avec les citoyens et les fonctionnaires qui portent plainte. Les séances du Comité mixte permanent de la politique et des programmes de langues officielles apportent aussi de l'eau au moulin ; en permettant d'envisager les situations dans un tout autre éclairage, elles révèlent parfois la nécessité d'un examen approfondi de certains dossiers, et d'un suivi sous la forme d'études spéciales. Bref, nos agents doivent tout à la fois écouter, observer, conférer, conseiller, louanger et, au besoin, blâmer.

Études spéciales

Outre ces interventions, nous effectuons des études spéciales et des recoupements des données sectorielles afin d'obtenir une vue d'ensemble de la situation linguistique au sein des ministères et organismes fédéraux. Nous examinons également les mécanismes qu'ils se sont donnés pour promouvoir leur programme linguistique et, le cas échéant, nous incitons les gestionnaires à les améliorer. Cette année, en plus de nos vérifications habituelles, nous nous sommes intéressés aux lignes de conduite et au programme de chaque ministère, organisme et société de la Couronne, ainsi qu'aux capacités professionnelles et linguistiques des équipes de vérification interne chargées de voir à la mise en œuvre de leur programme des langues officielles. Il est question de cette étude au chapitre suivant.

Tendances générales

Si la plupart des organismes n'ont guère de difficulté à offrir des publications bilingues partout au pays, il n'en est pas de même du service en français dans les régions à prédominance anglophone, qui se fait trop souvent de façon sporadique ou par le biais de renvois téléphoniques. Par ailleurs, il y a eu peu de progrès dans le nombre d'employés bénéficiant d'un encadrement dans leur langue ; en effet, le nombre de surveillants qui ne satisfont pas aux exigences linguistiques de leur poste est encore beaucoup trop élevé. Au chapitre de la participation, certains problèmes persistent : peu d'Anglophones au Québec, une forte proportion de Francophones dans la catégorie Soutien administratif dans la région de la Capitale nationale et, de façon générale, une faible proportion de Francophones au sein de la fonction publique en dehors des régions dites bilingues.

En plus des points que nous venons d'énumérer, les textes ci-après soulignent, comme à chaque année, les déficiences, les trous, les oublis, mais aussi les progrès et les bons coups des administrations en matière de langue de service, de langue de travail, de contrôle et de participation équitable. Pour être clairs, disons qu'il s'agit de savoir si elles parviennent à servir leurs clients dans leur langue d'élection ; si les employés y sont en mesure d'« offrir » le service dans les deux langues ; et si les fonctionnaires ont la possibilité de travailler à leur gré en français ou en anglais. Nous analysons également le taux global de participation des deux groupes linguistiques et, quand les données nous le permettent, leur répartition professionnelle et géographique.

Nous recommandions l'an dernier que tous les organismes adoptent des critères uniformes pour la collecte et la présentation des données sur la participation. Certains organismes continuent pourtant de recueillir des données incomplètes, alors que d'autres utilisent toujours des méthodes de compilation dont les résultats ne se prêtent pas à une analyse fouillée. Nous demandons une fois de plus à tous les organismes de fournir les renseignements appropriés. On trouvera ailleurs dans ce rapport des suggestions précises à ce sujet.

On a généralement regroupé les plaintes émanant des mêmes lieux ou touchant des situations similaires. Cependant, lorsqu'une infraction à la *Loi sur les langues officielles* a constitué pour quelqu'un une épreuve particulièrement difficile, nous donnons le détail de l'incident. Le lecteur trouvera d'autres renseignements sur les plaintes au dernier chapitre de la partie II.

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Affaires des anciens combattants

Ce n'est pas cette année que le ministère des Affaires des anciens combattants sera décoré de l'Ordre du Mérite linguistique. Si des progrès ont été réalisés sur le front de la langue de service et si dans l'ensemble les employés sont mieux informés de leurs droits et obligations en matière de langues officielles, par contre à l'administration centrale de Charlottetown, le nombre de Francophones a diminué. Nous craignons fort que cela n'entraîne une éventuelle perte de terrain au chapitre de la langue de travail.

Parmi les améliorations sur le plan de la langue de service, signalons que l'accueil téléphonique bilingue marque des progrès partout au pays — première manifestation concrète de toute offre active de service — et qu'un agent bilingue a été nommé dans la région du Pacifique. Cependant, le Ministère n'a toujours pas effectué un sondage national sur la langue d'élection de sa clientèle comme nous l'avions recommandé lors de notre vérification de 1983 ; si bien qu'il ne possède pas de données précises sur les préférences linguistiques des anciens combattants et de leurs familles. Alors que l'effectif du Ministère s'établit maintenant à 3 461 personnes, soit 150 de moins qu'en 1984, le pourcentage d'employés répondant aux exigences linguistiques de leur poste s'est accru de 3 p.100, pour atteindre 86,5

p.100. Pourtant, dans certaines régions bilingues, les anciens combattants francophones se font encore servir en anglais. Ce qui n'a rien d'étonnant quand on sait que seulement 70 p.100 des titulaires de postes bilingues en Ontario sont qualifiés.

La représentation des deux groupes linguistiques au Ministère souffre d'un déséquilibre chronique. Bien que 1 463 de ses employés soient francophones, plus d'un millier d'entre eux travaillent à l'hôpital de Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue, en banlieue de Montréal. Pour la troisième année consécutive, le pourcentage des Francophones à l'administration centrale a diminué, passant de 21 p.100 en 1982 à 13,8 p.100 cette année. Manifestement, le Ministère devra adopter des mesures énergiques pour contrer cette tendance. Par ailleurs, les Francophones sont sous-représentés dans plusieurs régions — 9 sur 336 dans la région de la Prairie et 23 sur 296 dans celle de l'Atlantique — ainsi que deux catégories professionnelles (Gestion, Administration et service extérieur). Les Anglophones, pour leur part, sont trop peu nombreux dans trois catégories (Scientifiques et spécialistes, Techniciens et Exploitation).

Une initiative du Ministère vaut d'être soulignée : il a tenu des séances d'information sur les langues officielles à l'intention des gestionnaires et des employés de l'administration centrale et des bureaux régionaux. Il a également effectué une vérification linguistique ; ses principales conclusions avaient trait à la redéfinition du rôle des gestionnaires en matière de langues officielles et à la mise en œuvre de mécanismes de contrôle. Le groupe de vérificateurs a mis au point un système de surveillance et d'analyse, de même qu'un module de planification linguistique ; malheureusement, il n'a présenté aucune suggestion précise sur le plan de la langue de travail. C'est d'autant plus regrettable que l'anglais règne en maître à l'administration centrale.

Le Ministère a fait l'objet de deux plaintes cette année, lesquelles portaient sur l'accueil téléphonique unilingue anglais. L'une d'elles a été réglée. Une autre plainte a été déposée contre la Commission des sépultures de guerre du Commonwealth touchant l'unilinguisme anglais du registre des visiteurs au cimetière de Dieppe. Le Ministère fait présentement enquête.

Tout porte à croire que la performance linguistique des quatre organismes associés au Ministère — Commission canadienne des pensions, Bureau des services juridiques des pensions, Commission des allocations aux anciens combattants et Conseil de révision des pensions — a continué de s'améliorer. Nous effectuerons l'année prochaine un suivi systématique de nos vérifications précédentes, et présenterons un compte rendu détaillé de leur situation linguistique.

Affaires extérieures

Depuis quelque temps, le ministère des Affaires extérieures fait preuve d'une certaine suffisance en ce qui a trait à ses réalisations linguistiques. Celle-ci ne paraît guère justifiée, car plusieurs faiblesses dans la gestion de son programme des langues officielles sont venues s'ajouter cette année aux problèmes qui existaient déjà en matière de langue de travail et de participation.

Nos deux vérifications du Ministère — à l'étranger en 1982 et à l'administration centrale en 1984 — ont révélé que les gestionnaires n'ont pas, règle générale, de responsabilités précises en matière de langues officielles. Le Ministère a acquiescé à nos recommandations, mais ne leur a pas donné la suite que nous attendions. Par exemple, nous signalions l'an dernier que chacune des missions à l'étranger devait mettre au point un programme des langues officielles convenant à sa situation, et que le Ministère avait accepté de créer à cette fin un projet pilote dans cinq ambassades importantes. Un an et demi plus tard, au moins deux des cinq ambassades en question n'étaient pas au courant des conclusions de notre enquête, et aucune de celles que nous avons visitées ne savait que le Ministère avait pris un tel engagement.

En donnant suite à notre vérification des missions à l'étranger, nous avons constaté que les coordonnateurs des langues officielles, qui sont chargés notamment de mettre en œuvre nos recommandations au sein de chaque mission, ne bénéficient pas de l'encadrement nécessaire. Cette responsabilité a été confiée, selon les missions, à des employés de différents niveaux ; chose certaine, dans le meilleur des cas, il leur est difficile d'accorder aux problèmes linguistiques l'attention qu'ils méritent. De plus, comme le Ministère n'a pas encore offert de formation à ces coordonnateurs, on ne s'étonne guère qu'il n'y ait eu à peu près aucun changement dans les missions à l'étranger depuis trois ans.

Nous espérions que le fait d'inclure aux inspections régulières des missions le dossier des langues officielles aiderait le Ministère à rationaliser ses efforts. Malheureusement, la réorganisation des programmes de vérification interne, à la fin de l'année, semble avoir éteint cet espoir.

La situation se présente un peu mieux à l'administration centrale. Comme nous le suggérions l'an dernier, le personnel responsable des langues officielles a mené une étude en profondeur sur l'usage du français et de l'anglais dans les systèmes informatiques. Nous espérons que ses recommandations seront mises en œuvre.

Les clients du ministère des Affaires extérieures peuvent généralement être servis en français ou en anglais, plus de 60 p.100 des employés étant bilingues (2 608 sur 4 197). Chez les agents du service extérieur, cette proportion atteint 80 p.100 (1 100 sur 1 400). Par contre, le taux de bilinguisme chez les permutants du Soutien administratif n'est que de 46 p.100. Comme ces employés constituent généralement le premier contact du public avec le Ministère, cela nous paraît inacceptable, car le public risque de n'être pas informé de la possibilité d'être servi dans les deux langues. Cette possibilité est d'autant plus réduite les fins de semaine et en dehors des heures de bureau. Le Ministère n'ayant pas réussi à recruter des secrétaires bilingues, leur proportion est tombée cette année de 53 à 51 p.100.

Le Ministère est bien conscient qu'il est de son devoir de servir les voyageurs dans les deux langues ; il s'efforce donc de nommer un certain nombre d'employés bilingues à chaque mission à l'étranger. Il a commencé cette année à étudier la capacité linguistique de chaque secteur, en commençant par celui des agents consulaires. Nous lui conseillons d'examiner avec soin les capacités en langue française du secteur commercial : les deux tiers des plaintes que nous avons reçues cette année s'y rapportaient.

Bien que le niveau de bilinguisme soit élevé chez les employés du Ministère et que les Francophones soient convenablement représentés, le français est sous-utilisé au travail, que ce soit à l'administration centrale ou à l'étranger. Le français ne constitue la langue principale de travail que dans moins d'un cinquième des 121 missions à l'étranger ; et encore celles-ci doivent-elles communiquer en anglais avec certains services de l'administration centrale. À cet endroit, quelques services s'occupant d'affaires sociales et culturelles travaillent avant tout en français, mais l'anglais prédomine largement dans les secteurs du commerce et des affaires, dans la plus grande partie du secteur politique ainsi qu'à la haute direction.

En 1984, notre vérification avait révélé les faiblesses en langue française de services centraux importants : Opérations et Entretien, Télécommunications. Le Ministère a accepté en principe toutes nos recommandations visant à promouvoir l'usage du français au travail, mais il reste vague quant aux moyens qu'il entend prendre pour les mettre en pratique. Nous suivrons la situation de près en 1986.

Les taux de participation des Francophones et des Anglophones (29 et 71 p.100 respectivement) n'ont pas changé depuis l'an dernier. Les Francophones sont sous-représentés dans le groupe de la Direction (21 p.100) et celui de la Gestion supérieure (15 p.100), mais sont beaucoup trop nombreux dans la catégorie Exploitation (44 p.100). Les quatre postes les plus élevés du Ministère sont occupés par des Anglophones. Cependant, la participation est plus équilibrée en ce qui concerne les chefs de mission : des 110 ambassadeurs et représentants, 75 p.100 sont anglophones et 25 p.100 francophones. La nomination en 1985 de 15 Francophones (sur 33 nouveaux titulaires) a de toute évidence contribué à améliorer leur représentation dans ces groupes.

La tendance à la polarisation s'est maintenue : les Anglophones prédominent dans les secteurs technique, commercial et politique, les Francophones dans les programmes sociaux et culturels. Compte tenu des coupures de personnel, il est peu probable que les taux de participation changent. Le Ministère devrait donc se mettre sérieusement à la tâche de créer un meilleur équilibre interne parmi les employés actuels.

Nous avons reçu 11 plaintes en 1985 contre le Ministère. Six d'entre elles concernaient le manque de services en français, ou la difficulté de travailler en français, dans le secteur commercial. Si le Ministère se montre coopératif pour régler des problèmes ponctuels dans ce secteur, on attend encore qu'il s'attaque à la racine du mal. Les commissionnaires unilingues anglais ont suscité deux plaintes, de même que le service des passeports. Dans ce dernier cas, on a reproché à la version française des nouveaux passeports canadiens de ne pas comporter d'accents, même sur les noms propres, et souligné d'autre part l'absence temporaire de service en français au bureau de Winnipeg. La dernière plainte portait sur une note envoyée uniquement en français au personnel de l'ambassade à Paris. À la fin de l'année, tous ces problèmes avaient été résolus de manière satisfaisante.

Affaires indiennes et du Nord canadien

Mis à part l'élaboration d'une politique des langues officielles et la mise en œuvre de certaines mesures administratives, le ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord

canadien a bien peu fait pour améliorer sa situation linguistique, par ailleurs médiocre.

La nouvelle politique linguistique a été incluse dans un manuel de directives à l'intention des gestionnaires ; reste maintenant à diffuser cette information à l'ensemble des employés. D'autre part, les objectifs de cette politique ont été intégrés à la planification opérationnelle des ressources, mais on en est resté là en raison de la organisation entreprise par le Ministère. Ce dernier n'a toujours pas procédé à la mise en place de mécanismes de surveillance et de contrôle afin d'évaluer ses progrès.

Le Ministère compte maintenant quelque 5 538 employés. Des 1 156 employés occupant des postes bilingues, 85,5 p.100 répondent aux exigences prescrites, soit une hausse de 3 p.100 par rapport à 1984. Dans plusieurs régions du pays, la demande pour des services en français de la part de la clientèle du Ministère, essentiellement composée d'Autochtones, est très faible. Bien que le sondage sur les préférences linguistiques des bandes indiennes ne soit pas encore terminé, les résultats préliminaires montrent que le nombre d'entre elles qui désirent être servies en français ou dans les deux langues est plus élevé qu'on ne l'imaginait (on en compte 22 au Québec et au Nouveau-Brunswick). Au Québec, dans la région de la Capitale nationale, à Frédéricton et à Sudbury, le Ministère évalue à 10 p.100 ou plus la demande de service en français. À Frédéricton cependant, un seul des quatre employés occupant un poste bilingue est linguistiquement qualifié. Bien que le Ministère entende remédier à la situation, les résultats ne seront pas immédiats. À Sudbury, la capacité bilingue s'est légèrement accrue ; le Ministère évalue actuellement la demande afin de déterminer si cette capacité est suffisante. Dans l'Ouest, où seulement 11 postes sur 2 756 sont classés bilingues, le Ministère ne prévoit pas mesurer la demande de service en français ni augmenter la capacité bilingue. On a peu fait pour faire connaître l'existence de la ligne téléphonique INWATS, qui permet aux Francophones d'être servis dans leur langue en communiquant directement avec le siège social. Manifestement, le Ministère doit non seulement se livrer à d'autres études et améliorer sa planification, mais également prendre des mesures concrètes afin d'améliorer la situation.

Au chapitre de la langue de travail, il semble que la seule initiative prise par le Ministère ait été — enfin — de distribuer dans les régions bilingues une nouvelle formule d'appréciation du rendement qui permet aux employés d'indiquer dans quelle langue ils désirent être évalués. L'anglais prédomine toujours comme langue de travail à l'administration centrale, et aucune mesure ne semble avoir été prise pour favoriser l'usage du français. Les employés du Québec se plaignent qu'Ottawa leur envoie à l'occasion des documents en anglais seulement ou rédigés dans un français inacceptable ; et en retard de surcroît.

Les taux de participation sont les mêmes avec 84,8 p.100 d'Anglophones. À ce chapitre, le seul objectif du Ministère est d'atteindre un taux de participation des Francophones de 16 p.100, à la fois dans l'ensemble de l'effectif et aux échelons intermédiaires et supérieurs de toutes les directions. À l'heure actuelle, les Francophones sont sous-représentés dans toutes les catégories d'emploi et dans la plupart des régions. Par exemple, on ne dénombre que 12 employés francophones en Ontario (1,5 p.100) et 8 au Nouveau-Brunswick (14 p.100). Ce déséquilibre s'explique en partie par une clientèle majoritairement anglophone et, dans le cas de la

catégorie Exploitation où la participation francophone s'établit à 2,6 p.100, par le fait que 55 p.100 des postes se trouvent au Yukon et dans les Territoires du Nord-Ouest. Au Québec, les Anglophones constituent 16,2 p.100 des employés ; mais 87 p.100 d'entre eux se retrouvent aux échelons inférieurs. Il est grand temps que le Ministère prenne la question des langues officielles au sérieux et qu'il passe à l'action.

Nous n'avons reçu aucune plainte contre le Ministère cette année.

Agence canadienne de développement international

L'Agence canadienne de développement international a su maintenir en 1985 sa tradition d'excellence en matière linguistique. Dotée d'une forte capacité bilingue, l'ACDI n'éprouve aucune difficulté à offrir et à dispenser ses services dans les deux langues officielles, et ses employés ont la possibilité de travailler à leur gré en français ou en anglais. Seule ombre au tableau, la représentation des deux groupes linguistiques gagnerait à être mieux équilibrée, particulièrement dans la catégorie Soutien administratif.

Le programme des langues officielles de l'ACDI fait l'objet d'une gestion efficace. Cette année, on a amélioré le processus d'évaluation des gestionnaires en ce qui a trait à la mise en œuvre du programme. En outre, deux vérifications internes ont été effectuées, l'une portant sur les services de réception et l'autre sur les services centraux ; dans les deux cas, les résultats ont été fort satisfaisants.

Sur les 964 postes bilingues que compte l'Agence (soit 78,7 p.100 de l'ensemble des postes), 882 sont occupés par des titulaires qualifiés. De telles ressources bilingues constituent assurément un atout majeur eu égard à la langue de service, et particulièrement aux communications verbales. Quant aux publications de l'organisme, elles sont toutes bilingues. Enfin, des améliorations ont été apportées au processus de la passation des contrats dans le cas des programmes d'aide aux pays en voie de développement, en y assurant à la fois le respect des droits linguistiques du fournisseur et du bénéficiaire des services.

L'encadrement des employés se fait généralement dans la langue officielle de ces derniers. Seulement 8,7 p.100 des surveillants ne satisfont pas aux exigences linguistiques de leur poste, et des dispositions ont été prises pour que les employés touchés soient dirigés dans la langue appropriée. Par ailleurs, on encourage l'utilisation du français et de l'anglais au cours des réunions et on incite les employés à parfaire leur compétence en langue seconde. En ce qui concerne les documents de travail, seuls quelques logiciels utilisés par les services du personnel restent à traduire.

Sur le plan de la représentation, peu de changements depuis l'an dernier : Francophones et Anglophones constituent respectivement 53,5 et 46,5 p.100 des 1 225 employés. On note cependant une légère amélioration dans la catégorie Soutien administratif, où le pourcentage des Anglophones est passé de 33 à 35,2 p.100. L'Agence se doit de poursuivre cet effort de redressement.

Deux plaintes ont été reçues en 1985 contre l'ACDI. La première portait sur l'unilinguisme anglais de documents utilisés dans un cas de dotation et elle a été rapidement réglée. La deuxième, reçue en fin d'année, mettait en cause une note distribuée aux employés en anglais seulement.

Agriculture

Notre récente vérification dans 8 des 11 directions du ministère de l'Agriculture n'a fait que confirmer les faiblesses de son rendement linguistique. Bien qu'il semble maintenant prendre plus au sérieux ses responsabilités en matière de langues officielles et qu'il ait entrepris de donner suite à nos recommandations, il est encore très loin du compte. Sa capacité bilingue laisse à désirer dans nombre de régions, le pourcentage d'Anglophones au Québec et de Francophones dans les autres provinces est nettement trop faible, et rares sont les Francophones qui ont la possibilité de travailler dans leur langue à l'extérieur du Québec.

La légère baisse du pourcentage de postes bilingues (22,1 p.100 par rapport à 23,3 en 1984) a été compensée en partie par le fait qu'un plus grand nombre d'employés satisfont aux exigences linguistiques de leur poste, soit 83,7 p.100 contre 81 p.100. La répartition géographique des ressources bilingues du Ministère pose toutefois un sérieux problème. Comme on pouvait s'y attendre, les 2 652 postes bilingues sont surtout concentrés dans la région de la Capitale nationale, au Québec et au Nouveau-Brunswick. Il n'en reste que 114 pour pourvoir aux besoins des collectivités francophones ailleurs au pays ; en outre, nombre des titulaires de ces postes sont unilingues. Ainsi, en Ontario, en dehors de la Capitale nationale, seulement 44 des 61 postes exigeant la connaissance des deux langues (72,1 p.100) sont occupés par des employés linguistiquement qualifiés.

Selon notre vérification, l'accueil téléphonique unilingue semble être la règle à l'extérieur de la Capitale nationale. Le Ministère a entrepris de remédier à la situation en organisant des cours spéciaux sur la façon de répondre aux appels dans la langue de la minorité et en distribuant un manuel pratique aux secrétaires et réceptionnistes.

Si la plupart des publications du Ministère sont offertes dans les deux langues officielles, il arrive que la version française soit publiée avec un retard considérable. Soulignons par ailleurs qu'un grand nombre des documents préparés par la Direction de la recherche, qui produit quelque 80 p.100 des publications du Ministère, sont de nature hautement technique ou scientifique et visent un public restreint. Un comité consultatif est chargé de déterminer s'il y a lieu de les traduire ou non.

Le taux de participation des Francophones a diminué de 22 à 21,1 p.100 (2 528 employés sur 12 008). Non seulement les déséquilibres hiérarchiques et régionaux persistent-ils, mais certains se sont même aggravés. Dans la catégorie Gestion, la proportion des Francophones est passée de 14,7 à 13,2 p.100 ; au Manitoba, on n'en compte que 6 parmi les 696 employés (0,9 p.100). Les Anglophones sont nettement sous-représentés au Québec, où ils ne forment que 4,1 p.100 de l'effectif (66 employés sur 1 602). Si le redressement de ces déséquilibres est au nombre des objectifs de son programme des langues officielles, le Ministère n'est toujours pas passé à l'action.

À l'extérieur du Québec, en général, le milieu de travail ne favorise en rien l'usage du français. Même dans les régions bilingues, la majorité des documents ne sont rédigés qu'en anglais, ce qui s'explique par une clientèle majoritairement anglophone, un nombre restreint d'employés francophones, habitués de longue date à travailler en anglais, et, dans bien des cas, par l'unilinguisme des surveillants. En outre, bien que bilingue, la formule d'appréciation du rendement ne permet pas aux employés d'indiquer dans quelle langue ils désirent être évalués. Le Ministère nous a affirmé qu'il entendait y remédier. Nous lui avons recommandé d'effectuer régulièrement des études sur la langue de travail et de dresser des plans d'action en conséquence. Aussi avons-nous appris avec plaisir qu'il a effectué un sondage auprès des employés occupant un poste bilingue dans les régions bilingues.

Nous avons reçu 13 plaintes contre le ministère de l'Agriculture cette année. Six avaient trait à la langue de service, au téléphone ou en personne ; quatre mettaient en cause l'unilinguisme de certaines publications et annonces publicitaires ; deux autres concernaient la piètre qualité du français de certaines affiches et publications internes ; et la dernière portait sur la langue de travail. Six d'entre elles sont toujours à l'étude.

Air Canada

Malgré les fortes turbulences enregistrées cette année à l'occasion d'importants conflits de travail, la société Air Canada a su maintenir les acquis des années précédentes sur le plan linguistique, et même progresser à certains égards. Il lui reste cependant beaucoup à faire avant de mériter des titres d'excellence en cette matière.

De sérieux efforts ont été consentis afin de recruter du personnel bilingue pour le service en vol. Jusqu'à l'an dernier, l'objectif de la Société à cet égard était de 80 p.100 ; en 1985, elle exigeait le bilinguisme pour tous les candidats. Cette excellente politique a permis l'embauche de 196 agents de bord bilingues, portant la capacité bilingue globale du personnel navigant à 60,3 p.100 (1 966 sur 3 260). Ce pourcentage reste toutefois insuffisant pour assurer un service à bord impeccable en tout temps et sur tous les trajets.

Air Canada demande à ses agents de bord unilingues de recourir à un collègue bilingue lorsqu'ils ont affaire à un passager parlant l'autre langue officielle ; malheureusement, cette pratique est rarement respectée. Par ailleurs, la présence de personnel bilingue à bord des appareils ne suffit pas à assurer aux voyageurs un service dans leur langue ; encore faut-il que ces derniers en soient informés. À cet égard, nous regrettons que la Société n'encourage pas davantage ses agents de bord bilingues à offrir activement le service dans les deux langues. Elle avait décidé l'an dernier d'annoncer au départ de chaque vol le nombre d'agents de bord bilingues, invitant ainsi les voyageurs à utiliser la langue officielle de leur choix ; mais là encore cette excellente règle n'est généralement pas observée par le personnel de bord. Signalons cependant que la plupart des annonces se font dans les deux langues.

La Société a également accru ses ressources bilingues au sol. On ne peut manquer de souligner ici qu'un premier employé bilingue est enfin en poste à l'aéroport de

Timmins. De même, il devrait être désormais plus facile d'obtenir le service en français à l'aéroport de Winnipeg où les employés bilingues sont maintenant au nombre de 22 sur un total de 74.

La situation s'est améliorée à l'aéroport de Toronto, où l'on compte maintenant 125 employés bilingues sur 509, comparativement à 95 sur 470 l'an dernier. Toutefois, les plaintes que nous avons reçues concernant le service au comptoir à cet aéroport témoignent des difficultés que la Société éprouve à mettre en œuvre certains principes ; ainsi, les agents unilingues n'ont pas toujours recours à un collègue bilingue, et on n'utilise pas systématiquement les voyants lumineux qui indiquent aux voyageurs les guichets où ils peuvent être servis dans l'une ou l'autre langue.

Malgré l'accroissement du nombre d'agents bilingues au sol, les Francophones ne peuvent être assurés d'être servis dans leur langue à plusieurs endroits encore au pays, comme l'a d'ailleurs relevé cette année le Comité mixte permanent des langues officielles. En effet, Air Canada n'arrive toujours pas à respecter ses propres normes de capacité bilingue minimale dans 14 des 31 aéroports canadiens qu'elle dessert (près de 50 p.100). De même certaines agences urbaines, dont celles de Saskatoon et Saint-Jean (N.-B.), n'ont toujours aucun employé bilingue. En revanche, les bureaux de réservations sont généralement en mesure de fournir un service satisfaisant dans les deux langues officielles. Pour ce qui est des bureaux à l'étranger, la situation est assez bonne en Europe, mais aux États-Unis et dans les Antilles 12 points de service sur 35 ne disposent d'aucune capacité bilingue. Étant donné qu'elle embauche peu de nouveaux employés, la Société mise encore beaucoup sur la formation linguistique de ses agents au sol pour pallier ces faiblesses ; ce n'est cependant qu'à long terme qu'une telle politique pourra porter fruit.

Comme pour le service en vol, nous incitons fortement Air Canada à être plus insistante auprès de ses agents bilingues afin qu'ils accueillent en tout temps la clientèle dans les deux langues. Nous demandons également à la Société d'appliquer cette politique partout au pays et non seulement dans certaines régions.

Bien que les deux conventions collectives signées récemment avec les agents de bord et les agents passagers ne comportent aucune nouvelle clause linguistique, certaines dispositions générales de l'entente avec les agents passagers devraient permettre une meilleure répartition du personnel bilingue dans les différents aéroports, agences urbaines et bureaux de réservations.

Les communications écrites avec le public ne posent généralement aucun problème majeur sur le plan des langues officielles. Toutefois, une exception importante demeure : la politique de la Société autorise toujours l'unilinguisme des panneaux-réclame dans des régions à demande minoritaire importante comme Montréal et Toronto.

Du côté de la langue de travail, il semble que bien peu de choses aient changé. Nous menons présentement une enquête afin d'évaluer les progrès accomplis à cet égard dans le district d'Ottawa, où le français n'a jamais bénéficié d'une place de choix. De façon générale, les problèmes de langue de travail se manifestent surtout dans les communications verbales, notamment en matière de surveillance. Les documents de travail existent pour la plupart dans les deux langues et la Société s'est engagée à ce que toutes les données informatiques utilisées par les agents

passagers soient rendues disponibles simultanément en français et en anglais au cours de 1986.

Pour notre part, nous examinerons cette année la situation linguistique dans trois grands secteurs de travail : les Opérations aériennes (pilotes), le Service en vol (agents de bord) et la Maintenance (mécaniciens).

Les Francophones et Anglophones représentent respectivement 21,9 et 78,1 p.100 des 19 933 employés de la Société. La participation francophone est particulièrement faible dans le groupe des cadres (18,9 p.100) ; au Québec cependant, où sont regroupées la majeure partie des opérations du siège social, cette proportion s'élève à 30,9 p.100.

Nous avons reçu cette année 136 plaintes contre Air Canada. De ce nombre, 27 mettaient en cause les services de la Société pendant les périodes de grève des agents passagers et des agents de bord. Il semble que les droits linguistiques du public voyageur aient été particulièrement négligés au moment de la grève du personnel de bord. À titre d'exemple, des passagers francophones n'ont pu être servis dans leur langue sur un vol Mirabel-Paris. De toute évidence, les mesures prises par la Société pour assurer un service bilingue pendant cette période étaient inadéquates. Ainsi, la proportion d'agents de bord bilingues substituts n'était que de 35 p.100, comparativement à 60 p.100 chez le personnel régulier. Nous avons donc demandé à la Société d'analyser cette expérience afin d'en tirer des leçons pour l'avenir.

Par ailleurs, 43 des 109 plaintes reçues pendant le déroulement normal des opérations mettaient en cause le service au sol, et 25 le service en vol. La publicité de la Société a fait l'objet de 24 plaintes alors que ses communications écrites avec le public en ont occasionné 13. Enfin, quatre plaintes ont été enregistrées au chapitre de la langue de travail. De tous ces cas, 56 étaient encore à l'étude à la fin de 1985.

Approvisionnements et Services*

Au cours de 1985, le ministère des Approvisionnements et Services a connu la fusion de ses deux administrations sous l'autorité d'un seul sous-ministre et une compression graduelle de ses effectifs. Il faut espérer que cette réorganisation ne freinera pas l'élan du Ministère dans la mise en œuvre de son programme des langues officielles, mais qu'il en profitera au contraire pour se doter d'une infrastructure qui tienne compte des recommandations de notre dernière vérification pour enfin déboucher sur un rendement linguistique moins inégal.

En ce qui concerne la gestion du programme linguistique, nous avons constaté qu'on mettait rarement à contribution toutes les compétences disponibles pour régler les problèmes d'attitude et d'administration faisant obstacle, par exemple, à l'utilisation du français comme langue de travail. Aussi avons-nous recommandé au Ministère de revoir son plan d'action à cet égard afin de mettre au point des méthodes novatrices. Nous avons aussi noté que l'organisme ne s'attaquait pas suffisamment, lors de ses vérifications linguistiques internes, aux causes profondes des malaises décelés et que ses suivis restaient superficiels.

Du côté des services offerts à ses divers publics, majoritairement représentés par la clientèle de la Division des pensions de retraite et du Service de référence téléphonique (qui met les citoyens en rapport avec les ministères et organismes fédéraux), leur qualité linguistique est généralement satisfaisante. Quant aux agents libraires responsables de la vente des publications du gouvernement fédéral dans les régions bilingues, nous avons reçu l'assurance du Ministère qu'il exigera dorénavant d'eux qu'ils offrent un service bilingue en tout temps.

Par ailleurs, nous avons constaté une sérieuse dégradation de la langue seconde chez les titulaires de postes bilingues. Pour mieux cerner la situation, le Ministère a entrepris en 1984 de faire passer à ses quelque 3 400 employés bilingues le nouvel examen de connaissances linguistiques élaboré par la Commission de la Fonction publique, opération qui se poursuit toujours. En outre, il a réévalué les exigences linguistiques de tous les postes d'agents responsables de l'achat de biens et de services pour le compte du gouvernement fédéral.

Des 10 350 employés du Ministère, 60,4 p.100 sont anglophones et 39,6 p.100 sont francophones. Cette sous-représentation des Anglophones est particulièrement évidente dans les catégories Soutien administratif (58,1 p.100) et Exploitation (38,1 p.100). D'autre part, les Francophones ne constituent que 19,3 p.100 de la catégorie Gestion, et la participation anglophone au Québec n'est toujours que de 3,5 p.100.

Au chapitre de la langue de travail, les Francophones qui occupent des postes bilingues dans les régions bilingues n'ont pas suffisamment d'occasions de travailler en français et ne reçoivent pas toujours les services centraux et de personnel dans leur langue. À l'occasion de la fusion des deux administrations et suite à la réévaluation des exigences linguistiques de tous les postes, le Ministère espère créer un milieu de travail plus favorable à un usage équitable des deux langues officielles.

En 1985, nous avons reçu 14 plaintes contre le Ministère ; 13 portaient sur le service au public et une sur la langue de travail. Cinq d'entre elles avaient trait à l'absence de service téléphonique en français, trois portaient sur l'absence de publicité dans les hebdomadaires destinés aux minorités linguistiques, et deux autres provenaient de Francophones ayant reçu de la correspondance en anglais. Dans l'ensemble, le Ministère s'est montré coopératif pour résoudre les plaintes portées à son attention.

Banque du Canada

La Banque du Canada affiche encore une fois une performance linguistique exemplaire. Elle offre sans problème des services bilingues, aussi bien au siège social que dans ses neuf agences. De plus en plus de surveillants atteignent le niveau supérieur de l'échelle des compétences linguistiques, favorisant ainsi l'usage du français au travail. Il y aurait lieu cependant d'accroître légèrement la participation globale des Anglophones, et celle des Francophones aux échelons supérieurs.

Le siège social et chacune des agences offrent spontanément leurs services dans les deux langues. Tous les documents (formules, contrats et autres) destinés aux diverses clientèles de la Banque sont rédigés le cas échéant en français ou en anglais, tout comme la correspondance ; et l'affichage est bilingue.

La Banque offre à ses employés de nombreuses possibilités de parfaire leurs connaissances de la langue seconde. Dans les agences, la formation linguistique est confiée à des enseignants contractuels, tandis que l'administration centrale dispose de professeurs permanents. Le rendement linguistique de chacune des agences fait l'objet d'une vérification annuelle.

Actuellement, 20 p.100 des employés anglophones dépassent le niveau intermédiaire de l'échelle des compétences en langue seconde de la Banque ; chez les gestionnaires et les cadres supérieurs, ce pourcentage atteint respectivement 30 et 76 p.100, tandis que les proportions sont encore plus élevées chez les Francophones. Aussi les employés peuvent-ils de plus en plus utiliser l'une ou l'autre langue lors des réunions et dans les affaires courantes. Ils disposent en outre de documents de travail bilingues et ont accès aux services internes dans leur langue.

La participation des Francophones demeure élevée : ils forment 33 p.100 d'un effectif de 2 999 personnes, et sont particulièrement nombreux dans la catégorie Exploitation et Administration où ils occupent 640 des 1 707 postes (37 p.100). Par contre, dans d'autres catégories, ils ne représentent pas plus de 22 p.100 des employés. Enfin, Francophones et Anglophones sont bien répartis entre les régions.

La Banque n'a fait l'objet d'aucune plainte en 1985.

Banque fédérale de développement*

Malgré une importante réduction de son effectif, qui est passé de près de 2 000 employés à 1 207 en trois ans, la Banque fédérale de développement continue de satisfaire spontanément à la demande de services bilingues à ses diverses succursales, du moins dans les régions bilingues. Cependant, le français reste sous-utilisé comme langue de travail et ce, même au siège social situé à Montréal. Quant à la participation des deux groupes linguistiques, elle est équilibrée dans les différentes catégories d'emploi.

Environ 25 p.100 des employés de la Banque se disent bilingues (soit 297 d'entre eux) et chacune des cinq régions compte un pourcentage adéquat d'employés bilingues. Toutefois, certaines succursales ne disposent d'aucun personnel bilingue ; le service en français n'y est disponible que sur demande et par le truchement d'une autre succursale. C'est le cas notamment de deux des quatre succursales du Grand Toronto. Néanmoins, de meilleurs contrôles et une évaluation plus rigoureuse des connaissances linguistiques des employés permettra à la Banque de mieux répartir son personnel bilingue. Dans la région de l'Atlantique, les gérants de succursales ont pris contact avec les associations de groupes minoritaires afin de mieux connaître leurs besoins ; la Banque prévoit d'étendre cette pratique aux autres régions.

L'utilisation du français comme langue de travail reste limitée au Québec et au nord du Nouveau-Brunswick. Au siège social, la situation à cet égard est assez particulière puisqu'il y a rotation des employés entre les diverses régions et le siège. Il s'y trouve donc presque toujours un certain nombre d'employés unilingues qui ne sont pas sur place assez longtemps pour apprendre le français. Malgré cela, l'utilisation du français au siège social semble avoir progressé depuis un an.

Les Francophones constituent 27,4 p.100 des effectifs et sont équitablement représentés dans toutes les catégories d'emploi. On note cependant des déséquilibres quant à leur répartition géographique : alors que 152 employés sur 250 sont anglophones au siège de Montréal, les autres bureaux du Québec ne comptent que 7 Anglophones sur 209 employés. À l'extérieur du Québec, la proportion d'employés francophones est toujours légèrement inférieure au pourcentage de Francophones habitant la province.

Neuf plaintes ont été portées contre la Banque en 1985. Quatre concernaient de la publicité unilingue distribuée par une succursale, alors que les autres touchaient les points suivants : non-utilisation de la presse minoritaire, accueil téléphonique unilingue, absence de service en français, séminaire offert seulement en anglais et finalement l'envoi par erreur d'une trousse d'information en anglais à un Francophone. La plupart des plaintes ont déjà été réglées grâce à la collaboration de la Banque.

Bureau des relations fédérales-provinciales

Le Bureau des relations fédérales-provinciales a assumé cette année de plus grandes responsabilités en ce qui a trait au programme des langues officielles du gouvernement ; en même temps, il a maintenu un très bon rendement dans la plupart de ses services. Pourtant, malgré les atouts impressionnants du Bureau en matière linguistique, le français n'est pas assez présent dans le milieu de travail et la participation des Anglophones reste faible.

Le Bureau sert de secrétariat au comité de sous-ministres chargé d'examiner les progrès du gouvernement fédéral dans le domaine des langues officielles. Son aptitude à fournir de tels services est évidente : 39 de ses 48 employés sont bilingues. Le Bureau se montre d'ailleurs exigeant à ce sujet : tous les postes requièrent la connaissance des deux langues et 25 p.100 d'entre eux demandent un niveau de compétence élevé en ce qui a trait à la langue parlée. Cette année, tous les employés nommés au Bureau répondaient à ces exigences dès leur entrée en fonction.

Les gestionnaires du Bureau doivent désormais contribuer davantage au programme des langues officielles, notamment pour ce qui est de corriger les lacunes du Bureau dans le domaine de la langue de travail. L'évaluation annuelle de leur rendement tiendra compte de leurs réalisations à cet égard.

Compte tenu du fait que 42 p.100 des employés sont francophones, l'emploi du français au travail n'est pas aussi répandu qu'on le croirait. Les employés anglophones sont encadrés dans leur langue la plupart du temps, mais plus du quart des employés francophones ne bénéficient d'aucun encadrement en français. Plusieurs services internes, dont le service de la paie, la bibliothèque, l'imprimerie et les fournitures, arrivent difficilement à offrir des services convenables en français. Le Bureau devra faire preuve de créativité pour étendre l'emploi du français au travail.

Les taux de participation des deux groupes linguistiques ont connu une certaine amélioration cette année. Les Anglophones constituent maintenant 58 p.100 de l'effectif (28 des 48 employés), contre 49 p.100 l'an dernier. L'équilibre entre les deux groupes est équitable parmi les cadres et les agents (69 p.100). Par contre,

les Anglophones continuent d'être sous-représentés dans la catégorie Soutien administratif (seulement 4 des 13 employés).

Nous n'avons reçu aucune plainte contre le Bureau cette année.

Bureau du Conseil privé*

Dans l'ensemble, le Bureau du Conseil privé a maintenu en 1985 son bon rendement en matière de langues officielles. Cependant, notre récente vérification a révélé quelques lacunes en ce qui a trait à la langue de service et à la participation des deux groupes linguistiques.

Le programme des langues officielles du Bureau est administré de façon efficace grâce à la participation de ses gestionnaires à la planification et au contrôle de sa mise en œuvre. L'organisme continue par ailleurs d'embaucher des agents possédant une connaissance de niveau intermédiaire de leur langue seconde, tout en leur demandant d'atteindre le niveau supérieur dans un délai de deux ans. Il offre en outre un programme de formation linguistique bien adapté aux besoins des participants.

La proportion de postes bilingues est demeurée stable cette année à 83 p.100 (332 des 400 postes), alors que le nombre de titulaires répondant aux exigences prescrites augmentait de 4 p.100 (287 ou 86,4 p.100). Il faut noter qu'on n'a toujours pas résolu de façon satisfaisante le problème du service unilingue offert par les commissionnaires en poste aux entrées des immeubles du Bureau. Étant donné l'importance stratégique et le prestige de cette agence dans l'administration fédérale, il est essentiel d'y assurer un accueil bilingue.

Les employés sont évalués dans la langue de leur choix et ont généralement à leur disposition des documents de travail bilingues. Notre vérification a cependant révélé que l'usage du français se heurte à plusieurs obstacles. Ainsi, la capacité bilingue insuffisante d'un certain nombre de gestionnaires entrave les communications en français avec leurs subalternes francophones et les réunions se déroulent souvent en anglais seulement.

La représentation des deux groupes linguistiques accuse toujours certains déséquilibres. Les Francophones sont surreprésentés dans l'ensemble des effectifs (49 p.100), ce qui tient en partie au fait qu'ils occupent 129 des 223 postes de Soutien administratif (58 p.100). Par contre, on n'en retrouve que 11 parmi les 58 employés de la catégorie Gestion (19 p.100). De toute évidence, la haute direction devra intervenir énergiquement pour corriger cette situation qui persiste depuis plusieurs années au Bureau.

Les deux plaintes reçues contre le Bureau en 1985 déploraient que deux commissions d'enquête aient omis d'utiliser les journaux de langue officielle minoritaire. Afin d'éviter que cela ne se répète, le Bureau du Conseil privé devra établir des lignes de conduite plus claires en matière de langues officielles à l'intention de ces commissions.

Cabinet du Premier ministre*

Vu son importance au sein de l'administration fédérale, le Cabinet du Premier ministre se doit de donner l'exemple en matière de langues officielles. Notre récente vérification a révélé qu'en général son personnel est bien sensibilisé à cette question, surtout en ce qui concerne les services au public. Nous avons cependant noté des lacunes importantes sur le plan de la langue de travail et de la participation des deux groupes linguistiques.

Afin d'affermir la gestion de son programme des langues officielles, le CPM a décidé de se doter d'une politique en matière de langues officielles, donnant ainsi suite à notre principale recommandation. Il aurait toutefois intérêt à définir de façon plus rigoureuse les exigences linguistiques de ses postes et à prendre les moyens nécessaires pour évaluer plus précisément les aptitudes linguistiques de son personnel.

Le Cabinet compte une centaine d'employés, dont 54 sont bilingues alors qu'une vingtaine d'autres suivent des cours de langue. Il est ainsi en mesure d'offrir ses services au public et à l'appareil fédéral dans les deux langues. Notons cependant que l'accueil du public aux divers immeubles occupés par le CPM est assuré dans certains cas par des commissionnaires unilingues. Quand on sait l'importance que peut revêtir pour le visiteur la première impression, cela est tout à fait regrettable. Par ailleurs, la direction apporte un grand soin à la qualité linguistique de la correspondance ainsi que des communiqués destinés aux médias.

Surtout en raison du fort pourcentage d'employés et de gestionnaires unilingues et de la faible représentation des Francophones parmi les cadres supérieurs, le français occupe une place plutôt limitée comme langue de travail. Dans plusieurs sections, les réunions se déroulent en anglais seulement, et c'est dans cette langue que bien des employés francophones doivent communiquer avec leur superviseur. En outre, on ne respecte pas toujours la langue du candidat lors des entrevues de dotation. Les documents de travail et les services centraux sont cependant bilingues.

Au moment de la vérification, 60 p.100 des employés étaient anglophones et 40 p.100 francophones. La proportion élevée de ces derniers est attribuable à leur forte représentation parmi le personnel du Soutien administratif (22 sur 42). Les Anglophones, par contre, occupent 10 des 11 postes de cadre supérieur. Le CPM devra voir à corriger ces déséquilibres le plus rapidement possible.

Nous n'avons reçu aucune plainte contre le Cabinet du Premier ministre en 1985.

Centre national des Arts*

Le Centre national des Arts s'est toujours fait un devoir d'offrir une programmation reflétant la dualité linguistique du pays ; cette année encore, il faut souligner son excellente capacité bilingue dans les secteurs du divertissement et de l'éducation. Le suivi de notre vérification de 1983, effectué en début d'année, a révélé que le CNA avait donné suite à 11 de nos 15 recommandations. Malheureusement, la gestion du programme des langues officielles est passée de main en main, reportant à cette année la mise en œuvre des quatre dernières recommandations.

Malgré une diminution de 17 p.100 de son personnel à temps plein (54 employés) et une réorganisation d'envergure, le CNA a continué de bien servir le public dans les deux langues. Selon le Centre, des 352 postes bilingues comportant un contact direct avec le public, 87,5 p.100 sont occupés par des titulaires qualifiés. C'est dans le secteur Exploitation (guichets, restaurants, ouvreurs, etc.) que les contacts avec le public sont les plus fréquents et son personnel est réputé pour son offre active de service dans les deux langues. Cependant, le CNA n'a pas donné suite à notre recommandation de 1983 de mesurer le degré des connaissances linguistiques des employés des échelons supérieurs ; espérons qu'il en fera une priorité pour 1986. En ce qui a trait à la faible capacité bilingue des techniciens de scène, nous avions exhorté le CNA à soulever la question avec leur syndicat (AIEST). S'il a bien présenté une proposition lors des récentes négociations, celle-ci ne faisait pas partie de l'accord final.

Les taux d'utilisation du français et de l'anglais au travail demeurent sensiblement les mêmes. Les Francophones peuvent travailler dans leur langue dans certains secteurs tels les affaires publiques, le personnel et à la billetterie. La plupart des réunions, dont celles des cadres supérieurs, se tiennent en anglais, bien que celles du personnel se déroulent dans les deux langues. Les cours de formation sont offerts en français et en anglais. Par contre, un projet de catalogage des documents de travail (qui devait également permettre de recenser ceux qui sont toujours unilingues), n'est pas encore terminé. Comme nous le soulignions l'année dernière, le tiers des surveillants occupant des postes bilingues n'ont pas la compétence voulue en français. Cependant, grâce à la formation linguistique qu'offre le CNA, on peut s'attendre à une amélioration à cet égard dans un avenir rapproché.

Peu de changement également côté participation : les Anglophones occupent 43,6 p.100 des 243 postes à temps plein et 41,8 p.100 des postes à temps partiel. Leur présence s'est néanmoins accrue au cours des deux dernières années dans les catégories Gestion et Services professionnels de 21 à 30 (51 p.100) et dans celles du Soutien administratif et de l'Exploitation de 31 à 64 (39,5 p.100). Le CNA doit poursuivre ses efforts en ce sens et les étendre à d'autres secteurs.

Le Centre national des Arts n'a fait l'objet d'aucune plainte en 1985.

Chambre des communes*

D'après la vérification que nous avons effectuée au printemps dernier, nous sommes en mesure d'attester la bonne forme linguistique de la Chambre des communes. Outre une performance exemplaire au chapitre du service au public, l'Administration de la Chambre a marqué des points relativement à certains problèmes de langue de travail et de participation que nous lui avions signalés dans le passé.

L'Administration a apporté d'importants changements à la gestion de son programme des langues officielles. Ainsi, la planification linguistique ne sera plus désormais une activité distincte — ce qui, à notre avis, avait largement contribué à sensibiliser les gestionnaires à leurs obligations en cette matière — mais sera intégrée aux plans opérationnels. Cette réduction de la paperasserie s'accompagnera-t-elle d'un désintéressement face aux langues officielles ? L'avenir nous le dira. En attendant, nous suivrons la situation de près.

Nous avons constaté lors de notre vérification que l'Administration se sert de tests de connaissances linguistiques plutôt sommaires, ce qui nous amène à douter de sa capacité à procéder à une affectation judicieuse de son personnel bilingue. Aussi lui avons-nous demandé de réviser ses méthodes d'évaluation. Nous en reparlerons l'an prochain.

Règle générale, l'Administration n'éprouve pas de difficulté à assurer ses services dans les deux langues. Près des trois quarts des 1 603 postes de la Chambre sont classés bilingues, et 74 p.100 de leurs titulaires satisfont aux exigences voulues. Un pourcentage important des postes bilingues (17 p.100) exigent un niveau de connaissance supérieur de la langue seconde ; c'est le cas notamment de tous les postes de la gestion supérieure. Plus de 90 p.100 des employés de ce groupe ont un niveau intermédiaire ou supérieur de compétence linguistique.

Il semble que le problème persistant de l'accueil unilingue anglais offert par les gardes de sécurité soit sur la voie d'être résolu, grâce au grand nombre de recrues bilingues qui sont venus grossir leurs rangs l'été dernier. Des 179 gardes, 142 possèdent une connaissance intermédiaire ou avancée de leur langue seconde. Le nombre de plaintes mettant en cause le service de sécurité est d'ailleurs passé de cinq en 1984 à deux cette année.

Un sondage sur la langue de travail, effectué dans le cadre de notre vérification, a révélé que la majorité des employés sont évalués dans leur langue, et que les services centraux et du personnel sont offerts dans les deux langues. En outre, la Chambre a pris certaines initiatives intéressantes pour favoriser l'usage du français au travail. Bon nombre des documents de travail utilisés au Parlement proviennent de la Grande-Bretagne et ne sont disponibles qu'en anglais. Les services du Greffier ont entrepris le projet ambitieux de préparer un manuel exhaustif des procédures parlementaires canadiennes, dont la rédaction se fait simultanément en français et en anglais.

En raison de la récente réduction de son effectif, l'Administration n'a pu poursuivre aussi activement ses efforts visant à rééquilibrer la participation des deux groupes linguistiques. Les Anglophones représentent toujours 37 p.100 de l'ensemble du personnel, bien que près de 50 p.100 des 98 employés recrutés en 1985 soient de langue anglaise. Leur participation est cependant plus élevée dans les catégories supérieures — ils forment 52 p.100 de la catégorie Gestion et 59 p.100 des Scientifiques et spécialistes — que dans les deux secteurs de soutien, où plus des deux tiers des employés sont des Francophones.

La Chambre des communes a fait l'objet de huit plaintes en 1985. Quatre mettaient en cause des comités parlementaires qui avaient omis d'annoncer leurs activités dans les médias des deux langues. Un employé de la Chambre s'est plaint d'avoir été écarté d'un concours pour un poste bilingue à la suite d'une évaluation téléphonique de ses compétences linguistiques. Deux autres plaintes avaient trait à l'unilinguisme anglais d'un garde de sécurité et la dernière, réglée en l'espace de quelques jours, concernait une erreur sur une plaque française.

Chemins de fer nationaux

Les Chemins de fer nationaux du Canada ont connu d'importantes transformations en 1985. CN Marine s'est détaché de la Société, quelque 1 200 employés des ateliers ont été transférés à Via Rail et l'effectif a été réduit dans tout le réseau. La scène linguistique, pour sa part, est restée inchangée dans son jeu d'ombres et de lumière.

Dans l'ensemble, la Société a atteint les objectifs qu'elle s'était donnés en matière de langues officielles. On s'en réjouirait si certaines questions d'importance — toujours les mêmes — ne restaient pas sans solution : les pourparlers avec le syndicat concernant la langue de service à bord des trains n'ont donné aucun résultat concret, le français n'est toujours pas reconnu comme langue de travail dans les établissements du Nouveau-Brunswick, et le recensement visant à déterminer la première langue officielle des employés a encore été reporté.

Le grand public tout comme les clients industriels peuvent sans problème correspondre avec le CN dans l'une ou l'autre langue officielle ; à l'occasion, cependant, des fournisseurs du Québec reçoivent la version française de certains documents quelque peu en retard. Pour ce qui est des communications verbales, les Francophones peuvent s'attendre à un service adéquat dans leur langue... mais uniquement dans les établissements des régions bilingues ainsi qu'à bord des trains circulant au Québec. La Société mène périodiquement des sondages de satisfaction linguistique auprès de sa clientèle. Par ailleurs, ceux et celles qui entendent visiter Expo 86, à Vancouver, seront heureux d'apprendre que le CN s'y présentera dans les deux langues officielles.

Par contre, les Francophones qui descendent à l'Hôtel Vancouver — où, à l'autre bout du pays, à l'Hôtel Newfoundland — ne seront pas assurés d'être servis dans leur langue. Toutefois, la situation continue de s'améliorer dans les autres hôtels. Félicitons notamment la Tour du CN, à Toronto, d'avoir embauché l'été dernier un grand nombre d'étudiants bilingues ; sa participation au programme d'emplois d'été lui a d'ailleurs valu, pour une troisième année consécutive, un certificat de mérite décerné par Emploi et Immigration Canada.

La Société continue de veiller au bilinguisme des instruments de travail, des programmes internes de formation ainsi que des services centraux et du personnel. Cependant, l'usage du français comme véritable langue de travail est toujours cantonné à une seule région, celle du Saint-Laurent. On a cependant noté quelques progrès sur ce plan dans la région de l'Atlantique : le bilinguisme s'est étendu aux ordres de marche des trains de trois autres subdivisions et l'indicateur ferroviaire de ce territoire est maintenant publié dans les deux langues officielles.

Les taux de participation des deux groupes linguistiques sont demeurés sensiblement les mêmes que l'an dernier dans les trois secteurs où le CN dispose de données, soit le siège social et les régions du Saint-Laurent et de l'Atlantique. Neuf des 24 dirigeants de la Société (soit 38 p.100) sont francophones. Le pourcentage de Francophones parmi les 300 postes les plus élevés du réseau atteint maintenant 21 p.100, mais reste faible chez les cadres supérieurs au siège social (19 p.100) et dans la région de l'Atlantique (11,1 p.100). La participation des Anglophones au Québec et celle des Francophones dans la région de l'Atlantique sont respectivement de 33,9 et 33,3 p.100.

Au cours de l'année, 24 plaintes ont été portées directement contre le CN, auxquelles s'ajoutent neuf autres mettant en cause des préposés du CN à bord des trains de Via. Dix-sept étaient liées à la langue de service dont sept touchaient plus particulièrement l'absence de service en français à l'Hôtel Beauséjour à Moncton et à la Tour du CN à Toronto, cinq concernaient la non-utilisation de la presse minoritaire et enfin, deux étaient reliées à la langue de travail. Seulement 14 de ces plaintes sont déjà réglées. Le traitement des plaintes au CN est encore trop souvent alourdi par une attitude légaliste et des lenteurs bureaucratiques.

CN Marine*

En 1985, CN Marine quittait les rangs du CN pour devenir une société de la Couronne à part entière. Elle sera désormais connue sous le nom de Marine Atlantique S.C.C. Ce changement s'est accompagné d'une réorganisation d'envergure, et la Société a entrepris d'élaborer sa propre politique linguistique. Il y a tout lieu d'espérer qu'en repartant à zéro elle pourra enfin régler ses problèmes chroniques de langue de service, quoiqu'elle ait beaucoup de chemin à faire.

Responsable de six services de traversiers et d'un de transport de marchandises dans la région de l'Atlantique, la Société a de fréquents rapports avec le public ; son personnel traite directement avec lui pour la vente de billets, les réservations et le contrôle de la circulation des passagers et des automobiles. Lorsqu'on sait que seulement 32 postes sur 3 374 (0,9 p.100) sont occupés par des employés bilingues, comment s'étonner que CN Marine n'arrive pas à offrir un service convenable dans les deux langues. D'autres services sont fournis dans les gares maritimes et à bord des traversiers par des concessionnaires (restaurants, boutiques de souvenirs et kiosques à journaux) qui, malgré les dispositions linguistiques de leurs contrats, sont rarement en mesure de servir les Francophones dans leur langue.

Là où la capacité bilingue est insuffisante ou inexistante, CN Marine a pris certaines dispositions temporaires — tant dans les gares maritimes qu'à bord des traversiers — à l'intention de sa clientèle de langue française, par exemple une liaison téléphonique ou le recours à un collègue bilingue. Mais la Société n'a jamais surveillé la situation de près et, plus souvent qu'autrement, les Francophones doivent s'en remettre au hasard. Ils peuvent cependant faire des réservations par téléphone en composant un numéro réservé à cette fin.

Durant la période de pointe, en 1984, seulement 3 p.100 de l'effectif était de langue française. On ne dénombrait que 28 Francophones parmi les 486 employés des échelons supérieurs (5,8 p.100), et ils ne représentaient que 2,1 p.100 des employés syndiqués (62 sur 2 898).

CN Marine a fait l'objet de 19 plaintes en 1985. Dix-sept d'entre elles portaient sur l'absence de service en français et sur l'unilinguisme des annonces dans les gares maritimes et à bord des traversiers. Les deux autres touchaient l'absence de publicité dans la presse minoritaire. À la fin de l'année, seules trois plaintes avaient été réglées.

Commission canadienne des droits de la personne

La Commission canadienne des droits de la personne continue de marquer des points sur le plan de la langue de service et d'améliorer la gestion de son programme des langues officielles. Par contre, on n'accorde toujours pas à la langue de travail l'attention qu'elle mérite, et de sérieuses anomalies persistent à cet égard.

La Commission a par ailleurs mis sur pied un comité de coordination chargé des langues officielles et composé de membres de la haute direction — un complément judicieux aux mécanismes de contrôle déjà en place. Une étape importante a été également franchie avec la publication d'une bonne politique des langues officielles, dont le texte a été distribué à tout le personnel.

Des 153 postes de la Commission, 98 exigent la connaissance des deux langues et 86 de leurs titulaires satisfont à cette exigence. La capacité bilingue de l'organisme s'avère satisfaisante partout au pays, et des efforts particuliers ont été fournis cette année afin d'offrir activement le service dans les deux langues officielles. La Commission s'est employée à le faire notamment lors de ses rencontres avec les représentants des minorités linguistiques et par le biais d'annonces dans la presse minoritaire. Ses publications sont disponibles en français comme en anglais, et la plupart des jugements des tribunaux qu'elle met sur pied sont publiés simultanément dans les deux langues. Cependant, certains de ces arrêts n'ont été d'abord émis que dans une langue, en raison de délais de traduction. Nous avons demandé à la Commission de prendre les mesures nécessaires pour accélérer le processus de traduction.

Il reste beaucoup à faire du côté de la langue de travail et la Commission tarde à étudier la question. Aucun contrôle systématique n'a été effectué quant à la langue utilisée pour l'évaluation des employés ; le formulaire d'évaluation ne permet d'ailleurs pas à ceux-ci d'indiquer leur choix en la matière.

Bien que la plupart des documents de travail soient disponibles dans les deux langues, le bureau régional de Montréal reçoit parfois des documents unilingues anglais. Par ailleurs, l'anglais demeure la langue dominante lors des réunions. Bref, la Commission des droits de la personne devrait se pencher plus sérieusement sur le droit de ses employés francophones à travailler dans leur langue.

Les Francophones et les Anglophones représentent respectivement 34,6 et 65,4 p.100 du personnel de la Commission. Un seul des six employés de la catégorie Scientifiques et spécialistes est francophone ; par contre, on en retrouve 25 (soit 52 p.100) dans celle du Soutien administratif. La Commission devrait s'employer à corriger ces déséquilibres.

Une seule plainte a été déposée cette année à l'endroit de la Commission. Elle mettait en cause un agent qui avait interrogé en anglais un plaignant francophone. Le cas fut résolu de façon satisfaisante.

Commission de contrôle de l'énergie atomique*

Ayant examiné les progrès accomplis depuis notre vérification de 1983, nous avons constaté que la Commission de contrôle de l'énergie atomique n'éprouve aucune

difficulté à servir ses clients et le grand public dans la langue officielle appropriée. La langue de travail continue de poser de sérieux problèmes, mais la Commission n'a pas ménagé ses efforts pour favoriser l'usage du français. Par ailleurs, après plusieurs années d'attente, l'organisme a finalement adopté une politique des langues officielles.

En novembre dernier, le Commissaire a rencontré les gestionnaires de la Commission et les a félicité de leurs initiatives comme les « mercredis francophones » et la création de centres favorisant le libre usage de l'une ou l'autre langue. Tous ont convenu qu'il fallait que les fonctionnaires francophones puissent se sentir fiers de leur héritage culturel et utiliser davantage leur langue au travail, et que les gestionnaires se devaient de leur faciliter la tâche.

Notre sondage auprès des employés occupant des postes bilingues a montré que la plupart des Francophones considèrent que l'anglais est plus efficace comme langue de travail ; font toutefois exception les secteurs où la clientèle de langue française est plus importante, à Gentilly par exemple. Mais règle générale, peu de Francophones rédigent des rapports internes importants dans leur langue. Une initiative vaut cependant d'être soulignée : la Commission tente de conclure une entente avec Hydro-Québec afin de permettre à ses employés d'y suivre des cours techniques.

Enfin, la Commission devra s'employer à rééquilibrer la participation des deux groupes linguistiques : sur 262 employés, on ne compte plus que 55 Francophones, soit 21 p.100 cent de l'effectif, comparativement à 25 p.100 l'an dernier.

Aucune plainte n'a été portée en 1985 contre la Commission.

Commission de la Capitale nationale

De par sa vocation et l'importance symbolique de son rôle, la Commission de la Capitale nationale se doit d'être un modèle de bilinguisme. Si elle s'acquitte fort honorablement de ses devoirs sur le plan du service au public, on ne peut hélas en dire autant en ce qui a trait à l'usage du français comme langue de travail. En effet, c'est à toutes fins pratiques l'anglais qui est la langue de travail dans la plupart des divisions et bureaux de la Commission.

Des 832 employés de la Commission, 389 occupent des postes bilingues ; de ce nombre, 79,4 p.100 répondent aux exigences linguistiques. Grâce à cela et à une saine organisation linguistique, la Commission peut se vanter à juste titre d'offrir activement des services bilingues de qualité, qu'il s'agisse de l'affichage, des services d'information ou de sa participation à diverses manifestations. Par contre, ses concessionnaires ne tiennent pas toujours compte des clauses linguistiques de leur contrat. La Commission se doit donc de mettre en place des mécanismes de contrôle afin de corriger cette situation.

Le français éprouve quelque difficulté à se tailler une place comme langue de travail à la Commission. Ainsi, plusieurs instruments de travail (manuels d'opérations, documents internes, notes de service, consignes de sécurité, formulaires) ne sont toujours pas disponibles en français, et c'est en anglais que se tiennent la plupart des réunions et ce à presque tous les niveaux. Le problème est particulièrement

aigu en ce qui a trait à la surveillance, puisque 26 p.100 du personnel d'encadrement ne répondent pas aux exigences linguistiques de leur poste ; aussi, peu d'employés francophones sont-ils en mesure d'obtenir leur évaluation de rendement dans leur langue. La situation est particulièrement inacceptable au bureau de Hull où malgré une majorité d'employés francophones, les communications entre employés et gestionnaires se font en anglais. Trois des cinq plaintes portées contre la Commission cette année étaient d'ailleurs directement reliées à cette situation.

Si le taux de participation des Anglophones est globalement plutôt faible (52,7 p.100) et n'est que de 47 p.100 chez le personnel du Soutien administratif, il s'établit cependant à 71 p.100 au niveau de la direction. La Commission devra redoubler d'efforts afin d'en arriver à un meilleur équilibre.

En plus des trois plaintes concernant la langue de travail au bureau de district de Hull, nous en avons reçu une au sujet d'une inscription unilingue anglaise dans un annuaire téléphonique et une autre concernant l'accueil téléphonique unilingue à la division des biens immobiliers. L'instruction de ces plaintes était toujours en cours en fin d'année.

Commission de la Fonction publique

Cette année encore, la Commission de la Fonction publique mérite des éloges pour son rendement linguistique. Les quelques plaintes mettant en cause la qualité linguistique de ses services et la langue de travail semblent être attribuables dans une large mesure à des erreurs de parcours. Cependant, la participation des Anglophones, qui n'a jamais été un de ses points forts, ne semble pas avoir reçu en 1985 l'attention voulue.

Quand on sait que 82,2 p.100 de ses 2 465 employés occupent un poste bilingue et que 90,8 p.100 d'entre eux satisfont aux exigences prescrites, on ne s'étonne pas que la Commission soit, partout au pays, en mesure d'offrir activement la gamme complète de ses services dans les deux langues. À quelques rares exceptions près, l'accueil se fait dans les deux langues aussi bien en personne qu'au téléphone, et les publications destinées au grand public sont bilingues. Ses activités d'embauche intéressent tout particulièrement les membres des minorités linguistiques qui désirent faire partie de la fonction publique fédérale : les 15 bureaux régionaux et de district disposent de toutes les ressources bilingues pour servir ces derniers, et la Commission utilise régulièrement la presse minoritaire pour ses appels de candidature. Des représentants de la Commission se rendent dans les universités francophones et anglophones, et assistent aux réunions des associations des minorités afin de sensibiliser le public à sa politique d'embauche.

La Commission est fière de ses réalisations en matière de langue de travail. En effet, les employés peuvent travailler dans leur langue dans les bureaux de Moncton, de Montréal et de la région de la Capitale nationale. Cette année, plusieurs manuels sont parus en édition bilingue et la qualité linguistique du répertoire téléphonique interne a été améliorée. En ce qui a trait aux formules d'appréciation, les comités de révision s'assurent maintenant que les surveillants remplissent ces formules dans la langue d'élection des employés ; aussi est-il arrivé au cours de l'année qu'on ait demandé à des surveillants de rédiger de nouveau certaines évaluations ou de les

faire traduire. La plupart des cours destinés au personnel de la Commission ou aux autres fonctionnaires fédéraux sont offerts dans les deux langues, quoiqu'il arrive encore que certains en langue minoritaire soient annulés en raison du faible taux d'inscription ; ce problème est particulièrement aigu à l'extérieur de la Capitale nationale. Il est donc fort regrettable qu'une circulaire émanant du bureau de la Commission à Winnipeg ne soit disponible qu'en anglais, alors qu'elle a justement pour objet de pousser les employés à s'inscrire aux cours donnés en français.

Même si l'on fait exception du groupe majoritairement francophone des professeurs de langue et des employés du Programme d'orientation des carrières (POC), les Anglophones ne représentent qu'un faible 45,3 p.100 des effectifs, très modeste gain par rapport à l'année dernière. Ils sont un peu plus nombreux que les Francophones dans la catégorie Scientifiques et spécialistes (57,3 p.100), et forment 46,9 p.100 de celle des Techniciens ; leur participation demeure extrêmement faible dans la catégorie Soutien administratif (35,3 p.100). Et si l'on tient compte des employés chargés de la formation linguistique et du POC, le taux de participation globale des Anglophones dégringole à 36,8 p.100. Bien que nous exhortions régulièrement la Commission à faire des efforts pour rééquilibrer la représentation des deux groupes linguistiques, les progrès sont minces. La Commission devra faire preuve d'imagination et s'attaquer énergiquement à ce sempiternel problème. Comme nous y avons effectué une vérification à la fin de 1985, notre rapport abordera cette question entre autres, et mettra de l'avant des recommandations appropriées.

Si le plan de la Commission en matière de langues officielles prévoit la mise en œuvre de certains projets spéciaux, il ne comprend cependant pas d'objectifs quantifiables. Les cadres supérieurs doivent rendre compte de leurs efforts en vue de réaliser les objectifs établis pour leur secteur d'activités, et leur rendement fait l'objet d'une appréciation semestrielle. Le dossier linguistique fait partie du champ d'action des vérificateurs internes de la Commission, mais la redéfinition des responsabilités a considérablement ralenti leurs activités depuis deux ans.

À titre d'organisme central, la Commission participe à plusieurs activités visant à cerner les lacunes des programmes des langues officielles des ministères. Le Secrétariat aux langues officielles examine les plans d'action des ministères en cette matière ; cette année, pour la première fois, il a fait parvenir ses commentaires directement aux sous-ministres. La Direction générale de la vérification, pour sa part, évalue régulièrement les pratiques de dotation des ministères, y compris les aspects linguistiques. En début d'année, la Commission a distribué à tous les sous-ministres un document traitant notamment de la dotation impérative et des profils linguistiques, afin de favoriser la relance du programme fédéral des langues officielles. Bien qu'il soit impossible de prévoir les effets à long terme d'une telle initiative, la Commission doit néanmoins être félicitée de l'avoir entreprise.

Nous avons reçu 12 plaintes contre la Commission qui, cette année encore, s'est empressée de les régler. Seule la dernière demeure en suspens. Dans cinq cas, on déplorait l'unilinguisme anglais de documents envoyés à des Francophones et dans un autre, l'envoi d'un document unilingue français à un Anglophone. Deux plaintes

portaient sur l'accueil téléphonique et deux autres mettaient en cause la piètre qualité du français dans la présentation de certains cours. Les deux dernières soulignaient l'unilinguisme d'un document interne et l'utilisation des accents sur les noms de lieux dans des textes en anglais.

Commission nationale des libérations conditionnelles

La Commission nationale des libérations conditionnelles ne dispose pas encore, malgré de vaillants efforts, de toutes les ressources nécessaires pour fournir ses services dans les deux langues officielles. En outre, elle devrait encourager plus activement les détenus fédéraux à exprimer leur préférence linguistique lorsqu'ils transigent avec elle. Il semble par ailleurs que les droits linguistiques de son propre personnel soient généralement bien respectés.

En raison du caractère coercitif des pénitenciers et de leur bilinguisme limité, il n'est pas facile de convaincre les détenus qu'ils peuvent traiter avec la Commission dans la langue officielle de leur choix. Ainsi, malgré ses efforts pour offrir activement ses services dans les deux langues officielles, la Commission reçoit peu de demandes d'audiences en français hors de la région du Québec. La Commission doit donc, tout comme les autres organismes dont les fonctionnaires disposent d'un pouvoir d'intimidation manifeste, redoubler ses efforts en informant régulièrement les détenus de la possibilité de communiquer en français ou en anglais avec ses représentants.

L'administration centrale à Ottawa et les bureaux régionaux du Québec et de l'Atlantique bénéficient d'une capacité bilingue élevée, mais ce n'est pas le cas ailleurs où, de l'avis même de certains commissaires, une demande d'audience en français crée un véritable émoi au sein de l'administration. Ainsi, aucun des 50 employés qui travaillent dans les régions du Pacifique et de la Prairie n'est bilingue et seulement deux des 26 commissaires le sont. En Ontario, seulement 7,7 p.100 des employés peuvent servir le public dans les deux langues. La Commission doit donc poursuivre ses efforts de recrutement, et le gouvernement reconnaître sans tarder le besoin d'un plus grand nombre de commissaires bilingues. À l'heure actuelle, en dehors du Québec et de l'administration centrale, on n'en retrouve que 10 sur 57.

Les deux langues sont fréquemment utilisées au travail par les employés de l'administration centrale. Les documents de travail y sont également disponibles dans les deux langues et le seul surveillant qui ne satisfait pas aux exigences linguistiques de son poste suit présentement des cours de langue. L'organisme aurait cependant intérêt à mener une étude plus approfondie sur les pratiques en matière de langue de travail.

La représentation des employés francophones et anglophones se situe respectivement à 40 et 60 p.100. De forts déséquilibres régionaux sont à corriger, notamment la faible présence des Anglophones au Québec (3 sur 34) et des Francophones en Ontario (2 sur 24).

La Commission n'a fait l'objet d'aucune plainte en 1985.

Communications*

Cette année, le ministère des Communications a restructuré son programme des langues officielles de manière à accroître la responsabilité des gestionnaires à cet égard. Il compte également mettre l'accent sur les plans sectoriels. Ces transformations se révéleront sans doute fort bénéfiques à long terme, mais les problèmes administratifs liés à cette période de transition ont freiné les progrès escomptés au cours de l'année.

Le sondage annuel du Ministère sur la satisfaction de sa clientèle témoigne de sa capacité à offrir des services satisfaisants dans les deux langues officielles. Cependant, il nous faut souligner à nouveau la précarité de sa capacité bilingue dans les régions où la minorité de langue officielle est plus modeste. Ainsi, le Ministère n'a désigné que sept postes bilingues sur 161 pour desservir la population francophone de Toronto et du sud de l'Ontario.

Outre ses nombreuses activités dans les secteurs scientifique et technique, le Ministère joue un rôle de premier plan en matière de culture. Nous sommes heureux de constater que le secteur Affaires culturelles compte autant de Francophones que d'Anglophones, ce qui permet de bien prendre en considération les particularités de chacun des deux groupes.

Trois événements survenus cette année laissent présager un avenir meilleur pour les collectivités francophones hors du Québec. Premièrement, le Ministère a annoncé l'octroi d'une subvention fédérale à TVOntario afin d'accroître de 19 à 70 heures par semaine en 1986 sa programmation en langue française. Deuxièmement, le comité créé par le ministre et son homologue du Québec pour étudier l'avenir de la télévision francophone a déposé son rapport, et il y recommande, notamment, que les télédistributeurs desservant les collectivités de langue française à l'extérieur du Québec soient tenus d'offrir au moins deux canaux dans cette langue. Enfin, les municipalités peuvent maintenant demander au CRTC l'autorisation de retransmettre des signaux de télévision par voie hertzienne ou par câble dans les régions qui en sont privées. Voilà une excellente nouvelle pour les minorités de langue officielle des régions isolées.

Les taux de participation sont demeurés sensiblement les mêmes que l'année dernière ; on compte 1 558 employés anglophones (soit 69 p.100) et 700 Francophones (31 p.100). Mais si l'équilibre global est satisfaisant, la répartition des employés entre les diverses catégories l'est moins. Les Francophones constituent 19,6 p.100 du personnel aux échelons supérieurs, contre 36,3 p.100 aux échelons inférieurs. À l'exception de la région de la Capitale nationale et du Nouveau-Brunswick, les minorités de langue officielle sont toujours sous-représentées ; à l'heure actuelle, par exemple, il n'y a que 4 Anglophones parmi les 156 employés de la région du Québec, et 5 Francophones sur les 161 du sud de l'Ontario. Par contre, on dénombre maintenant 7 Francophones parmi les 74 employés de Winnipeg.

Le Ministère encourage ses employés à travailler dans leur langue, et les occasions de faire usage du français au travail se multiplient. Le personnel est invité à signaler les problèmes liés à la langue de travail au directeur des langues officielles afin qu'on puisse prendre les mesures qui s'imposent. Bien d'autres ministères gagneraient à suivre cet exemple.

Nous avons reçu cinq plaintes cette année relativement à l'accueil téléphonique, à des inscriptions unilingues dans des annuaires téléphoniques et à des formules unilingues. Ces plaintes et une autre reçue l'an dernier ont été résolues. Dans la plupart des cas, le Ministère a fait preuve d'une lenteur déplorable.

Conseil de la radiodiffusion et des télécommunications canadiennes*

Le Conseil de la radiodiffusion et des télécommunications canadiennes a continué cette année d'offrir au public un excellent service dans les deux langues. Par contre, au siège social, un trop grand nombre d'employés francophones ne peuvent utiliser leur langue au travail ; de plus, les taux de participation des Francophones et des Anglophones ne présentent pas l'équilibre souhaité.

Le CRTC continue d'appuyer les minorités francophones et anglophones des petites communautés en demandant à tous les télédiffuseurs et télédistributeurs, anciens ou nouveaux, de leur offrir une programmation dans leur langue.

Tous les Canadiens peuvent obtenir des renseignements du CRTC dans leur langue officielle d'élection. Toutefois, on peut penser que le public profiterait davantage de cette possibilité si l'accueil téléphonique bilingue — notamment à Ottawa — était de règle.

Le nombre d'employés qui ne satisfont pas aux exigences linguistiques de leur poste est passé de 31 à 17. Dans la catégorie Gestion, cependant, quatre employés sur 20 ne sont pas qualifiés linguistiquement, ce qui agit sur la langue de travail : l'anglais continue de l'emporter dans la rédaction des rapports et la supervision. La proportion de Francophones est très élevée (51 p.100 des 400 employés), et ce dans toutes les catégories, sauf celle des Scientifiques et spécialistes (6 des 36 employés).

Manifestement, des mesures s'imposent pour résoudre ces problèmes. Le CRTC se fixe chaque année des cibles précises, mais on constate l'absence d'objectifs à moyen ou à long terme, de centres de responsabilités et de mécanismes de contrôle. Si on évalue la contribution des cadres au programme des langues officielles, il serait souhaitable qu'ils participent à la détermination de ses objectifs.

En 1985, le CRTC a fait l'objet de quatre plaintes portant sur l'absence de publicité dans les journaux de la minorité francophone.

Conseil des Arts*

Si le Conseil des Arts du Canada s'est taillé une réputation enviable au chapitre du service au public, c'est qu'il s'est toujours fait un point d'honneur de servir sa clientèle dans la langue officielle appropriée. Cela dit, il est regrettable qu'il n'accorde pas la même attention à certains autres aspects de son programme des langues officielles. Malgré nos rappels lors du suivi de notre vérification de 1983, le Conseil n'a toujours pas donné suite à certaines de nos principales recommandations.

Une réduction de son personnel n'a pas empêché le Conseil d'offrir ses services dans les deux langues. Un peu plus de 190 de ses 225 employés occupent un poste bilingue et satisfont aux exigences prescrites. En outre, ses listes d'adresses portent un code de désignation linguistique et l'on observe scrupuleusement les directives voulant que la correspondance se fasse dans la langue du destinataire. De par la nature de ses activités, le Conseil peut en outre exercer une influence considérable sur le bien-être des groupes culturels minoritaires ; or plusieurs participants à notre colloque sur les minorités de langue officielle, qui s'est tenu en octobre 1985, ont affirmé qu'il n'accordait pas aux artistes francophones hors du Québec le soutien nécessaire à leur développement. Il serait peut-être utile que le Conseil réexamine certains de ses programmes spéciaux, tels le programme Exploration et l'Office des tournées, afin de s'assurer qu'ils soutiennent adéquatement les artistes et les groupes culturels de langue minoritaire.

Lorsqu'ils communiquent entre eux verbalement, les employés du Conseil pratiquent le bilinguisme passif, chacun utilisant la langue officielle qui lui convient. Cependant, la situation se présente moins bien pour les Francophones qui désirent utiliser leur langue pour d'autres aspects de leur travail. Si les notes de service sont distribuées un peu plus souvent dans les deux langues, on constate avec regret que seulement 15 p.100 des rapports internes, des énoncés de politique et autres documents soumis au Conseil sont rédigés en français, malgré le fait que 47 p.100 des agents qui les produisent soient des Francophones. De plus, quatre ateliers de travail organisés durant l'année à l'intention des agents du Conseil se sont déroulés entièrement en anglais, bien qu'un quart d'entre eux soient francophones.

La participation des Anglophones s'est très légèrement accrue (de 1,7 p.100), mais elle n'atteint toujours qu'un faible 38,7 p.100. Ils souffrent notamment d'une sous-représentation à la fois grave et chronique dans la catégorie Soutien administratif, où ils ne forment que 18,5 p.100 du personnel. Il y a maintenant cinq ans que nous avons porté cette situation à l'attention du Conseil ; nous comprenons fort bien que les possibilités de dotation sont limitées, mais le Conseil devrait à tout le moins prendre acte du problème et dresser des plans à long terme.

L'administration des langues officielles présente également certaines faiblesses : ainsi, les chefs de section ne sont pas encore tenus de se fixer des objectifs en la matière, ce qui fait que leur rendement à cet égard ne peut être évalué. Par ailleurs, le Conseil n'a toujours pas donné suite à notre recommandation de réviser sa politique de langues officielles qui date de 1979 et qu'il n'a même pas cru bon d'insérer dans son présent Manuel des ressources humaines. Enfin, cette année, quatre agents se sont partagés à tour de rôle la gestion du programme des langues officielles ; inutile de dire que ce dernier n'a pas bénéficié d'une direction efficace. L'entrée en fonction d'un nouveau directeur du Conseil l'automne dernier devrait constituer une excellente occasion de repenser l'attitude du Conseil en matière de langue de travail, de participation et de partage des responsabilités en matière de langues officielles.

Nous n'avons reçu aucune plainte contre le Conseil des Arts en 1985.

Conseil du Trésor

Malgré une réduction de son personnel, le Secrétariat du Conseil du Trésor a réussi cette année à accroître sa capacité bilingue et à améliorer son rendement linguistique.

Prêchant par l'exemple, le Secrétariat a mieux intégré son programme des langues officielles à sa planification des ressources humaines. Depuis quelques années, c'est aux gestionnaires qu'il incombe de fixer les objectifs linguistiques de leur secteur d'activités, et leur rendement à cet égard fait partie intégrante de leur évaluation annuelle.

Le Secrétariat compte maintenant 749 employés, dont 566 occupent des postes bilingues (76 p.100), une augmentation de 4 p.100 par rapport à l'année dernière. La proportion de titulaires satisfaisant aux exigences linguistiques de leur poste a atteint 90 p.100. Signalons enfin que le Secrétariat a rehaussé les exigences d'un grand nombre de ses postes bilingues : 17 p.100 de ceux-ci exigent maintenant un niveau de compétence supérieur en langue seconde, comparativement à 9 p.100 l'année dernière.

Le Secrétariat a réglé au cours de l'année une plainte qui était en suspens depuis 1983 et, ce faisant, est venu en aide à plusieurs ministères aux prises avec la même situation : il s'est attaqué au problème des commissionnaires unilingues anglais qui, sans être des fonctionnaires, sont souvent le premier contact qu'a le public avec les ministères fédéraux. On a ajouté une clause au contrat du Corps des commissionnaires qui permet aux ministères de mieux définir leurs exigences en matière de langues officielles. Le Secrétariat a également mis sur pied un projet-pilote grâce auquel les commissionnaires ont accès en dehors des heures de travail à des cours de langue dispensés par la Commision de la Fonction publique et défrayés par le Corps des commissionnaires. Une première session a eu lieu, dont les résultats semblent prometteurs.

Au chapitre de la langue de travail, le Secrétariat a changé son approche en abandonnant son enquête interne annuelle au profit de projets visant à régler des problèmes précis. Cette année, le personnel s'est employé à favoriser l'usage des deux langues dans les réunions, et prépare des documents d'information et des directives à l'intention de ceux et celles qui ont à présider de telles réunions. Si le projet donne les résultats escomptés, ce matériel sera offert à d'autres ministères.

Le service administratif du Conseil a résolu un problème qui embêtait plus d'un ministère : les cours de formation en traitement de texte et en informatique sont donnés aux employés du Conseil du Trésor, du ministère des Finances et du Bureau du Contrôleur général dans les deux langues. Bravo ! Qu'on ne vienne plus dire que l'anglais est la seule et unique langue de l'informatique.

La participation des deux groupes linguistiques demeure stationnaire — 67 p.100 d'Anglophones et 33 p.100 de Francophones. Les déséquilibres sectoriels notés l'an dernier persistent : on retrouve 80 p.100 d'Anglophones dans le groupe de la Gestion supérieure et 54 p.100 de Francophones dans celui du Soutien administratif. Le groupe des agents financiers ne compte toujours que 7 employés de langue française sur 47 (15 p.100), et la catégorie Scientifiques et spécialistes 4 sur 35 (11 p.100). Le Secrétariat devra s'employer à redresser la situation.

Nous avons reçu six plaintes cette année contre le Conseil du Trésor. Quatre portaient sur l'accueil unilingue anglais, tant en personne qu'au téléphone. Une autre mettait en cause un rapport de statistiques sur l'accès à l'information distribué en anglais seulement. La dernière, qui est toujours à l'étude, se rapportait à l'utilisation de matériel audio-visuel en anglais seulement lors d'une réunion d'information à l'intention de fonctionnaires.

Consommation et Corporations

La situation linguistique au ministère de la Consommation et des Corporations est restée stable en 1985. Il continue d'offrir ses services au public dans les deux langues, à quelques exceptions près. Par contre, la promotion du français comme langue de travail devra faire l'objet d'efforts particuliers. Et comme dans tant d'autres ministères, la participation anglophone au Québec reste beaucoup trop faible (4,7 p.100).

Quelque 48,5 p.100 des 2 476 employés du Ministère occupent des postes bilingues et 89,9 p.100 d'entre eux satisfont aux exigences linguistiques de leur poste. L'effectif bilingue étant généralement bien réparti à travers le Ministère, l'administration centrale aussi bien que les bureaux de districts sont en mesure d'offrir leurs services dans les deux langues ; malheureusement l'accueil téléphonique ne se fait pas systématiquement dans les deux langues officielles.

Le Ministère devra s'employer plus énergiquement à étendre l'usage du français comme langue de travail. Une étude sectorielle a été menée en 1985 afin de mettre au point une méthodologie qui aiderait les gestionnaires à mieux intégrer la composante langue de travail à leur plan des langues officielles. On remarque cependant une nette amélioration en ce qui a trait aux communications écrites entre l'administration centrale et les bureaux du Québec.

La participation des Francophones s'établit globalement à 37,7 p.100 et est élevée dans presque toutes les catégories ; dans celle des Scientifiques et spécialistes, elle a augmenté de 2 p.100 en 1985 pour atteindre 20,5 p.100. Par contre, la participation anglophone est insuffisante dans la catégorie Soutien administratif (51,4 p.100) et nettement trop faible au Québec — 13 employés sur 275 soit 4,7 p.100.

Onze plaintes ont été déposées contre le Ministère en 1985. Deux concernaient des annonces qui n'avaient pas été publiées dans la presse minoritaire francophone, six autres portaient sur l'absence de service téléphonique en français, une concernait l'étiquetage unilingue, une de la correspondance en anglais à un client francophone et la dernière mettait en cause des documents en langue anglaise fournis aux candidats francophones lors d'un concours pour un poste bilingue. En fin d'année, 10 de ces plaintes avaient été réglées et l'autre était sur le point de l'être grâce à la collaboration empressée du Ministère.

Contrôleur général

Au Bureau du Contrôleur général, on s'est appliqué davantage cette année à des travaux de planification en vue d'une prochaine réorganisation qu'à faire progresser

la situation linguistique. En effet, le Bureau a peu fait pour résoudre les problèmes soulevés dans nos rapports antérieurs concernant le niveau de bilinguisme requis pour son personnel et l'équilibre dans la participation des deux groupes linguistiques.

Bien que 113 des 156 postes soient bilingues et que 108 d'entre eux (95,6 p.100) soient occupés par des personnes satisfaisant aux exigences linguistiques, seulement six postes (5,3 p.100) exigent la norme de bilinguisme supérieure. Il serait temps que le Bureau passe à l'action et relève les exigences linguistiques d'un certain nombre de postes d'agents, comme l'ont fait la plupart des organismes fédéraux au cours des dernières années. Il pourrait ainsi s'assurer que les services qu'il offre sont toujours d'égale qualité en français et en anglais, tout en favorisant l'emploi des deux langues au travail.

La participation globale des Francophones a diminué en 1985, passant de 26,9 à 24,4 p.100. Si la représentation anglophone s'est quelque peu améliorée dans la catégorie Soutien administratif (51,4 par rapport à 45,7 p.100 l'an dernier), la proportion des Francophones aux échelons supérieurs n'a cessé de décroître : elle n'est plus que de 12 p.100 (8 des 67 postes) comparativement à 22 p.100 en 1982. Le Bureau doit sans plus tarder redresser ce sérieux déséquilibre qui s'aggrave constamment. Soulignons à ce sujet qu'un seul des 13 agents et cadres embauchés durant les dix premiers mois de 1985 était francophone. Le Bureau s'est maintenant fixé comme objectif d'augmenter à 20 p.100, d'ici 1988, la participation francophone dans la catégorie Gestion.

Sur le plan de la langue de travail, notons que le Bureau participe avec le Secrétariat du Conseil du Trésor à un projet pilote qui vise à aider les employés à présider des réunions dans les deux langues. En outre, la haute direction s'est engagée à étudier la question de la disponibilité de logiciels bilingues et celle de l'évaluation du rendement, qui se fait en anglais pour une proportion élevée d'employés francophones (60 p.100). Malheureusement, la section responsable des langues officielles a remis à plus tard le sondage annuel sur la langue de travail, qui constituait un instrument précieux pour la gestion du programme.

La seule plainte reçue contre le Bureau en 1985 concernait la distribution d'un document de travail unilingue anglais aux ministères et organismes fédéraux. Reconnaissant qu'il s'agissait d'un document important, diffusé sur une grande échelle, il s'est engagé à publier dorénavant les documents de ce genre dans les deux langues. Une autre plainte remontant à 1984 et portant sur la prestation de cours en français aux évaluateurs de programme est en voie d'être réglée de façon satisfaisante. Le Bureau s'est en effet engagé à offrir trois cours en français au début de 1986. C'est là une initiative fort louable.

Corporation Place du Havre*

Créée en 1982, la Corporation Place du Havre dirige un vaste projet de mise en valeur de la zone du centre-ville de Vancouver faisant face à l'océan. Si nous y avons fait cette année une vérification de toutes ses activités, c'est principalement que la Corporation a été chargée de construire et de gérer le Pavillon du Canada dans le cadre d'Expo 86. De façon générale, nous avons été satisfaits.

La direction de la Corporation connaît très bien ses obligations en matière de langues officielles. Il serait néanmoins souhaitable qu'elle formule un énoncé succinct de politique à cet égard.

Dans l'ensemble, la Corporation présente un visage bilingue : l'affichage, l'accueil, le papier à lettres, le matériel promotionnel font tous place aux deux langues officielles. Par contre, au moment de notre vérification, les formules, chèques et reçus n'étaient disponibles qu'en anglais. Nous recommandons qu'ils soient remplacés par du matériel bilingue à mesure que les stocks s'épuiseront.

La Corporation a élaboré un plan détaillé afin d'assurer le caractère bilingue du Pavillon du Canada à Expo 86. On verra à ce qu'au moins un tiers des quelque 200 hôtes et hôtesses que l'on recrute dans tout le pays pour accueillir les visiteurs maîtrisent les deux langues officielles. Un pourcentage à peu près égal de tous les autres postes nécessitant des contacts avec le public sera pourvu par des employés bilingues, qui seront clairement identifiés comme tels, et tous les surveillants devront avoir une compétence fonctionnelle des deux langues. On donnera des directives précises aux employés du pavillon qui seront en contact avec les visiteurs afin qu'ils offrent spontanément le service dans les deux langues ou qu'ils fassent immédiatement appel à un collègue bilingue, le cas échéant.

Les multiples spectacles qui seront présentés au Pavillon du Canada refléteront la dualité linguistique du pays aussi bien que son patrimoine multiculturel. Déjà, on a veillé à respecter la langue des artistes dans les communications avec eux et les contrats, et on prévoit de les présenter en français et en anglais.

Compte tenu de la réalité géographique et du milieu, il n'est pas étonnant que l'anglais prédomine comme langue de travail au sein de la Corporation. Au moment de la vérification, 12 de ses 75 employés étaient des Francophones ; ils occupaient des postes de gestionnaires, de secrétaires et d'administrateurs.

La Corporation a fait l'objet de deux plaintes portant sur l'accueil téléphonique ; l'une mettait en cause une réceptionniste unilingue anglaise, l'autre un message enregistré en anglais seulement. Ces problèmes ont été promptement réglés.

Cour fédérale

L'Administration de la Cour fédérale du Canada a continué d'améliorer sa condition linguistique en 1985, notamment aux chapitres de la langue de service et de la langue de travail. Cependant, elle ne s'est toujours pas attaquée à certains problèmes que nous avions signalés lors de notre vérification de 1983 touchant la gestion de son programme des langues officielles et la participation des deux groupes linguistiques.

La Cour compte 118 employés bilingues sur un total de 173 et elle a accru sa capacité bilingue à Calgary, Winnipeg, Toronto et Montréal. Il lui reste maintenant à assurer une telle capacité à Halifax et à Vancouver.

Deux progrès importants auront marqué 1985. D'une part, les services du greffe de la Cour qui sont dispensés par les cours provinciales au Nouveau-Brunswick seront désormais disponibles dans les deux langues. D'autre part, le Secrétariat

d'État a consenti à détacher une unité de traduction auprès de la Cour afin de lui permettre de publier simultanément dans les deux langues la plupart des jugements d'intérêt ou d'importance pour le public et de réduire le délai de traduction des autres jugements.

L'Administration de la Cour a diffusé sa politique des langues officielles auprès de tous ses employés, les informant notamment de leurs droits et obligations à cet égard. Par ailleurs, tous les documents de travail sont maintenant traduits, et les employés peuvent désormais indiquer sur le formulaire d'appréciation du rendement dans quelle langue ils désirent être évalués. En outre, les employés se prévalent de plus en plus de leur droit de rédiger leurs rapports dans leur langue.

La Cour tarde encore à mettre en place les mécanismes appropriés pour contrôler la mise en œuvre de son programme des langues officielles. De même, elle ne s'est pas encore penchée sur le problème de la participation globale des Anglophones, qui n'atteint que 50 p.100 dans l'ensemble.

La Cour fédérale a fait l'objet en fin d'année de trois plaintes au sujet du retard apporté à publier la version française d'un jugement d'intérêt public. La Cour a expliqué qu'elle avait fait tous les efforts possibles en ce sens, mais en vain. Si nous reconnaissons que les juges doivent parfois rendre de tels jugements sans en attendre la traduction, nous sommes d'avis qu'ils devraient alors justifier cette façon de procéder. Nous avons d'ailleurs proposé un amendement en ce sens à la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, un sujet qui est traité plus en détail ailleurs dans ce rapport.

Cour suprême

La Cour suprême du Canada a dans l'ensemble fait peu de progrès en 1985 en ce qui a trait à la langue de travail et à la gestion de son programme des langues officielles. Cependant elle s'apprêtait à la fin de l'année à adopter une politique sur les langues officielles, donnant enfin suite à la principale recommandation de notre rapport de 1983. Il faudra aussi que la Cour indique clairement à ses gestionnaires ce qu'elle attend d'eux en cette matière.

Dans l'ensemble, la Cour est en mesure de bien servir le public dans les deux langues. Quarante-trois de ses 61 postes sont bilingues (7 p.100 de plus que l'an dernier), et 37 titulaires (soit 86 p.100) satisfont aux exigences linguistiques de leur poste. Les réceptionnistes et les commissionnaires, chargés d'accueillir le public, sont bilingues et offrent activement leurs services dans les deux langues. Par ailleurs, l'Administration de la Cour continue d'appliquer sa politique de publication simultanée dans les deux langues de ses jugements et motifs afférents.

Tout comme l'an dernier, les Francophones constituent 57 p.100 de l'effectif et forment plus de la moitié de chacune des catégories d'emploi. Nous avons cependant noté que 13 des 22 postes dotés en 1985 ont été comblés par des Anglophones. Afin de continuer dans la même veine, la Cour aurait intérêt à établir des objectifs précis à cet égard.

L'anglais continue de dominer comme langue de travail dans plusieurs secteurs, en dépit de la forte proportion de Francophones. L'unilinguisme de certains gestionnaires constitue toujours un obstacle, et on n'arrive pas à se débarrasser des vieilles

habitudes de travail. Ainsi, bien qu'ils bénéficient de documents de travail bilingues et qu'ils puissent rédiger leurs rapports et autres documents dans leur langue, les employés de la Cour doivent souvent se plier à la langue de leur superviseur dans leurs communications orales et même lors de leur évaluation de rendement. En plus de préciser sa position à cet égard dans la politique qu'elle est à mettre au point, la Cour devrait examiner de près la situation concrète et y apporter les correctifs requis.

Nous n'avons reçu aucune plainte à son sujet en 1985.

Défense nationale

Avec 115 000 militaires et employés civils, le ministère de la Défense nationale est de loin le plus gros employeur fédéral. Par son rôle de premier plan dans la sauvegarde de la souveraineté canadienne, il se doit tout particulièrement de refléter la dualité linguistique du pays. Malheureusement, ses progrès en matière de langues officielles en 1985 ont été bien en deçà de nos espérances.

Grâce à sa politique de recrutement, le Ministère a vu s'accroître depuis une dizaine d'années le nombre de Francophones dans les Forces armées : ils constituent aujourd'hui 27,4 p.100 des effectifs. Cependant, la proportion des généraux et des officiers supérieurs francophones est de 15 p.100 environ même si les Francophones constituent 23 p.100 du total des officiers. Il faut prendre des mesures non seulement pour favoriser l'accès des Francophones aux grades militaires supérieurs, mais aussi à certaines classifications (officier météorologiste, officier d'administration dentaire) et à certains métiers (technicien en génie naval, technicien en recherche et sauvetage) où ils sont actuellement en proportion insuffisante.

Le fardeau du bilinguisme continue de peser davantage sur les Francophones. Dans les Forces armées, la moitié d'entre eux sont officiellement bilingues, contre un sur vingt chez les Anglophones : voilà qui illustre bien l'inégalité des deux langues dans le milieu du travail. Les officiers anglophones perdent leur français faute d'en faire un usage régulier, alors que leurs collègues francophones sont forcés d'exécuter une bonne partie de leurs tâches en anglais.

La situation chez les civils francophones n'est pas particulièrement brillante. Ils occupent 20,1 p.100 des postes, mais seulement 14 p.100 de ceux aux échelons supérieurs. La proportion des employés anglophones au Québec est de 10,3 p.100.

Le Ministère travaille depuis deux ans à l'élaboration d'un nouveau plan des langues officielles, mais ne semble pas près d'aboutir. En attendant, il se doit d'agir là où la situation l'exige.

Ainsi, le Quartier général de la Défense nationale, à Ottawa, devrait faire preuve d'un bilinguisme exemplaire : pourtant, rares sont les activités où le français est utilisé régulièrement. Il y a un an et demi, nous avons incité le Ministère à repérer les secteurs qui pourraient le plus facilement devenir bilingues, mais sans résultats tangibles jusqu'à maintenant.

Le Ministère possède des bases et des installations dans toutes les provinces. Les commandants des bases doivent rendre compte des activités qui s'y déroulent, y

compris les aspects linguistiques ; il faudrait ajouter à leur formulaire d'évaluation une section portant sur leur rendement à cet égard.

Le contrôle du programme des langues officielles laisse également à désirer. À l'heure actuelle, les coordonnateurs des langues officielles ont la tâche ingrate d'évaluer eux-mêmes le programme qu'ils coordonnent. Si les installations militaires reçoivent une pléthore d'inspecteurs et de vérificateurs, aucun n'est chargé d'apprécier systématiquement la situation sur le front linguistique. On nous dit cependant que cet état de choses sera bientôt modifié.

Plus de 95 p.100 des documents techniques internes ne sont toujours disponibles qu'en anglais. On a réussi à accroître quelque peu leur disponibilité en français : certains manuels d'entretien qui font l'objet d'une mise à jour paraissent maintenant dans les deux langues. Toutefois, à peu d'exceptions près, les manuels administratifs du Ministère sont bilingues, ainsi que les publications destinées au grand public. Le Ministère fait régulièrement paraître sa publicité pour le recrutement militaire dans les médias minoritaires partout au pays.

De façon générale, la capacité bilingue du Ministère suffirait à assurer au public un service dans la langue qui lui convient. La difficulté vient du fait que le service bilingue n'est pas offert activement — notamment par les employés qui traitent directement avec le public, par exemple les standardistes, les commissionnaires et les gardes. D'autre part, le Ministère devrait rappeler aux employés qui desservent les familles des militaires qu'ils doivent tenir compte des besoins de chaque groupe linguistique.

Nous avons reçu 110 plaintes en 1985, plus du double de l'année précédente et un record de tous les temps pour le Ministère. Nous avons réglé 57 d'entre elles et 19 autres reçues dans les années antérieures ; 13 des plaintes n'étaient pas fondées.

Ving-six plaintes avaient trait à des aspects du service au public, entre autres l'affichage, les imprimés et les documents, la publicité et les communications diverses.

Deux des plaintes mentionnées visaient le manque de service en français au Centre médical de la Défense nationale à Ottawa. Suite à notre intervention, le Ministère a fait traduire les formulaires en cause et a rappelé au personnel la nécessité d'offrir leurs services de façon active dans les deux langues.

Nous avons reçu 30 plaintes relatives à des notes de service et à des directives qui avaient été diffusées en anglais seulement, bien que leur contenu fût d'égale importance pour les Francophones. Le grand nombre de plaintes de ce genre représentait pour nous une préoccupation particulière et nous sommes heureux de mentionner que le Ministère a agi avec promptitude.

La désignation linguistique de postes civils a fait l'objet de 38 plaintes. Trois, entre autres, portaient sur un ensemble de 40 postes de formation pour des stagiaires en administration dans le domaine des achats. Par suite de notre intervention, le Ministère a suspendu le concours. La plupart des autres cas touchaient des postes à caractère technique. Chaque fois on exigeait seulement la connaissance de l'anglais ; nos correspondants sont d'avis que les tâches nécessitent le bilinguisme des titulaires. L'étude de ces dossiers sera terminée en 1986.

Enfin, nous avons reçu 16 plaintes concernant la formation et d'autres aspects de la langue dans le milieu de travail.

Emploi et Immigration*

Si la Commission de l'emploi et de l'immigration du Canada a dans l'ensemble maintenu sa bonne cote en ce qui a trait au service au public dans les régions, il lui reste plusieurs choses à faire à son administration centrale. Notre vérification y a en effet mis en lumière diverses lacunes en ce qui concerne l'emploi du français au travail.

La Commission s'enorgueillit à juste titre d'avoir mis au point un système efficace de gestion des langues officielles dans les régions ; le principal élément en est l'insertion d'obligations linguistiques dans les contrats de gestion entre le sous-ministre et les directeurs des régions. Or, si l'on utilise un procédé analogue à l'administration centrale, il ne donne pas les résultats escomptés. Les clauses linguistiques ne comportent pas d'indices de performance, les méthodes de contrôle sont inadéquates, et les gestionnaires n'ont pas des responsabilités suffisamment définies pour ce qui est de l'atteinte des objectifs. De même, certains systèmes et procédés administratifs ne tiennent pas suffisamment compte des questions linguistiques. Ainsi, deux projets d'envergure visant à améliorer la qualité des services offerts par la Commission ne font aucune mention de l'offre active de service dans les deux langues.

La proportion globale de postes bilingues s'établit à 23 p.100, soit 6 211 sur 27 020, et 87 p.100 de leurs titulaires répondent aux normes voulues. Le niveau de bilinguisme est satisfaisant au Québec, au Nouveau-Brunswick, et dans le nord et l'est de l'Ontario. Il s'est par ailleurs accru en Colombie-Britannique où le nombre d'employés bilingues est passé de 21 en 1984 à 47 en 1985. La Commission a aussi entrepris des démarches pour doter un de ses centres d'emploi de Saint-Jean (Terre-Neuve) d'une capacité bilingue ; d'ailleurs, le nombre d'employés bilingues dans cette province est passé de 3 à 9 par rapport à l'an dernier. Nous nous réjouissons de ces progrès, dont pourraient d'ailleurs s'inspirer plusieurs organismes moins dynamiques.

La plupart des bureaux régionaux entretiennent des relations suivies avec les minorités de langue officielle et utilisent régulièrement les médias de langue minoritaire, mais la Commission aurait intérêt à définir une stratégie qui permettrait de mieux coordonner ces activités. En outre, étant donné l'importance pour les citoyens des questions dont elle traite (emploi, immigration, assurance-chômage), elle devrait évaluer de façon systématique la satisfaction de sa clientèle sur le plan linguistique.

La proportion d'employés bilingues à l'administration centrale est satisfaisante, mais seulement 3 p.100 des postes bilingues exigent le niveau de connaissance supérieur, ce qui est insuffisant pour assurer l'encadrement dans les deux langues. Les problèmes liés à la langue de travail y sont d'ailleurs nombreux, en particulier aux chapitres de la supervision et de la tenue de réunions.

Ainsi, d'après les résultats d'un sondage que nous avons mené dans le cadre de notre vérification, les deux tiers environ des Francophones utilisent leur langue moins de la moitié du temps, alors que plus de 80 p.100 des Anglophones emploient l'anglais plus des trois quarts du temps. Par ailleurs, environ 80 p.100 des réunions se déroulent en anglais, et 40 p.100 des Francophones ont indiqué qu'ils ne bénéficiaient pas des services centraux et du personnel dans leur langue.

Globalement, les Anglophones forment les deux tiers des employés et les Francophones l'autre tiers. L'équilibre est adéquat dans la plupart des catégories d'emploi, à l'exception de celle du Soutien administratif où les Francophones sont quelque peu surreprésentés (36 p.100). Soulignons que les Francophones sont bien représentés dans toutes les provinces à majorité anglophone, ce qui est tout à l'honneur de la Commission. Ils forment notamment 7 p.100 du personnel au Manitoba, 3,5 en Alberta et 35,5 dans le nord et l'est de l'Ontario. Au Québec, par contre, on ne compte que 148 Anglophones parmi plus de 6 000 employés. La Commission a pris quelques initiatives au cours de l'année pour corriger ce déséquilibre. Notons entre autres que la proportion de candidats anglophones sur les répertoires de postulants a sensiblement augmenté. Les efforts de la Commission devront se poursuivre étant donné le rattrapage important à faire.

La Commission a fait l'objet cette année de 55 plaintes. La plupart d'entre elles se rapportaient au service au public ; il s'agissait généralement d'erreurs de parcours et non pas d'un manque de capacité bilingue. Six plaintes déploraient que des centres d'emploi pour étudiants n'offrent pas de services dans les deux langues. La collaboration et l'empressement de la Commission dans le règlement des plaintes a été très bonne.

Énergie, Mines et Ressources

Le ministère de l'Énergie, des Mines et des Ressources a poursuivi cette année sa longue progression vers de meilleurs services dans les deux langues officielles. Il devra cependant consentir des efforts soutenus s'il compte donner plus de place au français en milieu de travail et en arriver à des taux de participation plus équitables dans certaines catégories d'emploi.

Au chapitre de la langue de service, le Ministère serait sur le point de résoudre le problème de l'accueil téléphonique. En effet, des mesures ont été prises pour s'assurer que chaque point de service dispose en tout temps d'au moins un agent bilingue. Toutefois, à en juger par le nombre de plaintes reçues cette année à ce sujet, le Ministère devra encore redoubler d'efforts et notamment inciter ses employés à offrir spontanément le service dans les deux langues.

Au total, 40,6 p.100 des 5 105 employés occupent des postes bilingues et 79,5 p.100 d'entre eux satisfont aux exigences linguistiques de leur poste. Les employés bilingues sont surtout concentrés dans la région de la Capitale nationale (95 p.100) où se déroule le gros des activités du Ministère. Ils sont donc fort peu nombreux dans le reste du pays ; par exemple, il n'existe aucun poste bilingue dans le nord et l'est de l'Ontario, régions qui comptent pourtant une forte population francophone.

Les employés du Ministère utilisent peu le français au travail en dehors du Québec et de certaines unités de la Capitale nationale et du Nouveau-Brunswick. Les titulaires de postes bilingues peuvent obtenir leur évaluation de rendement dans leur langue, et les services centraux et du personnel sont bilingues. Et si les publications scientifiques sont rédigées surtout en anglais, sauf au Québec, les documents de travail destinés à tous les employés sont disponibles dans les deux langues officielles.

Les Anglophones forment 75,8 p.100 des effectifs du Ministère et les Francophones 24,2 p.100. Mais cet équilibre global, presque parfait, est loin de se refléter dans la catégorie Gestion, où la participation francophone n'est que de 11,5 p.100. Par ailleurs, bien qu'elle soit encore trop faible, la participation francophone dans la catégorie Scientifiques et spécialistes s'est accrue, passant de 13 p.100 en 1984 à 15,3 p.100 en 1985 ; voilà une amélioration pour le moins encourageante. Quant à la participation anglophone au Québec, elle dépasse à peine les 5 p.100, ce à quoi le Ministère doit s'employer à remédier.

Nous avons reçu 14 plaintes contre le Ministère en 1985. Douze d'entre elles portaient sur divers aspects de la langue de service tel l'accueil téléphonique unilingue anglais qui a fait l'objet de quatre plaintes. Quant aux deux autres, une avait trait à la langue de travail et l'autre à un cours de pré-retraite offert en anglais seulement. Douze de ces 14 dossiers sont déjà réglés grâce à une excellente collaboration du Ministère.

Environnement*

Malgré certaines faiblesses caractérisées, le ministère de l'Environnement a continué d'assurer à sa clientèle des services linguistiques de qualité. On note par ailleurs quelques problèmes persistants en matière de langue de travail et de participation des deux groupes linguistiques. Le Ministère s'y est attaqué, certes, mais il devra redoubler d'efforts s'il entend les régler de façon satisfaisante.

Parcs Canada, pour sa part, s'est efforcé d'accorder une place équitable aux deux langues officielles lors des activités qui ont marqué le centenaire des parcs nationaux. Dans l'ensemble, les parcs offrent aux quelque 25 millions de visiteurs qu'ils reçoivent chaque année un service de qualité sur le plan linguistique, quoique l'accueil à l'entrée des parcs laisse encore parfois à désirer et qu'on n'offre pas systématiquement les publications dans les deux langues. Enfin, Parcs Canada a presque terminé la révision de sa politique linguistique sur la signalisation routière. Dorénavant, les cartes publiées par le Ministère ainsi que les panneaux de signalisation à l'intérieur des parcs nationaux indiqueront dans les deux langues officielles les termes génériques des entités géographiques (lac, rivière, route, etc.).

Le Service de l'environnement atmosphérique offre quant à lui des services téléphoniques de renseignements météorologiques bilingues dans les principales villes du pays. Cependant, on avait omis d'indiquer dans les annuaires téléphoniques le numéro à composer pour obtenir des renseignements dans une langue donnée. Le Ministère a vu à ce que cette lacune soit corrigée.

Environnement Canada compte 10 152 employés, dont 2 387 occupent des postes bilingues. Plus de 86 p.100 de ces derniers satisfont aux exigences linguistiques de leur poste comparativement à 82 p.100 l'année précédente. Les employés bilingues sont assez bien répartis pour offrir un service adéquat partout au pays.

Le statut du français comme langue de travail n'a guère progressé, sauf au Québec et dans quelques groupes de travail de la Capitale nationale. Les ébauches de documents de travail que l'on fait circuler ne sont le plus souvent qu'en anglais, même lorsqu'ils sont distribués au Québec. Le Ministère se doit de corriger cet état

de choses, notamment en encourageant les Francophones à rédiger leurs textes en français.

Le Ministère ne compte que 20,1 p.100 d'employés francophones dans ses rangs, pourcentage inchangé depuis trois ans. Ils sont sous-représentés dans les catégories Gestion (16,8 p.100), Scientifiques et spécialistes (19 p.100) et Exploitation (13,4 p.100). Par contre, la participation anglophone au Québec a connu une légère hausse, passant de 6 à 7,5 p.100 cette année.

Nous avons reçu 40 plaintes contre le Ministère en 1985 ; 19 d'entre elles portaient sur l'affichage ou l'accueil dans les parcs nationaux, 18 étaient liées à divers aspects de la langue de service et trois à la langue de travail. Trente de ces plaintes ont déjà été résolues.

Expansion industrielle régionale*

La principale lacune du ministère de l'Expansion industrielle régionale, comme dans bien d'autres ministères d'ailleurs, est le peu de place accordée au français comme langue de travail. Un accueil téléphonique trop souvent unilingue et une faible proportion d'employés anglophones au Québec viennent encore assombrir le tableau.

Notre vérification de 1985 nous a permis de constater que le Ministère est généralement en mesure d'assurer des services bilingues à sa clientèle mais que le service en langue française n'est pas toujours offert spontanément, particulièrement dans le cas de l'accueil téléphonique.

Comme nous l'avons mentionné, le français est peu employé comme langue de travail, sauf au Québec. L'unilinguisme de nombreux membres de la catégorie Gestion n'est certainement pas étranger à ce fait ; ainsi, au siège social, 55 gestionnaires sur 172 ne satisfont pas aux exigences prescrites. Conscient de cet état de choses, le Ministère offre des cours de langue seconde à plus de 400 employés. Par ailleurs, les communications entre l'administration centrale et le bureau de Montréal continuent de se faire généralement en anglais, ce qui est injustifiable.

Les Anglophones ne comptent que pour 61 p.100 de la catégorie Soutien administratif, ce qui explique en partie que leur participation globale n'atteigne pas 70 p.100 (2 051 sur 2 981). Au Québec, elle reste faible (8 p.100). Quant aux Francophones, ils sont sous-représentés dans la région de la Capitale nationale, dans la catégorie Gestion (16,9 p.100) et chez les agents de commerce (19,5 p.100). Bref, le Ministère a encore beaucoup à faire sur le plan linguistique ; en sa qualité de leader de la relance économique, il se doit tout particulièrement de faire bonne figure à cet égard.

Nous avons reçu cinq plaintes à son endroit en 1985. Quatre concernaient l'accueil téléphonique unilingue et l'autre, une annonce n'ayant pas été publiée dans la presse minoritaire. Le Ministère s'est montré rapide et efficace dans chaque cas.

Finances

Le ministère des Finances a sensiblement progressé en 1985. Tandis que le public bénéficiait d'un service de bonne qualité dans les deux langues, les employés francophones ont pu davantage faire usage de la leur au travail. La participation globale de ces derniers demeure cependant un peu trop élevée en raison de leur forte présence dans la catégorie Soutien administratif.

La gestion du programme des langues officielles a été confiée aux services du personnel, initiative qui devrait assurer un meilleur contrôle de l'embauche et de la planification. Les gestionnaires, y compris les cadres supérieurs, participent directement au processus de planification — de la définition des objectifs au dépôt des rapports. De même que les surveillants, ils sont évalués en fonction de leur rendement en matière de langues officielles.

Le Ministère n'éprouve aucune difficulté à servir le public dans l'une ou l'autre langue officielle. En 1985, il a résolu un problème de longue date en bilinguisant sa campagne d'obligations d'épargne, qui était naguère la principale source de plaintes. Par ailleurs, il faut souligner la qualité linguistique de son système de renseignements téléphoniques sur le budget, dont se sont prévalus des milliers de Canadiens de toutes les régions.

Le Ministère mérite également des éloges pour son rendement linguistique, succès largement attribuable au fait que 550 de ses 867 employés occupent des postes bilingues, et que 494 d'entre eux satisfont aux exigences prescrites.

Selon la dernière enquête interne du Ministère, le taux d'utilisation du français au travail par les Francophones a été de 38 p.100, comparativement à 35 p.100 l'année dernière. Afin d'aider les Anglophones à perfectionner leurs compétences linguistiques, le Ministère a mis sur pied un programme de formation adapté aux besoins des employés. Par cette mesure notamment, il entend accroître la capacité linguistique des employés qui ont atteint le niveau intermédiaire.

Les Francophones constituent 52,4 p.100 des 265 employés de la catégorie Soutien administratif, ce qui explique leur forte représentation globale (34 p.100 des 867 employés). Les taux de participation dans les autres secteurs sont en général satisfaisants, quoique les Francophones soient nettement sous-représentés dans le groupe de la Direction (8 employés sur 63). Le Ministère devra faire preuve de vigilance à cet égard.

Nous n'avons reçu que deux plaintes cette année. L'une concernait le service de renseignements téléphoniques sur le budget (bien que l'information ait été fournie immédiatement en français, l'accueil ne s'était fait qu'en anglais), et l'autre le service des commissionnaires à la Place Bell. À la fin de l'année, ces deux cas étaient toujours à l'étude. Notre examen des plaintes de l'année dernière touchant l'absence de publicité dans des hebdomadaires de langue française a démontré qu'elles n'étaient pas fondées.

Gendarmerie royale du Canada*

La Gendarmerie royale du Canada est loin d'être au bout de ses peines en ce qui a trait aux langues officielles. Qui plus est, la révision de sa politique à cet égard

risque, selon les premières informations que nous avons, de ralentir davantage la réforme en cours. Soulignons cependant quelques points positifs : la GRC a amélioré son système de contrôle du programme des langues officielles et a poursuivi ses efforts en vue de recruter du personnel bilingue.

Nous avions à maintes reprises demandé à la GRC de mettre en place de meilleurs mécanismes de contrôle ; c'est maintenant chose faite. La Direction des langues officielles a mené au cours de l'année des vérifications auprès de cinq divisions, et elle entend surveiller de près la mise en œuvre de ses recommandations. Notons aussi que l'évaluation de rendement des cadres supérieurs tient maintenant compte de leur performance dans le domaine des langues officelles.

La proportion de postes bilingues chez les membres est passée de 19,4 p.100 l'an dernier à 16 p.100 cette année ; seulement 70 p.100 de leurs titulaires répondent aux exigences prescrites. Chez les fonctionnaires, on retrouve à peu près les mêmes proportions que l'an dernier, soit 25,4 p.100 de postes bilingues, dont 84,4 p.100 sont occupés par des titulaires qualifiés.

La proportion de policiers bilingues est adéquate dans les divisions desservant les régions de la Capitale nationale, du nord et de l'est de l'Ontario (53 p.100), du Québec (44 p.100) et du Nouveau-Brunswick (50 p.100). En outre, nous constatons avec plaisir que ces divisions cherchent à accroître encore davantage leur capacité bilingue ; plus de 85 p.100 des 320 membres nommés à des postes bilingues au cours des onze premiers mois de 1985 possédaient déjà les connaissances linguistiques requises.

Si l'on fait exception du Manitoba, où la proportion de policiers bilingues atteint 7 p.100, la capacité bilingue de la GRC dans l'Ouest demeure faible. Les effectifs bilingues ont même diminué au cours des deux dernières années en Saskatchewan et en Alberta, passant respectivement de 50 à 33 (sur 1 194) et de 75 à 64 (sur 2 108). Notons, par contre, que la Division de la Colombie-Britannique poursuit ses efforts pour répondre aux besoins de la population francophone, notamment en entretenant des relations continues avec les associations de langue française.

La situation est préoccupante à l'administration centrale, où la proportion de membres bilingues atteint à peine 12 p.100. Dans de telles circonstances, on s'explique mal pourquoi la GRC a décidé en cours d'année de ne plus exiger, à toutes fins utiles, le niveau de connaissance supérieur pour les titulaires de postes bilingues. Les exigences antérieures empêchaient peut-être, dans une certaine mesure, les agents ne possédant pas le niveau supérieur de connaissances d'accéder à l'un ou l'autre des quelque 30 postes les plus élevés (sous-commissaire, commissaire adjoint et surintendant principal), mais elles n'avaient selon nous aucun effet indésirable aux autres niveaux. La proportion des postes bilingues exigeant une connaissance supérieure ne représente en effet que 13,5 p.100 des 780 autres postes. Il y aurait donc tout lieu de repenser cette question.

Deux faits méritent ici d'être soulignés : 100 des 168 membres nommés à des postes bilingues au siège social durant les onze premiers mois de 1985 satisfaisaient aux exigences de leurs postes ; et 57 p.100 des 123 recrues engagées en 1984-1985 étaient bilingues. Il va sans dire que nous encourageons la GRC à poursuivre dans cette voie.

La proportion de Francophones et d'Anglophones parmi les effectifs est demeurée inchangée depuis l'an dernier, s'établissant respectivement à 15 et 85 p.100. Comme nous le signalions dans notre précédent rapport, le pourcentage élevé de policiers anglophones s'explique par le fait que la majorité des agents (près de 60 p.100) travaillent dans les provinces de l'Ouest, où la GRC agit à titre de police provinciale (et même municipale dans plusieurs cas). C'est pourquoi la GRC s'est fixé un objectif de 20,8 p.100 quant à la participation francophone, objectif qu'elle est cependant à revoir compte tenu de l'accroissement continu de ses effectifs dans l'Ouest. Toutefois, les questions de répartition géographique ne devraient pas faire perdre de vue que la GRC est un organisme à caractère national, qui se doit de refléter la dualité linguistique du pays. Soulignons par ailleurs qu'elle a atteint un assez bon équilibre dans son recrutement au cours des quatre dernières années, 29 p.100 des recrues étant francophones. Elle s'était trop écartée de ce pourcentage en 1983-1984, sans doute pour faire du rattrapage, alors que plus de 60 p.100 des 84 recrues étaient de langue française.

Il y a eu peu de progrès en matière de langue de travail. L'usage du français est courant au Québec, et s'étend graduellement au Nouveau-Brunswick et dans le nord et l'est de l'Ontario. Ces divisions de la GRC doivent cependant recourir à l'anglais régulièrement dans leurs communications avec l'administration centrale. Nous avons notamment mis en lumière une pratique inacceptable : certains secteurs du siège « demandaient l'assentiment de la Division du Québec » pour y tenir des réunions et offrir des cours en anglais. Cette situation est sans doute attribuable au fait que plus de 40 p.100 des titulaires de postes bilingues au siège social ne répondent pas aux exigences de leur poste. Quand on sait d'autre part que près de 60 p.100 des surveillants à l'administration centrale sont unilingues, on ne s'étonne guère du peu de place que le français y occupe.

La GRC a fait l'objet de 22 plaintes en 1985. Treize d'entre elles touchaient le service au public ; dans plusieurs cas, on se plaignait de l'unilinguisme anglais de policiers. Les neuf autres concernaient la langue de travail, notamment de directives internes émises en anglais seulement. La moitié des plaintes demeurent à l'étude. La collaboration de l'organisme dans le règlement des plaintes a été généralement bonne.

Gouverneur général*

La Résidence du Gouverneur général a fait l'objet cette année d'une première vérification linguistique. Rideau Hall, avons-nous constaté, bénéficie d'une bonne capacité bilingue et son personnel est bien conscient de la nécessité de servir le public dans les deux langues officielles. Par contre, le français y est sous-utilisé comme langue de travail alors que, paradoxalement, le taux de participation des Anglophones reste plutôt faible. Afin de maintenir ses acquis et de corriger ses faiblesses, Rideau Hall devrait se donner des objectifs précis sur le plan linguistique, et élaborer une politique qui tienne mieux compte de son importance stratégique et symbolique.

La Résidence compte un effectif de 96 personnes, et 54 des 61 titulaires de postes bilingues répondent à leurs exigences linguistiques. Si le service est habituellement fourni dans la langue officielle appropriée, un nombre encore trop élevé des postes bilingues, soit 28 d'entre eux, n'exigent que le niveau le plus bas de compétence

linguistique. De plus, il arrive parfois que le commissionnaire-portier soit unilingue : qu'advient-il alors de l'image bilingue que devrait projeter en tout temps la Résidence du chef de l'État canadien ? Des efforts devront également être faits en vue d'accroître la fréquence des visites guidées en français.

Bien que 65 p.100 des employés soient francophones, de vieilles habitudes de travail font que l'usage de l'anglais domine souvent au cours des réunions comme dans nombre d'activités quotidiennes. Soulignons également que les services financiers ne comptent qu'un employé bilingue sur cinq et que certains cours ne sont pas toujours offerts dans les deux langues.

En plus de favoriser un usage plus équitable de l'une et l'autre langue au travail et dans les communications internes, Rideau Hall devra corriger le déséquilibre dans la représentation des deux groupes linguistiques, seulement 35 p.100 des employés étant anglophones. Ce déséquilibre est particulièrement marqué dans certains secteurs comme au Service de la presse, où les quatre employés sont francophones.

Aucune plainte n'a été déposée contre Rideau Hall cette année.

Justice

Cette année, la plupart des dossiers linguistiques du ministère de la Justice sont restés en suspens. Et, bien sûr, la plupart des problèmes soulevés dans notre dernier rapport sont restés sans solution. Toutefois, le Ministère a nommé un nouveau directeur des langues officielles l'été dernier, et a multiplié les bonnes résolutions. Osons espérer que cela aboutira à des résultats concrets au cours des prochains mois.

Cinquante-trois pour cent des 1 627 postes du Ministère sont classés bilingues et 92 p.100 des titulaires sont linguistiquement qualifiés. Le Ministère a peu de rapports avec le grand public ; il traite principalement avec des organismes gouvernementaux à l'échelle provinciale, fédérale ou internationale. Étant donné le rôle important que jouent les conseillers juridiques, il s'ensuit que leur niveau de bilinguisme influe et sur la langue de travail, et sur la langue de service. À l'heure actuelle, 17 p.100 de ceux qui occupent un poste bilingue doivent posséder un niveau de compétence supérieur en langue seconde, comparativement à 15 p.100 l'année dernière. À l'administration centrale, 235 des 263 conseillers satisfont aux exigences requises ; dans les bureaux régionaux, c'est le cas pour 77 des 78 titulaires de postes bilingues.

Mais le Ministère entend faire davantage ; à compter d'avril 1987, il exigera que les conseillers juridiques nommés à des postes bilingues de la catégorie Gestion aient les compétences linguistiques requises dès le départ. Par ailleurs, le Ministère n'a toujours pas réglé un problème que nous signalions l'année dernière, soit l'absence de dispositions linguistiques dans les contrats passés avec les avocats de pratique privée.

Au chapitre de la langue de travail, on ne peut faire état que de bonnes intentions. Le Ministère nous a affirmé qu'il se pencherait sur les problèmes soulevés lors de notre vérification de 1984 et qu'il s'emploierait à accroître l'usage du français dans

les réunions et la rédaction des documents. Il veillera également à ce que la surveillance et l'évaluation des employés soient faites dans leur langue, tout en multipliant ses efforts pour doter les postes aux échelons supérieurs de titulaires linguistiquement compétents.

Il y a peu de changements du côté de la participation : les Anglophones constituent 66 p.100 du personnel et les Francophones, 34 p.100. Ces derniers représentent toujours 27 p.100 du groupe des conseillers juridiques mais, à l'extérieur de la région de la Capitale nationale et du Québec, ils ne sont plus que 1 p.100, par rapport à 2 p.100 l'année dernière.

Le ministère de la Justice n'a fait l'objet d'aucune plainte en 1985.

Pêches et Océans*

Le ministère des Pêches et Océans a poursuivi en 1985 l'excellent travail effectué ces dernières années en matière de langue de service, surtout dans l'est du pays. Il lui reste cependant un certain nombre de faiblesses à corriger, notamment en ce qui a trait à la participation des deux groupes linguistiques.

Si l'on se fie au sondage effectué par le Ministère dans la région de Scotia-Fundy et au faible nombre de plaintes portées contre lui cette année, il semble que le service au public se soit amélioré dans la région des Maritimes, où se trouve le gros de sa clientèle. D'autre part, bien que la capacité bilingue du Ministère, qui est de l'ordre de 15,4 p.100 dans l'ensemble, soit assez forte dans la région de la Capitale nationale, à Montréal et au Nouveau-Brunswick, elle est encore presque inexistante en Colombie-Britannique, où un seul employé bilingue sur 1 576 est censé fournir des services en français à toute la clientèle de la côte ouest.

Pour ce qui est de la langue de travail, les Francophones sont en mesure de travailler dans leur langue au Québec, au Nouveau-Brunswick et dans la Capitale nationale ; au Québec, les Anglophones peuvent utiliser l'anglais dans la région de Montréal.

Le Ministère compte quelque 6 450 employés, dont seulement 998 sont francophones (15,5 p.100). Cette faible participation se retrouve dans toutes les catégories d'emploi, sauf celle du Soutien administratif, mais particulièrement chez les Scientifiques et professionnels (11,5 p.100). Par ailleurs, le Ministère devra trouver le moyen d'augmenter la participation des Francophones dans l'Ouest et celle des Anglophones au Québec, qui se situent respectivement à 0,4 et 7,2 p.100.

Nous avons reçu sept plaintes contre le Ministère en 1985. Six avaient trait à divers aspects de la langue de service, et la septième mettait en cause la désignation linguistique d'un poste. Quatre de ces plaintes ont été résolues.

Pétro-Canada*

Les progrès de Pétro-Canada en ce qui a trait aux langues officielles ont été fort modestes en 1985. En effet, sa principale réalisation a été de bilinguiser l'affichage de 81 stations-service du Québec ayant une clientèle anglophone importante.

En tout, 121 des 856 stations-service de cette province sont maintenant dotées d'écriteaux bilingues, tandis que leur nombre demeurait à peu près stationnaire ailleurs au pays : 151 en Ontario, 22 dans l'Ouest et 49 dans les Maritimes. En se portant acquéreur des installations de Gulf à l'ouest du Québec, Pétro-Canada a accru le nombre de ses stations-service de quelque 66 p.100. Elle compte appliquer à ces nouvelles acquisitions les mêmes critères d'affichage bilingue qu'auparavant. En outre, sur nos instances, la Société corrigera les anomalies qui persistent dans certaines stations où l'affichage bilingue est de règle.

La politique de Pétro-Canada prévoit l'affichage bilingue partout où la minorité linguistique représente au moins 10 p.100 de la population. Tout en agréant cette règle, nous avons indiqué à la Société qu'elle ne devrait pas s'y tenir rigidement ; elle a d'ailleurs accepté d'y faire exception dans certains cas, notamment dans la région de Winnipeg.

La plupart des stations-service dotées d'un affichage bilingue offrent un service dans les deux langues. Nous avons recommandé à Pétro-Canada d'inclure une clause linguistique dans les baux des détaillants des régions bilingues, notamment là où la demande de service dans les deux langues est forte. La Société nous a répondu qu'elle encouragerait ces détaillants à offrir leurs services dans les deux langues, mais qu'elle n'était pas décidée à les y contraindre. Étant donné sa présence accrue sur le marché, il est d'autant plus important à nos yeux que la Société respecte ses obligations et reconnaisse pleinement les droits linguistiques de sa clientèle.

Les bureaux de Montréal, d'Ottawa, de Moncton et de Winnipeg n'éprouvent aucune difficulté à assurer un service en français et en anglais. Bien qu'ils soient dotés d'une modeste capacité bilingue, le siège social de Calgary et le bureau de Toronto n'offrent pas spontanément le service dans les deux langues et la demande de service en français y est faible. Les appels concernant les factures et les comptes-clients sont transférés à des centres de facturation assurant un service dans les deux langues.

Pétro-Canada a demandé à tous ses fournisseurs de lui indiquer leur préférence en matière de langue. D'après le sondage que nous avons effectué à Montréal, la Société en tient à peu près toujours compte.

Pétro-Canada parraine des manifestations sociales et culturelles organisées par les minorités de langue officielle de toutes les régions du pays, et annonce habituellement ses activités et ses campagnes de promotion dans la presse minoritaire. Il y a tout lieu de l'en féliciter.

L'anglais prédomine comme langue de travail dans les bureaux et installations en dehors du Québec, tandis que les deux langues sont utilisées dans cette province, ainsi qu'à Ottawa et à Moncton. Les formules, manuels et directives distribués par le siège social de Calgary ou celui des Produits Pétro-Canada sont bilingues.

Nous avons effectué à l'automne un suivi de notre vérification de 1984 : 4 de nos 20 recommandations avaient été mises en œuvre et six autres étaient en voie de l'être. Bien que 18 mois se soient écoulés entre-temps, plusieurs secteurs importants avaient été négligés : la Société n'avait toujours pas établi de critères pour la désignation des postes et fonctions bilingues ; elle était incapable de fournir des

données précises sur les compétences linguistiques de son personnel ou sur la représentation des deux groupes linguistiques ; et elle n'avait pas établi de lignes directrices en matière de langues officielles à l'intention de ses gestionnaires, ni préparé un manuel définissant les obligations linguistiques des détaillants dans les régions bilingues. Dans la plupart des cas, il semble que Pétro-Canada ne consacre pas suffisamment de temps et de ressources humaines à la mise en œuvre de son programme des langues officielles. Ainsi, pendant environ six mois, la Société a mis beaucoup de temps à répondre à nos lettres.

Pétro-Canada emploie actuellement 6 400 personnes, auxquelles viennent s'ajouter les 3 500 employés des installations de Gulf. En l'absence de données officielles sur la participation, les quelques renseignements dont nous disposons nous permettent d'estimer à quelque 10 ou 15 p.100 la représentation francophone. Si tel est le cas, Pétro-Canada devra multiplier ses efforts pour donner aux Francophones la place qui leur revient au sein de la Société, bien que nombre de ses activités soient aujourd'hui concentrées dans l'Ouest.

En 1985, nous avons reçu 15 plaintes touchant l'affichage, la publicité et les campagnes de promotion. Sept d'entre elles ont été réglées, ainsi que 21 autres datant des années antérieures (portant pour la plupart sur l'unilinguisme francophone des enseignes dans les stations-service du Québec).

Radio-Canada*

De par son importante programmation régionale, la Société Radio-Canada peut jouer un rôle clé dans l'épanouissement des minorités de langue officielle du pays. En 1985, elle a continué de prendre cette responsabilité à cœur en leur accordant son appui et en maintenant le niveau élevé de ses services, malgré des coupures budgétaires considérables.

Ces coupures ayant supprimé environ 550 postes en 1985, il faut féliciter la Société d'avoir épargné aux minorités linguistiques de toutes les régions les réductions de services locaux et régionaux que l'on pouvait craindre. Elle a même réussi à mener à bien deux projets déjà annoncés : dans la région de Halifax-Dartmouth, un émetteur plus puissant permet maintenant aux Francophones de capter beaucoup plus facilement les émissions de télévision en langue française diffusées à partir de Moncton ; et dans la région de Rouyn-Noranda, un nouvel émetteur permet à 2 500 Anglophones de capter les émissions en langue anglaise en provenance de Montréal.

Par contre, les collectivités francophones des Maritimes attendent toujours la réalisation de deux autres projets importants. Le premier consistait à établir un service téléphonique Zénith qui permettrait aux Francophones de Terre-Neuve de se renseigner sur la programmation en langue française ; l'autre, dont il a été question lors de notre colloque sur les minorités de langue officielle tenu en octobre 1985, était de créer un poste de radio francophone à Halifax. Ce dernier projet avait reçu le feu vert en 1984, mais fut mis au rancart la même année en raison de coupures budgétaires d'envergure. Il a de nouveau été approuvé dans son principe, mais, malheureusement, aucune date précise n'a été fixée pour sa mise en place.

Dans tout le pays, les collectivités minoritaires s'inquiètent des coupures de personnel prévues à Radio-Canada en 1986. Celles-ci pourraient en effet réduire, tant à l'échelle nationale que régionale, sa programmation radiophonique et télévisuelle. Alors qu'on en arrive à l'étape finale du Plan accéléré de rayonnement, certaines petites collectivités éloignées ne reçoivent encore que quelques émissions dans leur langue, sinon aucune. La région du Témiscamingue en fournit un excellent exemple : l'émetteur promis depuis longtemps aux Francophones risque maintenant de ne pas être installé. La Société ne doit pas ménager ses efforts pour élargir l'accès de ces collectivités à sa programmation. Nous avons d'ailleurs demandé au Groupe de travail sur la politique de la radiodiffusion de faire une recommandation en ce sens au gouvernement : en période d'austérité, on a trop tendance à oublier les besoins des minorités linguistiques.

Les employés de Radio-Canada peuvent travailler dans leur langue dans presque tous les secteurs de la Société. Même à la Division de l'ingénierie et à l'administration centrale, où l'anglais prédomine pourtant, les Francophones parviennent à travailler presque uniquement en français dans certains petits services. On a résolu les problèmes de langue de travail qu'affrontaient l'an dernier les équipes de production anglophones à Montréal, et le réseau anglais offre des services centraux et du personnel en langue française aux employés francophones de Toronto, de Sudbury, de Winnipeg, d'Edmonton et de Vancouver. Ces améliorations nous paraissent fort louables, mais nous souhaitons également que le réseau anglais fasse davantage d'efforts pour fournir aux équipes de production francophones des services dans leur langue. On n'a pas donné suite, pour des raisons budgétaires, à certaines des recommandations de notre rapport de vérification de 1982 au sujet de la formation technique et des manuels.

Malgré d'importantes coupures de personnel, les taux de participation des Francophones et des Anglophones n'ont pas beaucoup changé depuis la fin de 1984 : ces derniers représentent aujourd'hui 60 p.100 des 11 619 employés, soit une augmentation de 1 p.100. De façon générale, la représentation des deux groupes linguistiques dans les grands secteurs de la Société est équitable ; c'est ainsi qu'à l'administration centrale, les Francophones constituent 33,7 p.100 de l'effectif. Nous ne pouvons cependant en dire davantage sur le sujet, faute de données précises, notamment sur la répartition régionale et hiérarchique des deux groupes.

Dans le cadre d'une série de réformes administratives, Radio-Canada a élaboré un nouveau plan d'action qui lui permettra de réévaluer ses principes directeurs, ses procédures et ses programmes de formation, de préciser ses besoins en matière de bilinguisme institutionnel et d'évaluer ses ressources actuelles. Nous espérons que cela entraînera la mise au point d'un meilleur système de collecte et de présentation des données ayant trait au personnel. Dès 1986, les gestionnaires participeront à l'élaboration des plans de la Société en matière de langues officielles et leur rendement sera évalué par rapport aux objectifs ainsi définis. Cependant, on ne prévoit pas d'inclure une section à cet effet dans le formulaire d'évaluation, comme nous le suggérions dernièrement.

Des huit plaintes reçues en 1985, quatre portaient sur l'absence de personnel bilingue aux bureaux de Windsor et de Toronto, et deux sur l'absence de services en français au téléphone, à Edmonton et à Winnipeg ; les deux dernières avaient trait à l'unilinguisme du service chez un concessionnaire de Régina et aux horaires

de la programmation française à Moncton. Bien que la Société soit encore plutôt lente à résoudre les plaintes, nous avons constaté une certaine amélioration ; nous espérons que cette tendance se maintiendra.

Revenu national (Douanes et Accise)*

Le ministère du Revenu national (Douanes et Accise) n'a toujours pas accepté certaines des recommandations de notre rapport de vérification de 1983 touchant sa politique des langues officielles et ses mesures de contrôle et d'évaluation. Au Québec et dans la région de la Capitale nationale, le public est généralement assuré d'un service actif dans les deux langues ; ailleurs, peu de ses bureaux offrent un service en français adéquat. Les problèmes en matière de langue de travail subsistent, mais les taux de participation sont dans l'ensemble satisfaisants.

Le Ministère a émis une nouvelle politique ainsi que des lignes directrices qui devraient l'aider à s'acquitter de ses obligations linguistiques. Nous aimerions néanmoins que son orientation tienne davantage compte du statut particulier accordé aux voyageurs en vertu de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*.

Le service au public ne pose aucun problème au Québec, où tous les postes d'inspecteurs des douanes sont désignés bilingues. La région de la Capitale nationale est également bien desservie, malgré quelques faiblesses. Des 3 189 employés du Ministère occupant des postes bilingues, 2 714 (plus de 85 p.100) sont concentrés au Québec et dans la région de la Capitale nationale ; la capacité bilingue dans les autres régions est donc plutôt modeste. Étant donné que le Ministère traite fréquemment avec les voyageurs, il ne devrait pas limiter la prestation des services bilingues aux régions à forte demande. Compte tenu des pouvoirs discrétionnaires dont disposent les douaniers, il est d'autant plus important que le service soit spontanément offert dans les deux langues que bien des voyageurs peuvent hésiter à l'exiger. Le Ministère compte mesurer le taux de satisfaction linguistique de sa clientèle à l'aide de cartes-réponses distribuées dans tous les postes douaniers. Ces cartes ainsi que la publicité dans la presse minoritaire donneront les adresses des bureaux régionaux et du siège social où le public peut faire parvenir ses commentaires.

Le français n'est pas utilisé comme il se devrait dans les régions bilingues à l'extérieur du Québec, même si divers secteurs du Ministère font de sérieux efforts à cet égard. Par exemple, certains comités du siège social tiennent des réunions entièrement en français ou discutent de certaines questions à l'ordre du jour dans cette langue. Les services centraux et du personnel sont offerts dans les deux langues, de même que les cours de formation et de perfectionnement, et les documents de travail. Cependant, certaines informations de caractère professionnel ne sont diffusées qu'en anglais.

Des 10 052 employés du Ministère, 26 p.100 sont des Francophones. La répartition des deux groupes est généralement acceptable sauf dans la catégorie Gestion, où seulement 15 p.100 des 72 employés sont de langue française, et au Québec, où on ne retrouve que 6,7 p.100 d'Anglophones parmi les 1 940 employés.

Des 13 plaintes reçues cette année, cinq portaient sur l'absence de service téléphonique en français notamment à Winnipeg, six autres soulignaient la piètre qualité linguistique des services aux postes douaniers, une mettait en cause une présentation unilingue dans une foire commerciale et la dernière touchait la langue de travail. Si le Ministère a fait preuve de façon générale d'une bonne collaboration, deux plaintes touchant la conduite de certains employés et la langue de travail n'ont pas encore été réglées.

Revenu national (Impôt)*

Le ministère du Revenu national (Impôt) traite chaque année plus de 15 millions de déclarations d'impôt, ce qui suppose de multiples contacts avec la clientèle. Mis à part quelques accrocs, le Ministère offre aux contribuables canadiens un très bon service dans les deux langues. De façon générale, la performance linguistique du Ministère s'est constamment améliorée depuis notre vérification de 1982. Ainsi, il a distribué à tous ses employés des brochures portant sur leurs droits et obligations en matière de langue de service et de travail. De plus, les méthodes de planification reliées au programme des langues officielles ont été améliorées afin de permettre un meilleur contrôle.

Avec 2 918 employés bilingues sur 17 155 (17 p.100), le Ministère est généralement en mesure de répondre aux demandes de renseignements des contribuables dans la langue appropriée. Cependant, dans les régions à forte majorité anglophone, les bureaux du Ministère ne disposent pas d'agents de vérification et de recouvrement bilingues si bien que les contribuables francophones se voient forcés très souvent de traiter avec eux en anglais. Le Ministère doit donc tout mettre en œuvre pour augmenter considérablement la capacité bilingue de ses services de vérification et de recouvrement ; une telle lacune est particulièrement regrettable étant donné le caractère manifestement intimidant de ce ministère.

Si le français est encore peu utilisé comme langue de travail — sauf au Québec et, dans une moindre mesure, dans la région de la Capitale nationale — le Ministère a tenté d'établir un régime linguistique plus équitable à son siège social et dans les régions bilingues. Il a cherché à y promouvoir un plus haut degré de bilinguisme chez les cadres et interdit la circulation de directives unilingues aux employés. De plus, tous les employés ont été informés de leurs droits et obligations en cette matière.

Les Francophones constituent 26,9 p.100 de l'effectif et sont bien représentés dans toutes les catégories d'emploi ; aux échelons supérieurs, leur nombre a augmenté de près de 2 p.100 depuis 1982 et se situe maintenant à 22,7 p.100. Dans les régions, la proportion d'employés appartenant au groupe linguistique minoritaire est toujours aussi faible, sauf au Nouveau-Brunswick où elle est passée de 21,3 à 25,9 p.100. La situation est particulièrement critique au Québec où seulement 12 employés sur 1 825 sont anglophones. De toute évidence, des mesures énergiques s'imposent.

Le nombre de plaintes portées contre le Ministère est passé de 49 en 1981 à 30 cette année. De celles-ci, 15 avaient trait à l'absence de services bilingues au téléphone, tandis que sept contribuables se sont plaints d'avoir reçu de la correspondance dans l'autre langue officielle ; enfin, divers aspects du service ont été mis en cause : le service au comptoir, la non-utilisation de la presse minoritaire, le manque de formulaires d'impôt en français dans certains bureaux de poste. Plusieurs des plaintes provenant de la région de la Capitale nationale étaient dues à une erreur dans l'annuaire téléphonique 1985 Ottawa-Hull : le numéro inscrit dans la section française de l'annuaire était celui du service en anglais. La plupart des plaintes ont déjà été réglées grâce à la collaboration du Ministère.

Santé nationale et Bien-être social*

Bien qu'aucun accroc sérieux n'ait marqué sa performance linguistique en 1985, le ministère de la Santé nationale et du Bien-être social devra exercer un contrôle rigoureux de son programme des langues officielles pour éviter qu'il ne se dégrade. S'il y a eu amélioration dans un ou deux secteurs, on a perdu du terrain dans plusieurs autres.

La Direction générale des Programmes de la sécurité du revenu — qui administre, entre autres, le régime des pensions du Canada et les allocations familiales — a des échanges fréquents avec les groupes minoritaires de langue officielle. Il en est de même pour les responsables du programme Nouveaux horizons, qui offre des services d'aide financière et de consultation à des groupes de retraités. Dans un cas comme dans l'autre, la clientèle de langue minoritaire bénéficie généralement d'un service adéquat. En outre, un cadre supérieur du programme Nouveaux horizons a rencontré cette année des représentants des associations de Francophones retraités de l'Ouest pour leur expliquer la gamme de services qui leur sont offerts. Certains, cependant, ont moins de chance. C'est ainsi qu'à la suite d'une conversation téléphonique avec un employé qui ne parlait que l'anglais, une famille francophone du Nouveau-Brunswick qui voulait simplement aviser le Ministère d'un changement d'adresse a vu cesser son allocation familiale.

La capacité bilingue du Ministère demeure à peu près la même. On note une très légère augmentation du nombre de postes bilingues (2 665 sur 8 663), tandis que la proportion de titulaires linguistiquement qualifiés diminuait quelque peu pour s'établir à 81 p.100. Malheureusement, le problème de la faible capacité bilingue des bureaux de l'Ouest, soulevé l'année dernière, n'est toujours pas résolu. En effet, on ne retrouve que 14 titulaires qualifiés de postes bilingues à l'ouest du Manitoba (1,1 p.100 du total). En outre, on peut douter de la capacité linguistique de la Direction générale des Services médicaux où seulement 65 p.100 des employés qui occupent un poste bilingue sont linguistiquement qualifiés.

Peu de changements également du côté de la langue de travail. Le français est fort peu utilisé à l'extérieur du Québec, sauf dans certains secteurs de la Direction de la Sécurité du revenu. Le Ministère semblait s'être engagé dans la bonne voie quand, cédant à nos instances, il a modifié la formule d'appréciation du rendement de manière à permettre aux employés d'indiquer dans quelle langue ils désiraient être évalués. Malheureusement, cette initiative est trop limitée ; la nouvelle disposition

ne touche que les titulaires de postes bilingues dans les régions désignées bilingues ou au siège social. C'est ainsi qu'un employé francophone qui travaille dans la région de la Capitale nationale, mais dont le poste n'est pas désigné bilingue, ne peut s'en prévaloir. Assurément, le Ministère pourrait se montrer plus généreux.

Le taux de participation global des Francophones a connu un léger fléchissement, et s'établit maintenant à 22,2 p.100 (1 927 employés sur 8 663). Malgré cela, à la Direction générale des Services médicaux, dont la majorité des employés sont concentrés dans les régions unilingues de l'Ouest et du Grand Nord, la proportion de Francophones s'est légèrement accrue, pour atteindre 12,6 p.100. Au Québec cependant, les Anglophones ont perdu du terrain et ne forment plus que 3,7 p.100 des effectifs (28 employés sur 749). Tout en reconnaissant que le gel de l'embauche ne facilite pas les choses, nous n'en exhortons pas moins le Ministère à prendre des mesures énergiques pour redresser ces déséquilibres.

En ce qui a trait à ses propres objectifs en matière linguistique, Condition physique et sport amateur s'est contenté cette année de faire du sur-place. L'organisme a fait l'objet à lui seul de 17 plaintes, dont 10 mettaient en cause sa piètre performance dans l'organisation des manifestations entourant les Jeux d'été du Canada, qui ont eu lieu à Saint-Jean (N.-B.). En outre, lors d'une conférence des associations sportives nationales, tous les représentants du Ministère ont prononcé leur allocution en anglais seulement. Enfin, comme l'an dernier, il nous faut souligner que moins de la moitié des 22 associations sportives nationales se sont employées à élaborer un plan d'action en matière de langues officielles. Nous espérons que le Ministère se sent maintenant d'attaque pour régler ce problème.

En plus des 17 plaintes mettant en cause Condition physique et sport amateur, nous en avons reçu 24 contre d'autres secteurs du Ministère. Huit soulignaient l'absence de service en français et 11 autres portaient sur l'unilinguisme de l'affichage et de certaines formules, sur la piètre qualité de la traduction et sur l'accueil téléphonique unilingue anglais. De plus, deux plaintes touchaient la non-utilisation de la presse minoritaire. Trois plaintes avaient trait à la langue de travail au siège social ; il s'agissait dans deux cas de cours unilingues anglais donnés aux infirmières et préposés aux renseignements téléphoniques et, dans l'autre, de l'impossibilité pour les Francophones de toute une division de travailler dans leur langue. La plupart de ces plaintes auraient pu être facilement évitées. Le Ministère devrait s'attaquer une fois pour toutes à la racine du mal.

Secrétariat d'État

Grand promoteur du bilinguisme au Canada, le Secrétariat d'État a continué en 1985 à favoriser l'épanouissement des deux groupes linguistiques en leur prodiguant aide financière et conseils. Il a apporté son soutien à l'enseignement en langue minoritaire et de la langue seconde, à la formation des enseignants et aux programmes d'échange d'étudiants ; il a encouragé les organismes provinciaux, municipaux et privés à se doter d'une politique des langues officielles et à améliorer leurs services dans les deux langues. Il a en outre aidé les minorités de langue officielle dans leur lutte pour obtenir des services fédéraux, provinciaux et municipaux, dans leur langue, notamment dans les secteurs de l'éducation, de la santé, de la justice et de

la culture. Lors de notre colloque sur les minorités de langue officielle, tenu en octobre dernier, le Secrétaire d'État a réitéré la promesse du gouvernement d'assurer à tous des chances égales et les mêmes possibilités d'accès aux services publics. Il a aussi souligné les initiatives envisagées à cette fin par son ministère. Nous ne manquerons pas de suivre la situation de près.

Le Secrétariat peut s'enorgueillir d'offrir un excellent service dans les deux langues et de permettre à ses employés de travailler en français ou en anglais. De ses quelque 3 300 employés, 2 548 occupent des postes bilingues et 94 p.100 d'entre eux satisfont aux exigences prescrites. Même en excluant le Bureau des traductions et la Direction de la promotion des langues officielles, ce pourcentage s'établit à 91 p.100. L'année dernière, 133 postes (92 p.100) ont été pourvus de titulaires qui étaient bilingues au moment de leur nomination. Le Secrétariat mérite d'être félicité pour son rendement exemplaire à cet égard.

Par contre, deux lacunes sont toujours à déplorer côté service : la faible capacité bilingue parmi les juges de la Cour de la citoyenneté et au sein des associations volontaires. Malgré la nomination de six nouveaux juges cette année, ils ne sont toujours que 9 sur 33 à maîtriser les deux langues. Quinze autres ont suivi un cours de français de courte durée. Nous avons soulevé le problème à plusieurs reprises au cours des deux dernières années, notamment devant le Comité mixte sur les langues officielles, mais les résultats se font attendre. Par ailleurs, au cours des dix dernières années, la Direction de la promotion des langues officielles a subventionné quelque 70 associations volontaires nationales telles que la Société de la Croix-Rouge et Centraide. Bien que l'aptitude de ces associations à assurer un service dans les deux langues se soit dans certains cas considérablement améliorée, elles sont encore trop nombreuses à faire la sourde oreille aux besoins des deux communautés linguistiques. Malheureusement, le Ministère n'exerce toujours pas de contrôle sur les conditions linguistiques liées à l'octroi des subventions.

La situation de la langue de travail vaut d'être soulignée. En effet, les employés ont la possibilité de travailler dans leur langue partout dans la « zone bilingue » qui s'étend du Nouveau-Brunswick au Manitoba. Les réunions des cadres supérieurs et les rencontres entre les gestionnaires du siège social et ceux des régions se déroulent communément dans les deux langues. Une ombre cependant à ce tableau autrement sans tache : pour la deuxième année consécutive, des formules de souscription aux obligations d'épargne du Québec ont été envoyées en anglais seulement à plus de 200 employés francophones de la région de la Capitale nationale et de Montréal. La Direction des finances doit prendre les mesures qui s'imposent pour faire en sorte que les employés reçoivent l'information dans leur langue.

Si l'on fait exception du Bureau des traductions et de la Direction de la promotion des langues officielles, les taux de participation globale sont demeurés sensiblement les mêmes : 56 p.100 d'Anglophones et 44 p.100 de Francophones. Le pourcentage d'Anglophones dans la catégorie Soutien administratif est de 47 p.100 seulement, alors qu'il est tombé à 57 p.100 dans la catégorie Gestion. Au Québec, la participation anglophone s'établit maintenant à 4,3 p.100 (3 employés sur 70). Le Ministère doit redoubler d'efforts pour redresser ces déséquilibres.

En 1985, nous avons été saisis de 14 plaintes au sujet du Ministère. En plus des trois visant des formules unilingues anglaises pour les obligations d'épargne du

Québec, deux portaient sur des problèmes de langue de travail : la Sécurité avait envoyé une note de service en anglais à un employé francophone qui avait pourtant rempli sa fiche de renseignements personnels en français ; et quelqu'un de particulièrement éveillé a remarqué que le clavier des terminaux de la Banque de terminologie était unilingue anglais. Quatre plaintes portaient sur l'absence de service en français au téléphone dans des bureaux de la région de la Capitale nationale et de Halifax, et une autre sur l'absence de service et de documentation en français dans un kiosque installé par le Ministère dans un centre commercial de Peace River (Alberta). On s'est plaint également du fait que la version française de documents relatifs à un concours aient mis du temps à venir. Les trois dernières traitaient de l'absence de service en français de la part d'une agence de recouvrement de Saint-Jean (N.-B.) dont la Direction de l'aide aux étudiants a retenu les services ; d'un communiqué unilingue anglais envoyé à une association francophone par le Comité ontarien de la Fête du Canada ; et du boycottage du Bureau des traductions par les interprètes indépendants. Le Ministère a fait preuve d'une franche collaboration pour régler ces cas.

Le boycottage du Bureau des traductions, déclenché en avril 1985 par quelque 80 interprètes pigistes qui refusaient de signer des contrats au tarif journalier autorisé par le Conseil du Trésor, a mis le Ministère en difficulté. Notre enquête a révélé que ce boycottage a nui à la qualité des services linguistiques offerts lors de plusieurs conférences.

Cependant, le Ministère s'en est bien tiré ; à la fin de l'année, les trois quarts des interprètes acceptaient des contrats aux conditions fixées par le gouvernement.

Sénat

En 1985, le Sénat a donné des signes qu'il allait finalement entreprendre les réformes nécessaires à la mise en œuvre d'un programme des langues officielles efficace. Même s'il a été lent à donner suite aux recommandations de notre rapport de vérification de 1984, nous avons noté des progrès vers la fin de l'année.

Les résultats de notre vérification récente montrent que le programme des langues officielles du Sénat doit être complètement revu, et qu'il y avait lieu d'abord et avant tout de désigner un responsable en cette matière. Le Sénat a réagi avec diligence à cette recommandation, et a également révisé sa politique des langues officielles afin d'y intégrer nos suggestions. À la fin de l'année, il avait établi les exigences linguistiques de ses 394 postes et déterminé le nombre d'employés y satisfaisant. Par contre, il n'a guère progressé relativement à plusieurs autres problèmes, notamment en ce qui a trait à la révision des tests de compétence linguistique et au programme de formation linguistique.

En général, les employés du Sénat connaissent leur obligation de servir les clients dans la langue officielle de leur choix, et l'organisme dispose d'une capacité bilingue suffisante pour satisfaire à la demande. Bien que les sénateurs constituent ses principaux clients, nous avons constaté que l'Administration sert plus facilement le public que ces derniers dans les deux langues. Les problèmes que nous signalions l'an dernier concernant la capacité des secteurs du personnel et des finances à offrir des services en français n'ont toujours pas été résolus. Des 241 postes exigeant la

connaissance des deux langues officielles, seulement 159 sont occupés par des employés qualifiés. Le problème est particulièrement aigu aux échelons supérieurs, où trois des six cadres sont unilingues. Mais comme on exige des nouveaux employés qu'ils soient linguistiquement compétents dès le départ, la situation ne peut que s'améliorer. Le Sénat prévoit que tous ses postes bilingues seront occupés par des employés satisfaisant aux exigences prescrites d'ici 1990.

L'Administration du Sénat n'a toujours pas adopté les mesures que nous lui avions recommandées pour favoriser l'usage du français au travail. Alors que près de la moitié du personnel du Soutien administratif est francophone, les manuels d'instruction du système de traitement de texte installé juste avant notre vérification n'étaient disponibles qu'en anglais. En outre, la personne ressource était unilingue anglaise. Bien que nous ayons porté cette situation à l'attention du Sénat à la fin de 1984, rien n'a été fait pour la corriger.

Aux échelons supérieurs, 7 employés sur 17 sont francophones. Dans l'ensemble, le personnel est anglophone à 41 p.100 et francophone à 59 p.100. Les Anglophones sont toujours sous-représentés dans la catégorie Exploitation : ils constituent en effet moins du tiers des agents de sécurité, des messagers et des préposés à l'entretien. L'Administration n'a adopté aucune stratégie susceptible de corriger ces déséquilibres.

Nous n'avons reçu aucune plainte cette année contre le Sénat.

Service canadien du renseignement de sécurité

Le Service canadien du renseignement de sécurité, créé en 1984, a pour mandat de veiller à la sécurité nationale du Canada. Comme il n'est établi que depuis 18 mois, il n'a pas encore eu le temps de se doter d'un programme de langues officielles complet; le portrait linguistique que nous en traçons ici est donc forcément fragmentaire. Les plaintes reçues contre le Service en 1985 nous permettent néanmoins de dégager d'ores et déjà quelques lignes de fond.

Le Service a mis en place quelques-uns des éléments essentiels d'un programme des langues officielles. Il a élaboré une politique interne qui définit de façon précise les principes à observer en ce qui a trait au service au public et à la langue de travail, et s'est doté des moyens nécessaires pour évaluer les connaissances linguistiques de son personnel et assurer la formation linguistique requise. Il prévoit nommer un coordonnateur des langues officielles dès le début de 1986.

Le personnel du Service a des contacts suivis avec le public dans le cadre de ses activités d'enquête et de collecte de renseignements. Sa politique stipule clairement que ces communications doivent se faire dans la langue des citoyens intéressés. Par ailleurs, l'accueil téléphonique est assuré dans les deux langues aux numéros réservés au public.

C'est au chapitre de la langue de travail que le Service éprouve les plus sérieuses difficultés. Nous avons continué à recevoir de nombreuses plaintes de la part d'employés francophones de la région du Québec affirmant qu'un grand nombre de communications — quelque 200 télex en l'occurence — leur avaient été envoyées

en anglais seulement. Malgré des rappels très clairs de la haute direction aux gestionnaires concernés, le problème est loin d'être résolu. Suite à nos interventions, la haute direction nous a réitéré en fin d'année son engagement ferme à faire respecter sa politique. Nous examinerons donc cette question de très près au cours de notre première vérification du Service, en 1986, ainsi que les exigences linguistiques des postes de l'administration centrale. En effet, nos plaignants déplorent que ces exigences ne soient pas assez élevées pour assurer un encadrement adéquat en français.

La formation du personnel a aussi retenu notre attention. Nous avons constaté notamment que la formation de base des recrues n'était offerte qu'en anglais.

En outre, il arrive que certains cours ne soient donnés qu'en anglais en raison, nous a-t-on dit, de la faible demande pour les cours en français. Le Service devrait suivre l'exemple d'autres organismes fédéraux qui se sont résolument attaqués à ce problème en offrant activement des cours en français.

Le Service a fait l'objet de 24 plaintes en 1985. Quinze d'entre elles portaient sur des communications en anglais avec le Québec. Les autres se rapportaient aux exigences linguistiques des postes, à l'absence de formation en français et à l'unilinguisme anglais de documents de travail. La collaboration du Service dans l'instruction des plaintes a été bonne, mais il lui faudra agir avec plus de fermeté s'il veut que l'ordre règne dans sa propre maison.

Service correctionnel

Dans l'ensemble le Service correctionnel du Canada a marqué le pas cette année sur le plan des langues officielles, en raison principalement d'une réorganisation majeure qui a mis en veilleuse certains projets en cette matière. Par contre, les régions du Pacifique et de la Prairie ont connu une augmentation sensible de leurs effectifs bilingues.

La réorganisation en cours entraînera un transfert de certaines responsabilités de l'administration centrale vers les régions, ce qui exige que l'on définisse clairement les obligations de celles-ci en ce qui a trait aux langues officielles. Il faudra également poursuivre le travail entrepris l'an dernier et établir des normes de service dans ceux des pénitenciers qui n'en ont pas encore, et mettre au point des mécanismes permettant d'en assurer le respect.

Le Service a donné suite à plus de la moitié des recommandations de notre rapport de vérification de 1983, mais a fait bien peu de choses au cours de l'année au sujet de la formation des détenus, des services de santé et de l'offre active des services aux détenus. Les employés demeurent peu sensibilisés aux droits linguistiques de ces derniers, qui sont par ailleurs mal informés de la disponibilité des services dans les deux langues.

Le Service correctionnel compte quelque 10 500 employés, répartis dans une soixantaine de pénitenciers et 75 bureaux de libération conditionnelle. Sa capacité bilingue s'est légèrement accrue en 1985, passant de 14 à 15 p.100 (1 588 sur 10 498). Mais si la plupart des pénitenciers sont maintenant en mesure d'offrir des services d'examen de cas dans les deux langues, la situation est moins reluisante

en ce qui concerne les services de santé. Malgré les efforts consentis pour recruter des infirmières et des médecins bilingues, des lacunes persistent dans plusieurs établissements. Le Service devra s'efforcer de résoudre cette question des plus importantes.

Il faut souligner les efforts consentis par les régions de la Prairie et du Pacifique pour recruter des employés bilingues. Leur nombre y est passé respectivement de 71 à 108, et de 46 à 69. Ces efforts devront être poursuivis étant donné qu'un certain nombre de services essentiels ne sont pas encore disponibles dans les deux langues dans des établissements de ces régions. Le siège social et la région du Québec comptent déjà une proportion d'employés bilingues assez élevée, soit 62 p.100 dans le premier cas (372 sur 604) et 24 p.100 dans le second (706 sur 2 967), mais près de 30 p.100 de ces postes n'exigent qu'un niveau minimal de connaissance de la langue seconde. Dans certains établissements du Québec comptant plusieurs détenus anglophones, on a constaté des lacunes dans la prestation de services en anglais. De même, bien que la proportion d'employés bilingues en Ontario se soit légèrement accrue pour atteindre 6,5 p.100, elle demeure insuffisante pour assurer certains services essentiels aux Francophones, qui comptent environ 10 p.100 des détenus. Une plainte en particulier constitue un exemple révélateur de lacunes de la région de l'Ontario. Un détenu francophone, en provenance d'un établissement du Québec, a dû attendre plus de trois mois le poste de cuisinier qu'il convoitait parce que l'agent de sécurité préventive ne pouvait lire son dossier rédigé en français.

Au cours de l'année, le Service correctionnel a abaissé de 50 à 34 p.100 l'effectif bilingue visé pour le nouveau pénitencier de Renous au Nouveau-Brunswick. Comme suite à nos représentations, il a toutefois été convenu de réexaminer cette situation. Notons par ailleurs que l'effectif bilingue du pénitencier de Dorchester a connu une hausse remarquable entre 1982 et 1985 passant de 15 à 26 p.100.

Les progrès en matière de langue de travail demeurent lents. À l'administration centrale, le français n'est employé régulièrement que dans quelques unités de travail, bien que les Francophones constituent 37 p.100 des effectifs. Cela tient sans doute en partie à ce que 38 p.100 des superviseurs ne satisfont pas aux exigences linguistiques de leur poste. Le français éprouve également des difficultés à s'imposer comme langue de travail dans les régions bilingues tel le Nouveau-Brunswick. Une situation délicate a été portée à notre attention à cet égard. Au centre de santé du pénitencier de Dorchester, qui compte 40 p.100 d'employés francophones, la direction avait décidé que l'anglais serait la langue des rapports médicaux et prévaudrait dans les discussions en présence d'unilingues anglophones. À la suite de nos interventions, le Centre a préparé un plan visant à favoriser l'emploi du français dans toutes les activités. Grâce à ce plan et à certaines ententes conclues récemment, on a bon espoir de voir la situation se régler en 1986.

Côté participation, certains progrès ont été réalisés. La région de la Prairie a presque doublé le nombre de ses employés francophones, qui est maintenant de 45, et ces derniers comptent pour près de 14 p.100 du personnel dans la région de l'Atlantique. Par contre, les choses ont peu changé au Québec, où les Anglophones ne constituent que 0,5 p.100 des 3 000 employés, ainsi qu'en Ontario, où l'on ne retrouve que 2 p.100 de Francophones parmi un effectif de 2 300. Dans l'ensemble

du Service, les taux de participation des Francophones et des Anglophones sont restés les mêmes que l'an dernier (33 et 67 p.100).

Nous avons reçu 14 plaintes contre le Service correctionnel en 1985. Huit d'entre elles dénonçaient l'absence de services aux détenus de langue minoritaire. Nous croyons que de tels griefs devraient toujours être examinés avec le plus grand soin ; en effet, de par leur situation, les détenus peuvent hésiter à faire valoir leurs droits. Deux des autres plaintes se rapportaient à l'unilinguisme de documents relatifs à des concours et une autre soulignait l'absence d'accueil téléphonique bilingue. Enfin, comme il est fait mention plus haut deux traitaient du problème de la langue de travail à l'établissement de Dorchester et une, de la diminution du personnel bilingue à Renous. La collaboration du Service dans l'instruction des plaintes s'est améliorée, mais l'administration centrale éprouve parfois des difficultés à corriger la situation dans les régions.

Société canadienne des postes

Malgré quelques faux pas, la Société canadienne des postes améliore lentement, mais résolument, la qualité linguistique de ses services au public. Elle a réussi cette année à s'entendre avec le Syndicat des postiers du Canada quant à la dotation des postes bilingues de préposés aux guichets, quoique l'obstacle des droits d'ancienneté soit toujours présent. De plus, elle a repris un peu de terrain quant à la bilinguisation du service au comptoir. En effet, dans 22 des 24 localités-cibles déterminées lors des deux derniers exercices financiers, au moins un comptoir postal offre le service dans les deux langues. Douze autres localités devraient s'ajouter à cette liste d'ici mars 1986. La Société a également établi un système de surveillance en vertu duquel les chefs de service sont tenus de présenter un rapport semestriel faisant état de leurs progrès en matière de langues officielles. Nous croyons cependant, comme nous l'avons dit en mai dernier au Comité mixte sur les langues officielles, que la Société doit redoubler d'efforts pour atteindre rapidement ses objectifs linguistiques.

Bien que la Société se soit engagée à assurer un service de qualité égale dans les deux langues, elle éprouve beaucoup de difficulté à respecter cet engagement. Nous avons effectué l'automne dernier des enquêtes-surprises, en personne et par téléphone, auprès de quelque 60 comptoirs postaux situés dans huit provinces. Nous avons pu constater que 28 points de service à l'extérieur du Québec, dont le bureau de poste principal de certaines villes comme Frédéricton, Windsor et Winnipeg, ne sont pas en mesure de servir le public en français. De plus, rares étaient les bureaux qui, visuellement ou oralement, offraient activement leurs services dans les deux langues, et ce en dépit d'une vaste campagne publicitaire lancée plus tôt dans l'année. Ainsi, lors de notre visite à une succursale de Toronto, nous avons posé une question en français à une préposée au guichet ; celle-ci leva les bras au ciel en s'écriant, d'une voix à ameuter tout le quartier : « *Are there any* 'parlez-vous français' *here ?* » À Edmonton, un employé fraîchement sorti d'un cours de français a dû recourir à la gestuelle pour répondre à l'un de nos agents francophones.

Les résultats de cette enquête ne nous étonnent nullement. Car si le réseau bilingue de la Société comprend quelque 1 200 points de service — du bureau de poste

principal au petit comptoir postal — le nombre de postes bilingues dans les bureaux de la Société est nettement insuffisant : en dehors du siège social et du Québec, seulement 2,4 p.100 des 42 742 postes sont désignés bilingues. Et si quelque 84 p.100 des titulaires satisfont aux exigences linguistiques, près de la moitié de ces postes ne requièrent qu'une connaissance élémentaire de la langue seconde. Une fois de plus, nous exhortons la Société à profiter le plus souvent possible, dans les régions où la demande est manifeste, du départ d'un fonctionnaire pour désigner bilingue le poste ainsi laissé vacant, et à réévaluer ceux qui supposent un contact avec le public.

Passons maintenant aux aspects positifs. On a publié dans tous les répertoires téléphoniques internes un guide bilingue concernant l'accueil de la clientèle, en personne ou au téléphone. La Société envisage également la possibilité de mettre sur pied un service de renseignements téléphoniques centralisé dans tous ses bureaux divisionnaires à l'intention de la clientèle de langue minoritaire. Bien qu'un tel système, déjà en place à Winnipeg et à Toronto, puisse apporter une solution partielle au problème chronique de l'accueil téléphonique, il ne réduit en rien le besoin de personnel bilingue dans les bureaux de poste.

Mis à part quelques secteurs du siège social et certains bureaux des divisions Rideau et Montréal, les employés de langue minoritaire n'ont guère l'occasion de travailler dans leur langue. Si les documents de travail ainsi que les services centraux et du personnel sont généralement disponibles dans les deux langues, le grand nombre de surveillants unilingues et le faible pourcentage d'employés de langue minoritaire empêchent un usage équitable des deux langues au travail dans la plupart des régions. D'ici avril 1986, la Société compte effectuer un sondage auprès de ses employés sur la langue de travail afin de mieux cerner les problèmes s'y rattachant. Chose certaine, un trop petit nombre d'employés linguistiquement qualifiés sont nommés à des postes d'encadrement bilingues au siège social.

La Société nous a fourni cette année des données récentes et plus précises sur le statut linguistique de son personnel. Les déséquilibres en matière de participation y apparaissent encore plus clairement que par le passé ainsi que le besoin urgent d'adopter des mesures correctives. Bien que la représentation globale des Francophones s'établisse à 30 p.100, leur répartition aussi bien régionale que hiérarchique est loin d'être satisfaisante. Dans l'Ouest, ils constituent à peine 1 p.100 des quelque 16 000 employés, et ils ne forment que 0,3 p.100 d'un effectif de 17 800 personnes dans le sud de l'Ontario.

Les Anglophones, pour leur part, sont toujours sous-représentés au Québec : on n'en retrouve que 301 parmi 16 285 employés (1,8 p.100), la plupart à des échelons inférieurs. Par ailleurs, seulement 12 des 78 membres de la haute direction et 18 p.100 des 247 cadres supérieurs sont francophones. Cette question a d'ailleurs fait l'objet d'un examen lors du témoignage des dirigeants de la Société devant le Comité mixte permanent des langues officielles. Dans une tentative pour corriger ces déséquilibres, la Société est à élaborer une stratégie quinquennale d'embauche, reposant sur les statistiques du marché du travail et visant à assurer qu'un nombre suffisant de candidats de langue minoritaire soit présenté aux gestionnaires qui désirent recruter à l'extérieur de la Société. Il faudra sans doute quelques années avant que des résultats tangibles apparaissent, particulièrement en cette période

de rationalisation des effectifs. Nous suivront néanmoins de près les progrès de la Société.

Nous avons reçu 82 plaintes cette année. Si ce nombre est considérablement moins élevé que par les années passées, les sujets de doléance sont toujours les mêmes : presque toutes les plaintes portaient sur divers aspects du service au public, et plus de la moitié touchaient les problèmes systémiques de l'unilinguisme du service au comptoir, de l'accueil téléphonique et de l'affichage. Presque 73 p.100 des infractions ont été commises dans la division Rideau, laquelle comprend le nord et l'est de l'Ontario, dans la division de l'Atlantique ainsi qu'en Alberta. À la fin de l'année, 78 p.100 de ces plaintes avaient été résolues et 23 des années précédentes demeuraient en suspens. Bien que la Société mette encore trop de temps à agir, nous avons lieu de croire que la situation est en voie de s'améliorer.

Société canadienne d'hypothèques et de logement

La fermeture d'un nombre considérable de bureaux régionaux en 1985 n'a pas altéré l'excellente performance de la Société canadienne d'hypothèques et de logement en ce qui a trait à la langue de service. Par contre, la situation en matière de langue de travail présente encore certaines faiblesses, et les Anglophones demeurent sous-représentés au Québec.

Fidèle à sa tradition, la Société assure un bon service dans les deux langues, tant verbalement que par écrit. Elle continue également de mesurer le degré de satisfaction linguistique de sa clientèle à l'aide de cartes-réponses affranchies ; cette année encore, les résultats ont été encourageants. La SCHL offre ses publications dans les deux langues et publie régulièrement ses annonces et ses avis dans la presse minoritaire. Pour compenser la fermeture de 16 bureaux régionaux, elle a installé plusieurs lignes téléphoniques sans frais.

L'anglais demeure la seule véritable langue de travail en dehors du Québec, principalement à cause de l'unilinguisme de plusieurs surveillants. Le problème avait été porté à l'attention de la direction à la suite d'un sondage interne mené en 1984, mais la solution se fait toujours attendre.

Les chiffres que nous présentons ici concernant le statut linguistique des postes et des employés ne sont qu'approximatifs, étant donné que le dernier rapport à ce sujet contenait un certain nombre de contradictions. La Société compte près de 3 000 employés ; quelque 32 p.100 sont francophones, et ils sont répartis de façon généralement acceptable dans les diverses catégories d'emploi. Nous ne disposons d'aucune donnée sur la ventilation par région, mais soulignons qu'on ne dénombrait l'année dernière que 13 Anglophones parmi 440 employés au Québec.

La Société a fait l'objet de huit plaintes en 1985. Trois d'entre elles portaient sur des formules ou des brochures qui n'étaient pas disponibles dans l'une ou l'autre langue officielle. Deux avaient trait à l'accueil téléphonique en anglais seulement ; une autre à l'unilinguisme anglais d'une adresse de retour et les deux dernières à la non-publication d'une annonce dans la presse francophone. Cette année encore, la Société a réglé ces plaintes avec empressement et efficacité.

Société de développement du Cap-Breton

La Société de développement du Cap-Breton a donné suite aux deux premières recommandations de notre rapport de vérification de mai 1984 en se dotant d'une politique des langues officielles et en nommant un coordonnateur chargé de la mettre en œuvre. La Société a tout à faire en matière de bilinguisme, mais elle devra s'employer en priorité à offrir à sa clientèle francophone, en majorité des touristes, un service dans sa langue.

Des 3 579 employés de la Société, près de 3 000 travaillent à l'exploitation de gisements charbonniers ; les autres œuvrent au siège social ou à la Division industrielle, qui s'affaire notamment à promouvoir l'industrie touristique de l'île du Cap-Breton. À l'heure actuelle, seules les concessions de la Forteresse de Louisbourg et, dans une moindre mesure, celles du complexe touristique de Dundee offrent un service bilingue. Le service n'est disponible qu'en anglais à la boutique « Island Crafts » ainsi qu'aux autres centres touristiques que la Société exploite conjointement avec des entrepreneurs locaux. Côté affichage, le siège social de Sydney et certaines installations de la Division du charbon présentent une image bilingue. Par contre, l'accueil des visiteurs au siège social se fait en anglais, et les services en français ne sont disponibles que de façon aléatoire.

Ne possédant pas de données linguistiques précises sur son personnel, la Société estime à moins de 1 p.100 le nombre d'employés francophones à son service et ce, dans une région où l'on compte 5,5 p.100 de Francophones. Très peu de postes comportent des exigences linguistiques et l'anglais est à toutes fins utiles la seule langue de travail.

La Société n'a fait l'objet d'aucune plainte en 1985.

Société pour l'expansion des exportations*

La Société pour l'expansion des exportations présente cette année encore un bilan linguistique positif. Le service au public ne pose aucun problème, les deux groupes linguistiques sont équitablement représentés et des efforts ont été consentis pour améliorer la situation en ce qui a trait à la langue de travail.

Les objectifs de la Société en matière de langues officielles font partie intégrante de ses plans opérationnels et la haute direction y accorde une attention particulière. En outre, les gestionnaires de tous les échelons sont évalués en fonction de leurs réalisations à cet égard. La Division des ressources humaines contrôle la mise en œuvre du programme et, depuis 1984, les vérifications internes tiennent compte des questions linguistiques. Manifestement, le succès du programme repose largement sur la grande importance qu'on lui accorde.

La clientèle de la Société est très bien définie. Lors du premier contact, les clients remplissent une demande de renseignements généraux sur laquelle ils indiquent dans quelle langue ils désirent communiquer. Tous les bureaux sont dotés d'une certaine capacité bilingue ; un sondage maison mené en 1985 auprès d'un échantillon représentatif des entreprises canadiennes clientes a d'ailleurs révélé que toutes étaient satisfaites de la qualité linguistique du service offert par la Société.

Soucieuse de favoriser l'usage du français au travail, la Société s'emploie à accroître le nombre de surveillants bilingues et voit à ce que tous les documents de travail soient disponibles dans les deux langues. Bien que les Francophones n'aient formulé aucune plainte quant à la possibilité de travailler dans leur langue et qu'ils ne soient soumis à aucune contrainte à cet égard, il est difficile d'évaluer dans quelle mesure ils se sentent libres de le faire. À notre avis, un sondage sur le sujet permettrait d'éclaircir la situation et aiderait la Société à mieux orienter ses efforts concernant cet important volet de son programme des langues officielles.

Des 562 employés de la Société, 70 p.100 sont anglophones et 30 p.100 francophones. Les deux groupes sont équitablement représentés aux divers échelons de la hiérarchie.

Nous n'avons reçu aucune plainte contre la Société en 1985.

Statistique Canada

Statistique Canada consent de solides efforts en vue de réaliser son programme des langues officielles, comme nous avons pu le constater alors que s'achevait en 1985 la réorganisation majeure entreprise l'année précédente. Ainsi, les objectifs en matière linguistique sont maintenant intégrés aux plans opérationnels, la politique des langues officielles a été clarifiée et les évaluations de rendement des gestionnaires tiendront désormais compte de leurs réalisations en ce domaine.

Le pourcentage des employés qui satisfont aux exigences linguistiques de leur poste a augmenté de 83,0 à 85,1 p.100 en 1985. Avec près de 1 970 employés bilingues, l'organisme est donc en mesure de mieux servir sa clientèle dans les deux langues officielles.

Le recensement de 1981, tout en marquant un net progrès par rapport aux précédents, avait été entaché de quelques erreurs de parcours ; aussi, en vue du recensement quinquennal de 1986, Statistique Canada a pris, en consultation avec notre Commissariat, des dispositions spéciales touchant le recrutement de recenseurs bilingues et la langue de ses questionnaires. Une version bilingue abrégée sera distribuée dans 80 p.100 des foyers, alors que les 20 p.100 restant recevront, au choix, la version intégrale française ou anglaise.

Les Francophones peuvent travailler dans leur langue au Québec et dans un certain nombre d'unités de la région de la Capitale nationale et de l'Ontario, mais rarement ailleurs au pays. Statistique Canada a entrepris en 1985 une étude sur le français langue de travail auprès de ses gestionnaires de la Capitale nationale, dans le but de trouver des moyens novateurs de stimuler l'usage du français au travail. Les conclusions de cette étude seront connues en 1986.

Des 4 788 employés de Statistique Canada, 36,2 p.100 sont francophones et 63,8 p.100 anglophones. La surreprésentation francophone se manifeste surtout dans les catégories Administration (35,4 p.100) et Soutien administratif (41 p.100), tandis que la participation anglophone au Québec n'atteint que 7,1 p.100.

Nous avons reçu deux plaintes contre Statistique Canada cette année. La première portait sur l'accueil téléphonique unilingue anglais au numéro des renseignements

au public de la Division des prix, et l'autre sur la distribution d'un document de travail unilingue anglais. Il s'agissait là d'erreurs de parcours qui ont été rapidement rectifiées.

Transports*

L'importance du ministère des Transports, à la fois par le nombre de ses employés — plus de 20 000 — et par les services qu'il fournit aux voyageurs canadiens, ne fait pas de doute. Son rendement linguistique s'est amélioré graduellement au fil des ans, et il s'est encore rapproché, en 1985, d'un traitement équitable de nos deux langues officielles. D'importants sondages ont permis de déterminer les préférences linguistiques des voyageurs dans les aéroports ainsi que l'usage qui est fait du français et de l'anglais en milieu de travail. Mais d'innombrables enseignes unilingues ou mal traduites dans les aéroports continuent de nuire au rendement du Ministère, et il n'a toujours pas résolu le problème des consignes de sécurité unilingues au cours des vols.

Le Ministère a entrepris une série de sondages auprès des voyageurs dans plusieurs aéroports, dont ceux de Vancouver, de Toronto, de Moncton, de North Bay et de Timmins. Les résultats de cette enquête n'étaient pas disponibles à la fin de l'année ; quant à nous, nous avons été frappés lors des visites que nous y avons effectuées en 1985 par la rareté de l'affichage bilingue dans certains aéroports. Si un Francophone peut s'orienter facilement à l'aéroport international de Calgary, l'affichage en français à Vancouver est désespérément déficient. Après y avoir toléré pendant des années l'affichage unilingue ou des traductions de piètre qualité, le Ministère nous a assuré à la fin de 1985 que tout serait en ordre à l'arrivée des visiteurs d'Expo 86.

Au mois d'août, le Ministère a annoncé que le contrôle de la circulation aérienne se ferait désormais dans les deux langues à l'aéroport international d'Ottawa, ce qui permettra aux pilotes francophones de communiquer dans leur langue avec la tour de contrôle. Il s'agit là d'une première à l'extérieur du Québec, et nous trouvons approprié que notre capitale nationale en soit le cadre.

Du côté de l'Administration maritime, deux divisions opérationnelles de la Garde côtière — celle de Terre-Neuve et celle de l'Ouest — ont également effectué des sondages sur la demande de services dans les deux langues, sondages dont les résultats seront disponibles en 1986. Nous avons été heureux d'apprendre que la division de Terre-Neuve allait procéder sans plus attendre à l'établissement, au centre des services de la circulation maritime à Saint-Jean, d'un service de traduction qui lui permettra de traiter la correspondance en français. Par contre, la division du Centre — Ontario et Manitoba — a fait preuve d'une lenteur impardonnable ; bien que son étude de la demande date de 1983, ce n'est qu'à l'automne dernier qu'elle s'est attaquée à la tâche d'améliorer les services en français ; on a prévu d'engager davantage d'étudiants bilingues l'été prochain, on a mis au point un programme visant à repérer et à modifier les enseignes unilingues, et on a tenu avec les gestionnaires des réunions d'information sur les langues officielles.

La proportion de postes bilingues au Ministère s'est légèrement accrue l'an dernier, passant à 21,6 p.100, et un plus grand nombre de leurs titulaires étaient linguistiquement qualifiés (86,6 p.100 en 1985 contre 85,6 p.100 en 1984). De plus, dans différents bureaux à travers le pays, on a offert aux employés des mini-cours de langue conçus pour améliorer l'accueil téléphonique bilingue. Quant aux services de renseignements dans les aéroports, ils sont systématiquement assurés dans les deux langues.

Pour ce qui est des services offerts par les concessionnaires dans les aéroports (restaurants, kiosques à journaux, sécurité, location de voitures), c'est une tout autre histoire. Depuis 1983, le Ministère profite du renouvellement des contrats et des baux pour y préciser les obligations linguistiques et y inclure des dispositions coercitives. Bon nombre de ces baux sont de longue durée (5 ou 10 ans) ; cependant, la plupart comportent maintenant des dispositions à cet égard. Mais les concessionnaires n'arrivent pas toujours à satisfaire à ces exigences, notamment lorsque les employés sont peu nombreux et que le roulement est faible, et lorsque les candidats bilingues sont trop rares dans la région. Indépendamment des dispositions contractuelles, de telles situations réclament du Ministère une attention particulière. C'est pourquoi nous l'incitons à collaborer étroitement avec ses concessionnaires pour les aider à atteindre les objectifs.

À la différence des autres locataires des aéroports, les sociétés aériennes n'ont aucune obligation contractuelle en matière linguistique. Le Ministère les a exemptées de son programme d'amélioration des services bilingues en attendant les résultats des sondages sur la demande. Pour le moment, le Ministère compte sur la coopération des sociétés aériennes — qui, il faut le reconnaître, s'est souvent avérée satisfaisante. Mais il nous paraît tout de même étrange que l'exploitant d'une petite entreprise locale dans un aéroport ait des obligations légales à l'égard des langues officielles alors que la grande société aérienne qui lui fait face a réussi à s'y soustraire d'une manière ou d'une autre.

Depuis deux ans, les panneaux publicitaires unilingues du Ministère ont suscité de nombreuses plaintes ; aussi avons-nous été heureux d'apprendre qu'il aura recours dorénavant à des panneaux bilingues. Par contre, le problème des consignes de sécurité unilingues au cours des vols n'est toujours pas résolu. Même si plusieurs grands transporteurs aériens exigent que ces consignes soient données dans les deux langues, les défaillances sont nombreuses et les renseignements transmis au cours des vols sont souvent incomplets. En 1983, un comité réunissant des fonctionnaires du ministère des Transports et des représentants de l'industrie était formé pour étudier cette question ; il s'est réuni en septembre pour la première fois depuis 16 mois, mais aucune solution n'était en vue à l'issue de cette rencontre.

L'an dernier, le Ministère a interrogé 8 000 employés des régions bilingues au sujet de l'usage des langues officielles dans leur milieu de travail. Les résultats n'étaient pas encore disponibles à la fin de l'année. Nous nous réjouissons néanmoins de l'intérêt accru que porte le Ministère à cette question, et nous sommes impatients de connaître les mesures qui seront prises en 1986 lorsque les résultats du sondage seront connus.

Le taux de participation des Francophones n'a guère évolué l'an dernier (de 22,8 p.100 à 22,9 p.100) malgré les efforts consentis pour l'augmenter. Parmi les

cadres supérieurs, seulement 16,8 p.100 sont francophones. La proportion d'employés anglophones au Québec n'est pas plus réjouissante : de 7,5 p.100 qu'elle était depuis deux ans, elle est tombée à 7,1 p.100 (243 employés sur 3 443). Cet état de choses persistera tant que le Ministère ne se décidera pas à prendre des mesures plus efficaces.

Le nombre de plaintes contre le Ministère, qui avait grimpé à 67 en 1984, est redescendu à 30 cette année, nombre qui se rapproche davantage de celui des années antérieures. En 1984, en effet, les panneaux publicitaires unilingues et l'absence de publicité dans la presse minoritaire avaient suscité plus d'une vingtaine de plaintes, alors qu'il n'y en a eu que deux à ce sujet en 1985. De plus, les services et l'affichage dans les aéroports n'ont provoqué cette année que 11 plaintes. Mais notre propre enquête dans les aéroports l'an dernier a démontré une fois de plus que le nombre de plaintes ne permet pas toujours de juger de la gravité d'une situation. À la fin de l'année, 18 plaintes avaient été réglées.

Travail

Le ministère du Travail est fermement engagé dans la bonne voie. En général, il offre ses services au public dans les deux langues officielles, là où la demande est importante, et s'efforce d'assurer un service adéquat ailleurs. Nous ne disposons toujours pas de données précises quant à l'utilisation du français au travail, mais la participation des deux groupes linguistiques est bien équilibrée.

Des 816 employés du Ministère, 371 occupent un poste bilingue et satisfont aux exigences linguistiques prescrites. Bien que ce nombre nous paraisse suffisant, le bureau régional et les deux bureaux de district de Winnipeg n'ont aucune capacité bilingue. Le Ministère compte y affecter deux employés bilingues d'ici la fin de 1986. Toutes les publications s'adressant au public paraissent simultanément dans les deux langues, y compris la *Revue de la négociation collective* publiée chaque mois.

Bien que l'usage du français au travail ne semble faire l'objet d'aucune contrainte et n'ait suscité aucune plainte, nous savons par expérience que cela ne signifie pas que tout va pour le mieux. À notre avis, le Ministère devrait effectuer un sondage auprès de ses employés afin de s'assurer qu'ils se sentent vraiment libres de travailler dans leur langue. Soulignons par ailleurs que les documents de travail et les services centraux sont disponibles dans les deux langues.

Le taux de participation global des Francophones se maintient à 31 p.100, ce qui est dû principalement à leur grand nombre dans la catégorie Soutien administratif (132 des 331 employés, soit 39,8 p.100). Par contre, ils sont sous-représentés dans la catégorie Scientifiques et spécialistes (9 sur 48, soit 19 p.100) et au Bureau de la main-d'œuvre féminine, où les 10 postes d'agents sont occupés par des Anglophones. Il n'y a qu'un Francophone parmi les 110 employés des provinces de l'Ouest et seulement deux Anglophones sur 62 au Québec.

Les deux plaintes que nous avons reçues en 1985 portaient sur l'accueil téléphonique unilingue dans les bureaux de Winnipeg et d'Edmonton. Comme nous l'avons mentionné précédemment, deux employés bilingues seront affectés au bureau de Winnipeg d'ici la fin de 1986, et le bureau d'Edmonton procède actuellement à la

mise en place d'un système de renvoi d'appels. Le Ministère a fait preuve d'une bonne collaboration pour régler ces doléances.

Travaux publics*

Le ministère des Travaux publics mérite des félicitations : le suivi de notre vérification de 1983 a révélé qu'une diminution de ses effectifs ne l'a pas empêché de donner suite à certaines de nos recommandations. Le service au public est assuré sans problème dans les deux langues, et on note plusieurs améliorations au chapitre de la langue de travail. Il reste cependant beaucoup à faire pour rééquilibrer la participation des Francophones et des Anglophones.

Le Ministère s'est fixé des objectifs fort convenables en matière de langues officielles et les a intégrés à ses plans opérationnels. Malheureusement, le processus de contrôle laisse à désirer. On a confié le dossier linguistique à l'équipe de vérification interne, mais les résultats se font attendre.

Le Ministère est généralement en mesure de communiquer avec ses clients dans l'une ou l'autre langue officielle. Les problèmes liés à l'affichage ainsi qu'à l'accueil, tant au téléphone qu'en personne, ont été réglés, et tous les documents destinés au grand public sont bilingues. Quelque 21 p.100 des 8 411 employés du Ministère occupent des postes bilingues, et 78 p.100 d'entre eux satisfont aux exigences prescrites.

Les réponses à notre questionnaire de suivi indiquent une légère augmentation de l'usage du français au travail, notamment dans la région de la Capitale nationale, et de l'anglais à Montréal. Si la plupart des documents de travail sont disponibles dans les deux langues, certains n'existent qu'en anglais (contrats, documentation technique sur le matériel électronique, certains manuels de directives, etc.). Les services centraux et du personnel ne sont pas toujours offerts en anglais au Québec, ou en français ailleurs au pays. En mai dernier, le Ministre déclarait au Comité mixte sur les langues officielles que son ministère continuerait ses efforts pour améliorer la situation en matière de langue de travail.

Les Francophones représentent 26,4 p.100 des 8 411 employés, en raison surtout de leur forte proportion dans la catégorie Exploitation (31,5 p.100 des 3 543 employés), tandis qu'ils demeurent sous-représentés dans les catégories Gestion (17,6 p.100 des 119 employés) et Scientifiques et spécialistes (18,6 p.100 des 636 employés). D'autre part, on ne retrouve au Québec que 32 Anglophones sur un effectif de 1 138 personnes.

Le ministère des Travaux publics a fait l'objet de 11 plaintes en 1985. L'une portait sur une réunion tenue en anglais seulement à Ottawa, une autre sur l'unilinguisme des services de commissionnaires, une troisième sur l'accueil téléphonique en anglais seulement et une quatrième sur la distribution de matériel de formation unilingue. Deux déploraient la piètre qualité de deux documents, l'un en français et l'autre en anglais. Les cinq dernières mettaient en cause l'affichage unilingue anglais ; dans trois cas, il s'agissait d'inscriptions sur des avertisseurs d'incendie. En général, la collaboration du Ministère au règlement de ces plaintes a été bonne, mais plutôt lente.

Vérificateur général

Dans la foulée de notre vérification de la fin de l'année de 1984, le Bureau du Vérificateur général du Canada a passé à la loupe sa situation en matière de langues officielles. Dans l'ensemble, il a réagi de façon positive à nos recommandations. Il entend notamment perfectionner la gestion de son programme des langues officielles et soigner davantage ses communications avec les ministères clients du point de vue linguistique.

Le Bureau révisera au début de 1986 sa politique ainsi que son plan d'action dans ce domaine. Les gestionnaires auront dorénavant des objectifs précis à atteindre en matière de langues officielles, et il sera tenu compte de leurs réalisations à ce chapitre dans leur évaluation de rendement. Parallèlement, le Bureau mettra en place de meilleurs moyens de contrôle. Fait à signaler, la Direction des langues officielles occupe une place importante dans la hiérarchie du Bureau, ce qui lui permet d'influer sur les orientations du programme.

Le Vérificateur général continue d'accorder une grande importance à la formation linguistique de son personnel. Il a son propre programme de formation qu'il entend néanmoins passer en revue pour s'assurer qu'il répond adéquatement aux besoins des deux groupes linguistiques. Près d'une centaine d'employés ont suivi des cours de langue durant les 10 premiers mois de l'année. Précisions par ailleurs que, contrairement à ce que nous laissions entendre l'an dernier, les Francophones ont la possibilité de suivre des cours d'anglais.

Cinquante-huit pour cent des postes du Bureau (368 sur 633) exigent une connaissance des deux langues et plus de 90 p.100 des titulaires (337) satisfont à cette exigence. Par ailleurs, le Bureau entend tenir davantage compte des besoins linguistiques des ministères auprès desquels il fait des vérifications. Il continuera de former des équipes distinctes de vérification dans l'une ou l'autre langue, mais il veillera à ce que chacune compte un certain nombre de vérificateurs bilingues, afin de respecter le droit des fonctionnaires des ministères clients de communiquer dans leur langue. Pour ce faire, il projette de mettre sur pied un groupe de réserve — dont tous les membres seront bilingues — qui viendra appuyer les différentes équipes.

Le Bureau a accepté de réexaminer la question de ses rapports préliminaires, qui sont présentement soumis dans une seule langue aux ministères. Nous estimons que ces rapports, qui constituent d'importants documents de travail pour de nombreux fonctionnaires, devraient être présentés dans les deux langues, aussi bien dans leur version préliminaire que dans leur version définitive.

Même si l'anglais domine encore largement au travail, surtout aux échelons supérieurs, le français gagne peu à peu du terrain. Plusieurs rapports de vérification sont rédigés en français, ainsi que certaines parties du rapport annuel du Vérificateur. Il est également plus fréquent que des présentations soient faites en français au cours des réunions de la direction. Par contre, le français est encore sous-utilisé dans les secteurs des Services professionnels et des Services administratifs.

Les taux de participation globaux des deux groupes linguistiques sont les mêmes que l'an dernier, soit 69 p.100 d'Anglophones et 31 p.100 de Francophones, et les déséquilibres dans certaines catégories d'emploi subsistent toujours. Ainsi les

Francophones ne représentent que 16 p.100 des membres de la Gestion (32 sur 144), alors que les Anglophones ne constituent que 51 p.100 du Soutien administratif. Le Bureau a cependant accepté de se fixer des objectifs en vue de corriger la situation.

Nous n'avons reçu aucune plainte à l'endroit du Bureau en 1985.

Via Rail*

Malgré les importants remaniements qu'a connus Via Rail Canada Inc. en 1985, la Société a su maintenir son rendement linguistique dans les domaines où elle avait marqué des points les années précédentes : gestion des programmes, communications écrites avec le public et instruments de travail bilingues. Cependant — faut-il s'en étonner ? — l'absence de clauses linguistiques dans les conventions collectives entrave toujours la prestation de services bilingues aux voyageurs.

Les objectifs de la Société en matière de langues officielles ont été intégrés au processus de gestion. Au nombre de ses réalisations en 1985, soulignons qu'on a pris les mesures nécessaires pour que la participation de Via à Expo 86 se fasse dans les deux langues officielles et que l'organisme a continué d'inclure les questions linguistiques dans ses sondages de satisfaction auprès du public.

Si l'on peut communiquer dans l'une ou l'autre langue officielle avec les centres de renseignements et de réservations téléphoniques de Via Rail, il en va tout autrement des échanges avec les préposés dans les gares et à bord des trains à *l'extérieur du Québec*. En effet, le voyageur francophone y est encore trop souvent forcé d'utiliser la langue du préposé ou, dans les gares, d'avoir recours à une liaison téléphonique afin d'obtenir l'aide d'un interprète et ceci même dans la partie acadienne du Nouveau-Brunswick. Par contre, pour ce qui est de la correspondance, des publications et de l'affichage, le public est généralement assuré d'être informé dans sa langue.

Les dernières négociations avec le syndicat, sur lesquelles nous fondions tant d'espoirs, n'ont eu pour tout résultat que la mise sur pied d'un comité conjoint chargé de recommander des mesures acceptables au patronat et au syndicat et visant à améliorer la prestation de services bilingues aux voyageurs. Combien de temps devrons-nous encore patienter avant que l'on offre aux passagers un service de qualité dans les deux langues officielles ?

Via Rail s'est généralement bien acquittée de ses obligations en ce qui a trait aux instruments de travail et aux cours internes de formation technique et professionnelle. Le défi que la Société doit relever est de faire du français une véritable langue de travail (rédaction, supervision, réunions, etc.) au même titre que l'anglais, surtout dans les établissements qui regroupent une forte proportion d'employés francophones.

Via Rail compte 4 549 employés dont 32,5 p.100 de Francophones. Le taux de participation de ces derniers parmi l'effectif affecté aux gares et aux trains est de 28,9 p.100, et il est de 42 p.100 au sein du personnel administratif. Notons cependant que la grande majorité du personnel administratif se retrouve au Québec (soit au siège social, soit à Via Québec), ce qui explique en partie la forte présence

francophone dans ses rangs. En effet, 46,1 p.100 des membres de la haute direction (6 sur 13), 34,2 p.100 des cadres supérieurs, 42,4 p.100 des cadres intermédiaires et 62,9 p.100 du personnel du soutien administratif non syndiqué sont francophones. On compte 68 Francophones à Via Ontario (6 p.100 de l'effectif), 35 à Via Ouest (3,5 p.100) et 152 à Via Atlantique (32,8 p.100). Au Québec, la Société emploie 713 Anglophones, ce qui représente 36,8 p.100 de l'effectif.

Nous avons reçu cette année 30 plaintes contre Via Rail. L'absence de service en français à bord des trains et dans les gares en a suscité 24, dont neuf mettaient en cause des préposés du CN qui effectuent, pour le compte de Via Rail, le contrôle des billets et les annonces à bord des trains. Par ailleurs, nous n'avons reçu que deux plaintes au sujet des trains sillonnant le Québec ; il s'agissait dans les deux cas de la liaison Montréal-Toronto.

L'excellente collaboration de l'organisme nous a permis de régler 17 plaintes.

L'appareil fédéral : l'horloge et l'horloger

Le bilinguisme canadien, a-t-on dit récemment, est devenu une vache sacrée, improductive et dispendieuse. « Bien des gens, d'ajouter l'auteur de cette remarque, croient honnêtement que le bilinguisme est une réalité et qu'à long terme il empêchera l'éclatement du Canada... Hélas, ils se font des illusions, des illusions coûteuses[1]. » De telles généralisations ne résistent pas à l'analyse, mais le fait qu'elles continuent d'avoir cours explique peut-être en partie pourquoi les gouvernements et les bureaucrates vénèrent et méprisent à la fois le programme des langues officielles, et pourquoi ils n'hésiteraient pas, quelque diable les poussant, à vendre leur âme contre le tout dernier gadget administratif.

Le cours de nos actions

Une évaluation rigoureuse du rendement de nos actions linguistiques au cours de la dernière décennie ne confirme certainement pas la théorie de la vache sacrée, bien qu'elle révèle un manque de détermination et de continuité dans l'application du programme, qualités qu'exigent pourtant les visées complexes de celui-ci. Disons, à l'intention des critiques, que c'était se bercer d'illusions que de croire que le bilinguisme officiel s'instaurerait de façon uniforme et à l'échelle nationale en l'espace de quinze ans — et ce après cent ans d'une politique linguistique pour le moins différente. Le bilinguisme officiel que nous souhaitons vraiment créer repose sur la reconnaissance du fait que des millions de Canadiens, au Québec, au Nouveau-Brunswick, en Ontario, au Manitoba et ailleurs, sont nés dans un milieu bilingue ou multilingue qu'ils n'ont aucunement voulu, mais qu'ils *choisiront* très certainement d'utiliser leur langue officielle dans toute la mesure où ils pourront le faire dans la vie quotidienne et dans leurs rapports avec les pouvoirs publics. Et cela vaut tout autant pour les Anglo-Québécois que pour les Franco-Canadiens de toutes les régions du pays.

Dans une très large mesure, c'est exactement ce qui s'est produit : les possibilités d'exercer un choix linguistique se multiplient, et nous ne voyons pas pourquoi les Canadiens devraient avoir honte de faire fructifier un si bon placement. Les deux grandes questions qu'il nous reste à résoudre sont d'un tout autre ordre :

- Les ressources humaines et financières que nous mettons au service de la liberté linguistique sont-elles proportionnelles à la tâche ? En d'autres termes, nous permettront-elles de décrocher la timbale ?

[1] Prof. Isaac Bar-Lewaw, Université York, dans un article publié dans le quotidien *The Globe and Mail* du 6 janvier 1986.

- Compte tenu de la multiplicité des objectifs et des intérêts que comporte inévitablement le programme de réforme de notre régime linguistique, cet investissement est-il bien pensé, bien réparti et adéquatement soutenu ?

Ces problèmes sont pourtant au cœur de l'« économie » de la réforme ; et si les cogitations prolongées du gouvernement au sujet de la gestion des langues officielles nous rendent un brin impatients, cela tient à deux raisons. Premièrement, il ne semble pas que les hauts fonctionnaires aient vraiment réfléchi à ces grandes questions, sauf dans les tous derniers mois de l'année ; et deuxièmement, ni la politique ni les procédures en vigueur n'ont été appliquées avec la persistance et l'énergie que la situation exige ; bref, notre investissement est loin d'être géré de façon idéale. Plus d'une fois, le gouvernement a fait connaître son intention de « prendre des mesures » pour améliorer la prestation des services fédéraux dans la langue de la minorité officielle. Bravo ! Mais pendant qu'il s'évertuait à les préciser, on a laissé de côté plusieurs mesures parfaitement évidentes et déjà clairement définies dans la politique actuelle. Les promesses de lendemains qui chantent ne peuvent, hélas ! nous faire oublier les réalités d'aujourd'hui.

Le gouvernement n'a cessé de répéter tout au long de l'année, et particulièrement pendant les derniers mois, qu'il compatissait au sort des minorités linguistiques et que la réforme exigeait le concours de tous les secteurs de la société canadienne, mais qu'il se donnait comme tâche première de mettre de l'ordre dans sa maison. Nous ne saurions l'en blâmer. Il a donc entrepris d'examiner et de réajuster la politique des langues officielles ainsi que ses mécanismes d'application.

Loin de nous l'idée de préjuger des résultats de cet examen. Mais le Parlement et tous les Canadiens sont en droit de savoir quels ont été les accomplissements de l'Administration en 1985, et ce qui est resté illusions et promesses.

Illusions et progrès

Examen et coordination aux échelons supérieurs

Dans notre rapport de l'an dernier, nous avons plaidé en faveur d'un examen approfondi du cadre et des mécanismes du programme, ajoutant qu'une coordination de la politique aux échelons supérieurs de la hiérarchie, sous les auspices du Bureau du Conseil privé, serait fort bienvenue. Un comité de sous-ministres a effectivement été créé au printemps dernier, et a surveillé le processus d'examen tout au cours de l'année. Nous aurions aimé pouvoir dire que le travail de ce comité (qui ne s'est peut-être pas réuni aussi régulièrement qu'il aurait dû) a permis de donner à tous les gestionnaires, avant la fin de l'exercice, une idée plus claire des priorités opérationnelles de l'administration à ce chapitre. Hélas, ce n'est pas le cas. Les manifestations d'une volonté de relance et de réconciliation nationale en matière de bilinguisme ont malheureusement été trop peu nombreuses et trop éparses pour susciter chez le bureaucrate endurci un sentiment d'urgence. Les intentions précises qu'a exprimées à divers moments le président du Conseil du Trésor[1] n'ont guère produit de changements concrets. On a donc eu l'impression, en 1985, que la poursuite

[1] Signalons notamment l'intention de mettre en place une politique permettant d'établir les accords fédéraux-provinciaux dans les deux langues (ce qui fut fait) ; d'accélérer les procédures techniques pour donner à toutes les lois constitutionnelles égale valeur dans les deux langues (en cours) ; de fixer des critères uniformes en ce qui concerne la « demande importante » de services dans la langue de la minorité (pas encore en vigueur) ; de modifier les règles d'admissibilité aux cours de langue afin d'établir une

des objectifs en matière de langues officielles avait été pour l'essentiel déléguée, pour l'instant du moins, aux « linguocrates » du Conseil du Trésor, de la Commission de la Fonction publique, du Secrétariat d'État et, bien sûr, des organismes fédéraux eux-mêmes, avec l'ordre de faire avancer les choses, sans toutefois tomber dans des excès de zèle.

Activités des organismes centraux

On ne peut rendre compte des activités des organismes centraux qui détiennent un mandat en matière de langues officielles sans rappeler qu'ils doivent composer avec les exigences contradictoires imposées aux fonctionnaires, et ce dans un climat de restriction financière générale et d'incertitude quant à l'orientation future de la politique. Dans ce contexte, les organismes centraux se sont contentés de vaquer à leurs occupations habituelles, tâchant de faire tourner la machine et de faire croire que « la vie continue ». Voici quelques-uns des points saillants de l'année écoulée :

- Par suite d'une enquête effectuée par téléphone en 1984, le Conseil du Trésor a organisé une séance intensive de remue-méninges avec les gestionnaires régionaux de Winnipeg pour les amener à dresser des plans d'action visant à combler les nombreuses lacunes sur le plan du service en français, dans cette ville pourtant désignée bilingue.
- Un système de contrôle par « enveloppes » a été appliquée à la formation linguistique et aux services de traduction afin d'aider les ministères à aiguiser leur sens des priorités.
- On a visité les comités de gestion de dix ministères pour discuter des lacunes sur le plan de l'exploitation, élaborer des plans de redressement et leur donner une idée des changements prévus pour 1986.
- Divers intéressés ont pris part à un examen en profondeur de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*.
- On s'est employé à grossir la réserve de candidats anglophones pour des emplois fédéraux au Québec.
- Le Conseil du Trésor est parvenu, jusqu'à un certain point, à convaincre les filiales des sociétés de la Couronne de respecter les principes de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, du moins en ce qui concerne le service au public.
- On a créé pour les ministères un nouveau système de planification en matière de langues officielles, qui reposera sur les engagements énoncés dans des « protocoles d'entente » conclus entre chaque ministère et le Conseil du Trésor.
- Plusieurs études et vérifications ont été menées et plusieurs réunions organisées avec les cadres des ministères au sujet notamment de la dotation « impérative » et « non impérative[1] » des postes bilingues, de l'établissement d'indicateurs de rendement linguistique, des répercussions sur l'emploi du français des logiciels conçus en anglais, et de la définition de l'expression « demande importante » utilisée dans la Charte et dans la Loi.

distinction entre les besoins de l'organisme et les aspirations professionnelles de l'employé (partiellement en application) ; d'adopter un système de contrôle par « enveloppes » de l'utilisation des services de traduction (en place) ; et d'examiner le processus de désignation des postes (aucune recommandation rendue publique).

[1] La dotation « impérative » signifie que le candidat retenu doit être bilingue au moment de sa nomination ; la dotation « non impérative » signifie que cela n'est pas obligatoire.

Toutes ces activités nous semblent fort sensées, et assurément nécessaires au processus normal d'application de la Loi, mais ne sortent aucunement de l'ordinaire. À notre avis, elles manquent du dynamisme, du sens d'orientation et d'urgence qui traduiraient une grande priorité gouvernementale et accorderaient au dossier des langues officielles la place qui lui revient parmi les diverses considérations administratives. Chose certaine, on est loin d'une réponse adéquate aux deux questions fondamentales que nous avons soulevées plus haut.

Le coût du bilinguisme

Aux yeux des nombreux Canadiens pour qui le bilinguisme national n'est rien de plus qu'un bricolage coûteux, nous ferons sans doute figure de don Quichottes en essayant de faire valoir à un gouvernement voué à « faire plus avec moins » que le programme des langues officielles souffre non pas d'un *excédent*, mais bien d'un *manque* de fonds. Un budget de 250 millions de dollars[1] en 1985-1986 pour la prestation de services fédéraux en français et en anglais ne peut sans doute être considéré comme modeste, mais il faut souligner que le budget en matière de langues officielles est passé de 0,75 p.100 des dépenses publiques en 1979-1980 à un peu moins de 0,50 p.100 en 1985-1986. Il serait certes réconfortant de croire qu'il n'existe entre les priorités politiques et les fonds publics qu'un lien théorique, mais quiconque connaît un tant soit peu la fonction publique sait fort bien qu'il n'en est rien. Les chiffres ne mentent pas : alors que les dépenses publiques ont plus que doublé, en chiffres absolus, depuis six ans, le montant total des crédits consacrés aux langues officielles, *y compris dans l'enseignement*, s'est accru de 30 p.100 seulement, soit moins que l'indice du coût de la vie. Si nous répétons depuis belle lurette qu'il est possible de réduire le coût de la traduction, de la formation linguistique et même de la prime au bilinguisme chère à bien des gens, c'est dans le dessein que les économies ainsi réalisées servent d'autres fins utiles. Dans l'état actuel des choses, des coupures aussi insignifiantes ne résoudraient en rien les difficultés budgétaires du programme des langues officielles.

Planification, mise en œuvre, contrôle et imputabilité

Les diverses composantes du programme auxquelles ces crédits sont consacrés — traduction, cours de langue, contrôle par les organismes centraux, publication de formules bilingues, etc. — se retrouvent *mutatis mutandis* dans toutes les autres sphères d'activité du gouvernement fédéral ou même dans le secteur privé. Elles ont en commun les mêmes fonctions de planification, de mise en œuvre, de contrôle et d'imputabilité. Dans la mesure où les grandes orientations des programmes sont bien pensées, elles en assurent, pour une large part, l'efficacité et le succès.

Planification et mise en œuvre

Globalement, à part une tendance croissante à la décentralisation, la méthode de planification du gouvernement en ce qui a trait à la mise en œuvre de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* n'a pas tellement changé depuis une douzaine d'années, c'est-

[1] Le gouvernement fédéral verse en outre 250 millions de dollars aux provinces au titre de l'enseignement dans la langue de la minorité et de l'enseignement de la langue seconde.

à-dire depuis que le Conseil du Trésor, par l'intermédiaire de sa Direction des langues officielles, a entrepris de gérer le programme au sein de l'administration fédérale. Il est vrai que dans la plupart des cas, le Conseil n'a pas réussi à amener les sociétés de la Couronne, qui représentent environ la moitié de la fonction publique, à se conformer à ses systèmes de gestion, mais il a exercé une autorité assez ferme à l'égard des quelque 70 organismes dont il est l'employeur. La Commission de la Fonction publique, le ministère de la Justice et le Bureau du Conseil privé ont aussi eu leur mot à dire dans leur domaine de compétence respectif — soit la dotation, les modifications à la Loi et la coordination générale — mais c'est en définitive au Conseil du Trésor qu'il faut rendre hommage, ou attribuer le blâme, en ce qui concerne le rendement à cet égard de l'ensemble de l'appareil fédéral. Compte tenu des éléments de preuve présentés aux parties II et III du présent rapport, nous maintenons que, ces dernières années, ce rendement a été de plus en plus caractérisé par une politique de non-intervention, comme le traduit l'échec relatif du gouvernement — que le Conseil lui-même a constaté au cours de ses vérifications et études — en ce qui a trait aux mesures suivantes :

- faire en sorte que les bureaux bilingues dans les régions bilingues offrent des services dans les deux langues d'une manière constante et satisfaisante, qui concorde avec les droits constitutionnels et légaux des Canadiens de se voir offrir activement le service dans l'une ou l'autre langue officielle ;
- agir de manière décisive pour mettre en application sa propre politique concernant la langue de travail ou donner suite aux recommandations de notre étude de 1982 sur la question[1] ;
- élaborer une stratégie générale pour régler les quatre ou cinq problèmes touchant la participation équitable (haute direction, Anglophones au Québec, etc.) qui reviennent régulièrement dans nos rapports annuels depuis au moins 1980 ;

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[1] Nous avions recommandé :

« qu'en plus de relever le niveau des exigences rattachées à la langue seconde pour les postes d'encadrement bilingues, le Conseil du Trésor ordonne que tous les organismes fédéraux relevant de son autorité se dotent d'un plan sur la langue de travail qui définisse clairement et en détail :

- les étapes permettant d'achever la mise en place des structures organisationnelles de base (encadrement bilingue, documentation, etc.) au plus tard en décembre 1984 ;
- les exigences normales de communication pour a) les réunions des cadres supérieurs, b) les groupes de travail internes, c) les échanges avec les unités à majorité francophone, d) la présentation des documents de travail et e) tous les aspects de l'encadrement (par écrit ou oralement) ;
- les mesures internes selon lesquelles les fonctionnaires francophones et anglophones s'encourageraient mutuellement à utiliser le français (par exemple, formation spécialisée, équipes mixtes et système de jumelage) ;
- la façon dont l'organisme surveillera et rapportera les résultats des mesures prises pour accroître l'usage de la langue officielle minoritaire, tant sur le plan de l'organisation que sur le plan des relations interpersonnelles » ;

« qu'un guide clair et précis soit élaboré à l'intention de tous les cadres supérieurs et qui, en établissant des modèles et en s'assurant qu'ils soient suivis, offrirait des méthodes susceptibles d'améliorer la situation linguistique au travail dans la région de la Capitale nationale et dans les autres régions bilingues ;

« que les organismes fédéraux qui ne l'ont pas encore fait organisent des séances internes a) entre Francophones b) entre Anglophones bilingues et c) entre les deux groupes, en vue de faire naître un esprit d'équipe pour améliorer et accroître l'usage du français dans toutes les activités professionnelles ou sociales. »

- présenter au Parlement et au peuple canadien une analyse détaillée et, dans la mesure du possible, critique de tout le processus de mise en œuvre de la Loi et du degré auquel ce mécanisme correspond à l'esprit de celle-ci et à l'intention du législateur.

Autrement dit, il nous semble que le Conseil du Trésor se montre beaucoup trop timide en ce qui concerne *la promotion et l'organisation* de la réforme du régime linguistique au sein de l'appareil fédéral. Cela est d'autant plus déplorable que si l'organisme s'est vu confier le rôle de maître d'œuvre en ce domaine, c'est justement parce qu'il était fort bien placé pour se faire entendre. Signalons par ailleurs que sa Direction des langues officielles n'a cessé de diminuer en taille et en importance depuis sept ou huit ans ; bien que cela ne soit pas nécessairement signe d'inefficacité, cette compression a bel et bien coïncidé avec une optique de décentralisation, d'effacement et de « responsabilisation » des gestionnaires. Mais même la décentralisation ne devrait pas empêcher la promotion active du programme ou un contrôle suivi. Bref, le Conseil du Trésor n'est plus à l'avant-garde de la réforme. Son plan d'action en vue d'assurer le respect des droits et obligations linguistiques prescrits dans la Constitution et la *Loi sur les langues officielles* semble souvent se ramener à deux ou trois points :

- minimiser, aux yeux du gouvernement et du public, les aspects du processus de mise en œuvre qui sont inacceptables ;
- confier sans réserve aux gestionnaires des ministères la tâche de mettre de l'ordre dans leurs affaires ;
- tenter d'assurer l'imputabilité et le progrès en contrôlant d'une manière générale les plans et les rapports ministériels sur les langues officielles, en produisant une certaine quantité de rapports statistiques, en effectuant quelques vérifications quant au respect de la politique et en faisant occasionnellement passer à un sous-ministre un mauvais quart d'heure devant les ministres siégeant au Conseil du Trésor.

De leur côté, les ministères et organismes ont été pressés « de simplifier et d'intégrer » aux autres fonctions administratives celles relatives aux langues officielles, libérant ainsi en quelque sorte leur directeur des langues officielles pour lui permettre d'agir davantage comme conseiller et promoteur de méthodes novatrices. Mais ce qui s'est passé cette année tend à confirmer ce que nous soupçonnions lorsque cette optique a été mise de l'avant pour la première fois en 1982-1983, à savoir que la réforme du régime linguistique déborde quelque peu le cadre des cours d'administration. Il est vrai, comme nous l'avons signalé, que certains aspects du programme (notamment ses exigences en matière de service et de participation) font de plus en plus partie de la vie courante des fonctionnaires éclairés, mais il n'est pas moins vrai que le programme des langues officielles constitue en général un élément plus vital et plus important du service au public que, par exemple, l'informatique, la gestion des dossiers ou une foule d'autres tâches administratives courantes. Hélas, c'est bien souvent le premier élément qu'on perd de vue dans le dédale bureaucratique — surtout lorsqu'il est mis dans le même sac que toutes les autres exigences administratives auxquelles doivent satisfaire les gestionnaires — alors même qu'il a encore grand besoin de promotion, de coordination et d'un contrôle suivi.

Contrôle et imputabilité

Il est difficile de cerner précisément les effets de « la simplification et l'intégration » sur les résultats du programme, mais les progrès accomplis en 1984 et en 1985 ne nous permettent certainement pas de conclure que la productivité peut augmenter ou à tout le moins demeurer stable dans un régime où l'administration des langues officielles est « dé-spécialisée », si l'on peut dire. Pour cela, il faudrait vraisemblablement que les fonctionnaires sachent que leurs efforts sont étroitement surveillés. Or le Conseil du Trésor et la plupart des ministères ne semblent pas avoir consenti d'efforts extraordinaires cette année pour s'assurer que les questions de langues officielles reçoivent à l'échelon local toute l'attention qu'elles méritent.

Langues officielles et vérification interne

Nous avons voulu vérifier notre hypothèse selon laquelle l'intégration graduelle des activités de vérification du programme des langues officielles au processus général de vérification interne commun à tous les organismes fédéraux donne de meilleurs résultats en théorie qu'en pratique ; aussi avons-nous effectué en 1985 notre propre étude, portant sur 27 ministères et sociétés de la Couronne, afin de voir comment cette vérification est faite et de déterminer si les responsables disposent des outils nécessaires. Nous avons également essayé de savoir quelles directives les ministères et organismes pouvaient avoir reçues du Conseil du Trésor, du Contrôleur général ou d'autres organismes en ce qui a trait à la vérification linguistique.

Nos entrevues avec des vérificateurs internes dans les ministères et organismes ainsi qu'avec les responsables des organismes centraux tels le Conseil du Trésor, le Contrôleur général, le Vérificateur général et le Bureau des services de vérification d'Approvisionnements et Services nous ont permis de tirer les conclusions suivantes :

- les questions linguistiques font rarement l'objet d'une attention spéciale dans la politique de vérification des organismes et ministères, et ne jouissent pas d'une très grande priorité dans leurs plans de vérification ;
- dans l'ensemble, les sociétés de la Couronne effectuent encore moins de vérifications sur le plan des langues officielles que les ministères ;
- certains groupes de vérification interne ne comptent pas assez de vérificateurs bilingues, et la préférence linguistique des personnes soumises à la vérification n'est pas systématiquement respectée ;
- bien que les organismes centraux aient pris des mesures importantes pour promouvoir la vérification des programmes de langues officielles, des documents comme les *Normes de vérification interne au gouvernement du Canada* devraient renfermer des lignes directrices plus rigoureuses à ce sujet.

Dans l'ensemble, nous avons conclu que les vérificateurs internes n'étaient pas toujours bien placés ni bien outillés pour effectuer des vérifications d'ordre linguistique et que, même s'ils l'étaient, ils se buteraient aux lacunes importantes des directives émanant de certains organismes centraux.

Une mise au point de l'appareil

L'an dernier, nous avons fait plus de 50 recommandations, certaines d'ordre général et d'autres plus précises, visant à améliorer la planification et l'évaluation de la gestion du programme des langues officielles. Selon nos calculs, moins de 25 p.100 d'entre elles ont été pleinement et promptement mises en œuvre en 1985. On a par exemple donné suite à notre suggestion que les organismes centraux réexaminent tous les mécanismes d'exécution de la Loi et les conclusions de cette étude devraient

être connues d'ici peu. Au total cependant l'exploration de mesures nouvelles n'a pas débouché sur beaucoup d'initiatives concrètes. Cela signifie que les questions que nous avons soulevées l'an dernier — au sujet du déploiement des effectifs, des compétences linguistiques et de la première langue officielle des employés occupant des postes bilingues, par exemple — sont loin d'avoir été réglées.

Plutôt que de reprendre nos observations et recommandations de l'an dernier concernant les divers systèmes servant à la gestion du programme linguistique dans la fonction publique fédérale (voir pp. 174-179 du Rapport annuel de 1984), nous nous contenterons ici de faire une comparaison statistique entre la situation de 1985 et celle de 1979.

Exigences linguistiques des postes

Il y a maintenant douze ans que l'administration détermine les exigences linguistiques de chaque poste de la fonction publique, c'est-à-dire l'obligation pour le titulaire de connaître l'une ou l'autre des langues officielles, ou les deux. Les tableaux ci-dessous permettent de voir le lien non seulement entre ce système de désignation et certains objectifs du programme des langues officielles tels le service au public ou la participation équitable, mais également ses effets sur d'autres mécanismes telles la dotation « impérative », la formation linguistique, voire la traduction. Il n'y a rien de neuf dans cette observation. Ce qui importe cependant, c'est que certains *éléments* de l'ensemble du système de gestion semblent se répercuter différemment sur les deux groupes linguistiques, tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur de la fonction publique ; cela s'explique peut-être par des facteurs sociologiques, mais ne correspond pas à ce qu'un observateur impartial pourrait qualifier d'égalité parfaite. Rappelons certaines des tendances actuelles.

Le tableau III.1 montre les changements survenus au cours des six dernières années dans la répartition régionale des postes selon leur désignation linguistique — bilingues, anglais essentiel, français essentiel, l'un ou l'autre. Même si l'on tient compte de la diminution globale des effectifs de la fonction publique (attribuable en partie au fait que le ministère des Postes est devenu une société de la Couronne), les courbes de croissance ou de déclin dans ces quatre catégories sont fort révélatrices, de même que la répartition régionale des postes. La croissance des postes bilingues, surtout dans la région de la Capitale nationale, est particulièrement impressionnante. Quant aux postes unilingues, ils sont en déclin presque partout : c'est ainsi que les catégories « anglais essentiel » et « français essentiel » ont perdu bon nombre de joueurs, la première en Ontario, la seconde au Québec. Dans les régions à l'extérieur du Nouveau-Brunswick, du Québec et de l'Ontario, la capacité bilingue se situe toujours sous la marque des 2 500 en dépit d'un léger accroissement des postes bilingues.

Étant donné la répartition passablement inégale des divers types de postes, on pourrait croire, à juste titre, que la désignation des postes dépend en un sens de la disponibilité d'employés offrant les caractéristiques recherchées, indépendamment des besoins linguistiques théoriques. C'est ce que semble confirmer le tableau III.2 qui indique les changements survenus dans la répartition des deux groupes linguistiques au sein de la fonction publique (sans compter les sociétés de la Couronne) depuis 1979, selon le type de postes.

Un examen attentif des données, en fonction des régions, fait ressortir les anomalies suivantes :

Tableau III.1

Exigences linguistiques des postes occupés dans la fonction publique, par région géographique, 1979 et 1985

		Bilingue		Anglais essentiel		Français essentiel		L'un ou l'autre		Total	
		Nombre	%	Nombre	%	Nombre	%	Nombre	%	Nombre	%
L'Ouest et le Nord	1979	628	1,1	64 107	38,2	26	0,1	20	0,1	64 781	24,0
	1985	1 321	2,1	51 403	38,4	8	0,1	27	0,2	52 759	23,5
L'Ontario	1979	2 064	3,7	52 939	31,6	113	0,4	601	3,8	55 717	20,7
	1985	2 591	4,1	33 205	24,8	27	0,2	332	3,0	36 155	16,1
La région de la Capitale nationale	1979	34 645	62,2	23 582	14,1	2 297	7,5	13 382	84,7	73 906	27,4
	1985	40 139	62,9	24 097	18,1	824	5,1	9 674	86,3	74 734	33,2
Le Québec	1979	16 166	29,0	302	0,2	28 054	91,6	394	2,5	44 916	16,6
	1985	16 117	25,2	122	0,1	15 175	94,4	485	4,3	31 899	14,2
Le Nouveau-Brunswick	1979	1 773	3,2	5 108	3,0	100	0,3	1 234	7,8	8 215	3,0
	1985	2 548	3,9	4 531	3,4	35	0,2	456	4,1	7 570	3,4
Autres provinces atlantiques	1979	462	0,8	21 574	12,9	27	0,1	172	1,1	22 235	8,3
	1985	1 135	1,8	20 359	15,2	8	0,1	238	2,1	21 740	9,6
Total	**1979**	**55 738**	**100,0**	**167 612**	**100,0**	**30 617**	**100,0**	**15 803**	**100,0**	**269 770**	**100,0**
	1985	**63 851**	**100,0**	**133 717**	**100,0**	**16 077**	**100,0**	**11 212**	**100,0**	**224 857**	**100,0**

Source : Système d'information sur les langues officielles, mars 1979 et décembre 1985.

- dans l'Ouest, un nombre appréciable de Francophones occupent des postes pour lesquels la connaissance de l'anglais est essentielle, tandis que plus de la moitié des postes bilingues sont occupés par des Anglophones, qui ont censément suivi des cours de langue ;
- au Québec, les Anglophones sont proportionnellement de moins en moins nombreux dans tous les types de postes, *y compris* ceux désignés « anglais essentiel ».

Titulaires et nominations

Le tableau III.3 est une mise à jour du tableau de l'an dernier ; il montre que les tendances que nous avions alors décelées se sont généralement maintenues. Nous n'avons pas encore entendu de réaction officielle à ce sujet, mais nous souhaiterions que le gouvernement en tienne compte dans sa révision de la politique et des procédures.

Formation linguistique

Nous avions remarqué l'an dernier qu'une proportion étonnamment faible de titulaires de postes bilingues avaient appris leur langue seconde grâce à des stages prolongés de cours de langue financés par l'État, et nous nous étions demandés si cette formation prolongée et coûteuse pouvait permettre aux fonctionnaires, spécialement aux Anglophones, de devenir effectivement bilingues. L'accessibilité aux cours de langue et la productivité de ceux-ci sont vraisemblablement incluses dans l'examen général auquel se livre le gouvernement. En 1985, le régime de formation linguistique n'a subi que des modifications mineures et, du point de vue statistique,

Tableau III.2

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones et anglophones selon les exigences linguistiques de leur poste, par région géographique, 1979 et 1985

		Bilingues		Anglais essentiel		Français essentiel		L'un ou l'autre	
	Année	Anglophones	Francophones	Anglophones	Francophones	Anglophones	Francophones	Anglophones	Francophones
L'Ouest et le Nord	1979	75	25	99	1	8	92	100	0
	1985	63	37	99	1	13	87	97	4
L'Ontario	1979	70	30	99	1	11	89	69	31
	1985	58	42	98	1	7	93	69	31
La région de la Capitale nationale	1979	55	45	92	8	6	94	66	34
	1985	48	52	92	8	3	97	67	33
Le Québec	1979	11	89	90	10	3	97	30	70
	1985	9	91	84	16	2	98	15	85
Le Nouveau-Brunswick	1979	52	48	95	5	23	77	64	36
	1985	36	63	94	6	6	94	63	37
Autres provinces atlantiques	1979	75	25	99	1	35	65	77	23
	1985	61	39	99	1	13	87	68	32

Source : Système d'information sur les langues officielles, mars 1979 et décembre 1985.

Tableau III.3

Titulaires de postes bilingues, selon la première langue officielle, et nominations à ces postes, 1979 et 1985

	1979				1985			
Toutes les régions	**Anglophones**		**Francophones**		**Anglophones**		**Francophones**	
	Nombre	**%**	**Nombre**	**%**	**Nombre**	**%**	**Nombre**	**%**
Titulaires	23 156	44	29 633	56	24 524	39	38 662	61
Nominations	7 048	40	10 703	60	5 915	34	11 624	66
Région de la Capitale nationale								
Titulaires	18 530	55	15 110	45	19 379	48	20 810	52
Nominations	5 730	50	5 746	50	4 653	40	6 910	60

Source : Titulaires : Système d'information sur les langues officielles, mars 1979 et décembre 1985 ; nominations : Commission de la Fonction publique (les chiffres de 1985 sont préliminaires).

Tableau III.4

Nombre de fonctionnaires inscrits à des cours de langue de la Fonction publique (formation continue ou autres régimes) et nombre de ceux qui ont réussi l'examen au niveau approprié, 1983, 1984 et 1985

	Formation continue			
Année	Nombre d'inscrits	Nombre de candidats ayant subis les tests appropriés	Nombre de candidats reçus	Autres régimes
1983	3 229	1 768	1 712	8 978
1984	2 717	1 590	1 544	9 908
1985	2 208	1 251	1 200	14 846

Source : Commission de la Fonction publique.

ses résultats ont été à peu près identiques à ceux des dernières années (voir tableau III.4). En juin, toutefois, le président du Conseil du Trésor a fait savoir que le gouvernement envisageait la possibilité de privatiser une part appréciable de la formation et qu'il entendait définir de façon plus précise les besoins en la matière. Quant à savoir si cela va accroître l'efficacité de ce programme, cela reste à voir ; mais l'idée de la privatisation nous apparaît défendable.

Deux choses ressortent particulièrement de ces données. La première, c'est qu'une part toujours moins importante des cours de langue dispensés par la Fonction publique est consacrée à la formation continue ou intensive (réservée aux candidats hautement prioritaires), si bien que les autres, dont les volontaires, ont occupé les places libres. La seconde, c'est que si le taux de réussite à l'examen de connaissances linguistiques des fonctionnaires en formation continue dépasse toujours 95 p.100, curieusement moins de 60 p.100 des inscrits sont appelés à passer cet examen. Combien d'autres bilingues passifs sont sortis des *autres* régimes de formation — et ils sont légion à y avoir participé —, il est impossible de le savoir. Peut-être les gestionnaires de ces programmes disposent-ils d'informations et d'analyses confidentielles ; mais ce qui ressort des seules données rendues publiques à ce sujet a de quoi inquiéter.

Tests de compétence linguistique

Ces nouveaux tests de compétence en langue seconde, en vigueur depuis octobre 1984, ont été fort bien accueillis par la très grande majorité des intéressés. À peine 2 ou 3 p.100 des candidats interrogés s'opposaient à certains éléments de ces tests. Il est par ailleurs intéressant de noter que le taux de succès de chacun des deux groupes linguistiques varie selon le niveau des exigences en langue seconde. Par exemple, au niveau élémentaire (niveau A), l'un et l'autre ont un score de 90 p.100, alors qu'au niveau le plus élevé (le C) le taux de réussite des Anglophones chute à 60 p.100, celui des Francophones se maintenant autour de 85 p.100. À l'évidence, ces résultats reflètent fidèlement la réalité socio-linguistique de la fonction publique ; mais comme ils ne peuvent que se répercuter sur la qualité du « bilinguisme institutionnel » que nous cherchons à instaurer, il faudra suivre ce dossier de près.

Traduction

Depuis quelques années, les gouvernements successifs s'inquiètent de l'utilisation et du coût accrus des services de traduction. L'introduction, en 1985, du régime des

Tableau III.5

Volume et coût de la traduction et de l'interprétation au sein de la Fonction publique, 1981-1982 à 1984-1985

	1981-1982	1982-1983	1983-1984	1984-1985
Frais de traduction				
Nombre de mots traduits (en millions)	276	260	290	268
Coût moyen par mot (c)	20,92	24,79	23,31	25,24
Total partiel (en milliers de dollars)	**57 781**	**64 458**	**67 562**	**67 687**
Frais d'interprétation				
Nombre de jours-interprètes	13 178	13 246	14 181	13 536
Frais d'interprétation par jour ($)	370,42	412,73	446,79	469,62
Total partiel (en milliers de dollars)	**4 882**	**5 467**	**6 336**	**6 357**
TOTAL (en milliers de dollars)	**66 663**	**69 925**	**73 898**	**74 944**

Source : Secrétariat d'Etat.

« enveloppes », qui oblige les organismes et ministères qui croient devoir dépasser les limites établies à faire une demande spéciale, a semble-t-il calmé les ardeurs des utilisateurs. Comme la traduction, aussi nécessaire soit-elle, est encore largement utilisée comme une aide aux employés bilingues qui doivent rédiger un texte dans leur langue seconde, nous sommes encouragés de voir que plusieurs ministères offrent désormais un service de révision à ceux qui sont prêts à faire un premier essai dans leur langue seconde. Le tableau III.5 donne un aperçu de l'évolution de la traduction depuis 1981.

De l'examen de ces données semble se dégager une double tendance : d'une part, le volume de la traduction et de l'interprétation est sous contrôle et tenderait même à baisser ; d'autre part, le coût unitaire de ces services grimpe modestement ou de façon marquée, selon les cas. Comme il est vraisemblable que les besoins essentiels du gouvernement en ces domaines continueront de croître, il est à craindre qu'à trop serrer la vis on ne dispose plus des ressources indispensables et que la qualité des services en souffre. Nous invitons encore une fois le gouvernement à départager les pratiques budgétaires qui assurent une efficacité plus grande de celles qui freinent la mise en œuvre de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*.

Prime au bilinguisme

Au printemps dernier, le président du Conseil du Trésor a annoncé que la prime au bilinguisme ferait l'objet de discussions avec les syndicats visés ; depuis lors, rien n'a transpiré à ce sujet.

PARTIE IV

Les minorités : le défi

Le colloque : une rencontre historique

Le Canada a entrepris il y a une vingtaine d'années une réforme de son régime linguistique dans le dessein notamment de bilinguiser la fonction publique et de protéger les minorités de langue officielle. Cette réforme n'est toujours pas achevée. La survie des minorités de langue officielle, et à plus forte raison leur épanouissement, est loin d'être assurée. Toutefois, depuis quelques années, un nouveau climat d'entente semble être en voie de s'établir entre nos deux majorités, ce qui permet d'espérer une amélioration sensible du sort des communautés minoritaires. Mais encore faudra-t-il que tous les intéressés s'attaquent résolument au problème.

Dans notre dernier rapport annuel, nous avons analysé la situation critique dans laquelle se trouvent ces communautés ; nous avons également défini les grandes orientations qui devraient aider les divers ordres de gouvernement, dans leur sphère de compétence respective, à prendre des mesures concrètes pour leur venir en aide. Par la suite, il nous est apparu primordial d'offrir une tribune aux représentants de ces groupes afin qu'ils présentent leur vision du pays ainsi que leurs attentes. C'est pourquoi le Commissariat aux langues officielles a organisé le premier colloque national sur les communautés minoritaires francophones et anglophones, qui s'est tenu dans la Capitale nationale du 17 au 19 octobre 1985. Les objectifs de ce colloque, qui avait pour thème « Les minorités : le temps des solutions[1] », étaient les suivants : offrir aux représentants des différents groupes minoritaires l'occasion de mieux définir leurs intérêts communs ; analyser les déficiences des infrastructures existantes en matière de langues officielles ; et enfin, proposer des moyens de créer un environnement plus propice au développement de nos minorités nationales. Plus d'une centaine de personnalités, dont les porte-parole des principales associations minoritaires provinciales, ont pris part à ces assises.

Dans leur message officiel aux participants, le Gouverneur général et le Premier ministre ont souligné certains facteurs clés qui aident à comprendre les difficultés encourues par les minorités dans un pays officiellement bilingue. Le Gouverneur général a décrit la situation de la façon suivante :

> Le problème des minorités au Canada demeure une question d'actualité que les mesures législatives ne peuvent à elles seules résoudre. Il y faut le consensus des citoyens et la volonté d'inventer des solutions qui permettent de faire régner dans ce domaine stratégique les règles de la justice et de l'équité.

[1] Les actes du colloque ont été publiés en mars 1986 dans un numéro spécial de notre revue *Langue et Société*.

Le Premier ministre a abondé dans le même sens : s'il est essentiel que les droits linguistiques reposent sur un fondement juridique et constitutionnel, le développement de la vie communautaire et du milieu culturel est « une entreprise vraiment commune », qui suppose la coopération de tous les gouvernements et de tous les organismes intéressés.

Constat d'échec

Les participants ont d'abord formulé un constat d'échec : quinze ans après la mise en œuvre d'un programme qui avait pour objet de réaliser l'égalité linguistique au sein de l'appareil fédéral, les minorités continuent de décliner. En fait, elles sont souvent les premières victimes des querelles de compétence et de la mauvaise planification. « Nous sommes partis de bien loin », rappelait cependant l'honorable Gérard Pelletier dans son allocution, et il faut reconnaître que certains programmes ont connu quelque succès. Mais à vrai dire, la nécessité d'examiner systématiquement les besoins de toutes les collectivités minoritaires, comme l'avait suggéré la Commission B.B., n'a pas suscité de vague de fond sur le plan politique, juridique et administratif, bien que les autorités fédérales aient souscrit aux principes en cause. Aussi l'association linguistique est-elle restée, du moins aux yeux des minorités, « une entreprise en difficulté », comme l'indiquait M. Gilles Le Blanc, président de la Fédération des Francophones hors Québec (FFHQ).

Comme on pouvait le prévoir, cette première rencontre entre des groupes dont l'histoire, la situation, les préoccupations et les besoins diffèrent souvent, a suscité au début certaines réticences, et plusieurs mises au point se sont avérées nécessaires. Il s'agissait notamment d'établir une distinction très nette entre les communautés anglophones, qui sont souvent assez bien pourvues et qui disposent d'un appui institutionnel important, et les communautés francophones, pour la plupart très démunies. On s'est accordé sur l'urgence d'apporter une aide immédiate aux plus défavorisées.

Pour leur part, Alliance Québec et les autres associations anglophones, tout en reconnaissant la spécificité des problèmes des minorités francophones, ont fait valoir qu'elles faisaient face elles aussi à des problèmes bien réels. Comme le notait à juste titre M^me^ Joan Fraser, éditorialiste au quotidien *The Gazette* : « Dans certains milieux, on a tendance à croire que la situation privilégiée des Anglo-Québécois, comparativement à celle des Francophones hors du Québec, excuse en quelque sorte les quelques injustices qui leur sont faites. Mais l'injustice est contagieuse. » Par ailleurs, les participants se sont penchés sur certaines questions d'une importance cruciale pour toutes les minorités : le partage constitutionnel des compétences, le rôle de premier plan du Québec vis-à-vis les Francophones des autres provinces, et l'adaptation des programmes conçus pour la majorité aux besoins particuliers des minorités. Existe-t-il un commun dénominateur entre les deux groupes minoritaires ? La synthèse formulée conjointement à la fin du colloque par le président de la FFHQ et celui d'Alliance Québec, dont on trouvera plus loin le résumé, apporte une réponse à cette question.

Les propositions

De façon générale, une analyse des débats permet de regrouper sous quelques grands thèmes les diverses propositions qui ont été soumises aux participants :

- élaboration d'un plan de développement national visant à assurer la reconnaissance et le respect des droits linguistiques des communautés minoritaires partout au Canada ;

- la nécessité d'assurer une meilleure coordination des efforts entre les organismes fédéraux ainsi qu'une coopération plus soutenue entre les gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux, les associations volontaires et le secteur privé ;

- la réaffirmation du mandat du Commissariat et du Comité mixte permanent de la politique et des programmes de langues officielles et la diversification de leurs activités, notamment en tant que porte-parole des minorités auprès des pouvoirs publics ;

- l'importance d'une volonté politique et du concours de la majorité pour définir une approche nationale touchant l'épanouissement des communautés minoritaires ;

- le besoin d'action dans divers secteurs tels que la radio communautaire et la publicité fédérale dans la presse minoritaire, la création de mécanismes d'entraide entre les communautés et l'amélioration des mécanismes existants.

Les participants ont souligné unanimement l'importance pour *tous* les organismes fédéraux d'assumer leurs responsabilités en matière d'appui aux minorités, ainsi que la nécessité de mieux harmoniser les divers programmes de langues officielles du Secrétariat d'État. « Il m'apparaît aujourd'hui essentiel, notait l'ex-président de la FFHQ, M. Léo LeTourneau, que l'ensemble de l'appareil fédéral fasse sien le projet linguistique. » De l'avis de tous, l'élaboration d'un plan détaillé permettrait de faire un examen approfondi des choix administratifs qui s'offrent au gouvernement, et de déterminer, tant à l'échelon fédéral que provincial, des centres de responsabilité et des mécanismes de coordination en ce qui a trait aux minorités de langue officielle. Comme l'indiquait le député d'Argenteuil à l'Assemblée nationale du Québec, M. Claude Ryan (devenu depuis ministre de l'Éducation), « si nous optons pour la dualité linguistique, nous devons accepter que cette dualité se réalise non seulement au sommet de l'édifice, mais à tous les étages de notre vie collective ».

Sur le plan juridique, un consensus semble se dégager en faveur d'une extension des garanties constitutionnelles consenties à nos minorités nationales. On a fait valoir qu'il fallait remédier sans délai aux ambiguïtés et aux anomalies entourant la formulation et la mise en œuvre de l'article 23 de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés* portant sur les droits à l'instruction dans la langue de la minorité. Enfin, l'adhésion de l'Ontario à l'article 133 de la *Loi constitutionnelle de 1867* (ou son équivalent) et l'octroi, tant en Ontario qu'au Québec, d'une garantie des droits linguistiques de la minorité, ont été jugés prioritaires. « Dans une société démocratique, affirmait M. Michael Goldbloom, président d'Alliance Québec, les droits linguistiques d'une minorité doivent résider là où ils sont le plus en sécurité, c'est-à-dire dans la Constitution même de cette société, hors de la portée de toute majorité, quelle qu'elle soit. »

Les participants n'ont pas manqué de souligner qu'il fallait amener le secteur privé et les associations volontaires à reconnaître concrètement les besoins des communautés minoritaires. Enfin, ils ont fait valoir qu'il importait d'élargir considérablement la portée des programmes d'information et de promotion en matière de langues

officielles à l'intention des communautés majoritaires. Comme l'expliquait le président de la FFHQ, M. Gilles Le Blanc :

> Il importe de chercher à appliquer *l'esprit* de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, de démythifier le concept du bilinguisme, de calmer les appréhensions et de travailler à changer les mentalités. Aucun aménagement législatif ou juridique ne peut remplacer cette indispensable « conversion intérieure ».
>
> Pour que l'entreprise soit un succès, il faudra que les deux groupes linguistiques, en appliquant la politique du bilinguisme, ne perdent pas de vue les motifs profonds qui l'ont inspirée. Le « pourquoi » des mesures concrètes est tout aussi important que le « comment ». Cela suppose que chaque groupe concerné puisse négocier de façon sereine et cohérente, qu'il puisse composer avec ceux et celles qui pensent différemment et qu'il fasse preuve de tolérance et de compréhension. Le respect de l'autre sera un gage de progrès.

La synthèse commune

À l'issue du colloque, les représentants de la Fédération des Francophones hors Québec, d'Alliance Québec et des diverses associations membres ont élaboré une synthèse commune[1] et ont convenu de travailler de concert à la réalisation de trois objectifs : 1) promouvoir la coopération fédérale-provinciale en faveur des minorités ; 2) amener le secteur privé à participer davantage à la réforme du régime linguistique ; et 3) rencontrer de nouveau le Premier ministre afin de discuter d'un programme de relance.

Durant les trois jours qu'a duré le colloque, il est apparu clairement que tous avaient un désir profond d'assurer des bases solides à la protection des droits linguistiques ; on a reconnu cependant les inégalités considérables de statut ou de fait entre les communautés minoritaires francophones et anglophones.

Un intervenant a rappelé, non sans ironie, que la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés* (au paragraphe 16[3]) « ne limite pas le pouvoir du Parlement et des législatures de favoriser la progression vers l'égalité de statut ou d'usage du français et de l'anglais ». Mais cette invitation est restée sans réponse et on attend toujours les projets de réforme, comme on avait attendu en vain que les divers ordres de gouvernement se concertent pour mettre en œuvre les dispositions de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* portant sur les districts bilingues.

Le Secrétaire d'État

Prenant la parole au dîner de clôture, le Secrétaire d'État, M. Benoît Bouchard, a affirmé aux participants qu'il avait pris bonne note de leurs revendications. Le Ministre a énuméré cinq domaines où il comptait prendre des initiatives :

- une direction et une coordination plus vigoureuses des interventions fédérales ;
- une collaboration plus concrète avec les gouvernements provinciaux en vue d'accroître les services aux minorités ;
- une association plus étroite avec le gouvernement du Québec afin de tirer partie de la réorientation de sa politique à l'égard de la francophonie dans le reste du Canada ;

[1] Cette synthèse est reproduite à l'annexe D.

- une participation des secteurs privé et bénévole afin de les engager à souscrire à des objectifs nationaux en matière de langues officielles ;
- une aide accrue à l'enseignement de la langue seconde.

Le Secrétaire d'État a conclu en rappelant que le gouvernement canadien avait la ferme intention d'être « le maître d'œuvre de la réforme du régime linguistique ».

À la recherche de solutions

À l'issue de ce colloque, il nous est apparu essentiel de faire comprendre à tous les Canadiens l'urgence d'une offensive immédiate et concertée. Autrement, la solution que nous recherchons tous, à savoir un régime linguistique équitable, réaliste et rentable, comme l'exprimait le Commissaire au début du colloque, risque d'arriver trop tard. Car la promotion des langues officielles se trouve en concurrence avec une foule d'autres préoccupations d'ordre politique, économique et social. Comme le faisait observer le président de la Fédération des Acadiens de la Nouvelle-Écosse, M. Ben Samson :

> Bien sûr, la crise économique nous pousse à faire des choix. Mais encore faut-il que ces choix ne remettent pas en cause l'identité même du Canada ! Nous ne parlons pas ici de principes philosophiques, mais bien d'hommes et de femmes qui luttent avec acharnement pour leur survie linguistique et culturelle.

La presse écrite et électronique — à tout le moins dans l'est du pays — a largement fait écho au colloque, y consacrant reportages et éditoriaux. Le Commissariat aux langues officielles a également distribué un compte rendu du colloque aux participants, ainsi qu'aux hommes politiques et aux mandarins fédéraux et provinciaux. D'autres publications destinées au grand public ont suivi. Le Commissaire entend maintenir des contacts étroits avec les autorités gouvernementales et les associations intéressées, en particulier les porte-parole de la Fédération des Francophones hors Québec et d'Alliance Québec, auxquels échoit la tâche de sensibiliser les majorités au sort des minorités.

Mais c'est le gouvernement canadien, rappelons-le, qui reste le premier responsable, « le maître d'œuvre de la réforme du régime linguistique ». Il est le mieux placé pour coordonner les efforts de tous les intéressés. Comme le soulignait au cours du colloque le doyen associé de la Faculté de droit de l'Université d'Ottawa, M. Michel Bastarache : « Il est primordial que le gouvernement du Canada adopte une politique cohérente en matière de langues officielles. Cette politique doit être claire et facile à comprendre, et sa mise en œuvre doit être l'affaire de tous ». Bref, le temps est grandement venu de passer aux solutions.

La chronique minoritaire : tenir le coup

L'essor et l'unité du Canada passent assurément par la dynamisation de son économie et la multiplication des emplois. Mais la vitalité d'un pays tient à bien d'autres facteurs. Comme le faisait observer le volumineux rapport de la Commision royale sur l'union économique et les perspectives de développement du Canada (Commission Macdonald), publié en septembre dernier, « nos aménagements institutionnels doivent être à la fois conformes aux concepts changeants que nous avons de nous-mêmes, en tant que peuple, et utiles dans l'accomplissement des tâches collectives que nous avons entreprises et que nous entreprendrons à l'avenir ».

La Commission Macdonald

Les Commissaires ont estimé que la situation des communautés francophones hors du Québec était critique ; certes on a travaillé à la réforme du régime linguistique, mais les résultats ont été dans l'ensemble « clairement en deçà des exigences d'une véritable égalité ». Il faudrait une fois de plus se pencher sur notre dualité, afin de donner à toutes les collectivités qui en sont l'expression les mêmes moyens de s'épanouir :

> En général, la coexistence harmonieuse des Canadiens francophones et anglophones, qui devrait comprendre la juste reconnaissance institutionnelle et constitutionnelle, exige un effort à trois niveaux. Premièrement, il faut reconnaître le rôle essentiel que joue le gouvernement du Québec qui entretient une population florissante en majorité francophone. Deuxièmement, le gouvernement national doit traduire, dans l'ensemble de ses opérations, la dualité linguistique qui existe au Canada. Enfin, le Canada, dans son entité, doit, aux niveaux national et provincial, s'intéresser aux minorités de langue officielle, les Francophones hors du Québec et les Anglophones au Québec, et les soutenir.

La Commission a par ailleurs recommandé que l'Ontario reconnaisse le français et l'anglais comme langues officielles, et donne ainsi l'exemple à d'autres provinces. Elle a également fait sienne l'idée de mettre sur pied des centres à vocation multiple où les Francophones pourraient travailler et se livrer à des activités éducatives ou culturelles dans leur langue.

Si la Commission n'a accordé qu'une attention superficielle à la minorité anglophone du Québec (ce que celle-ci a déploré à juste titre), il faut reconnaître qu'elle a cerné avec beaucoup de justesse la situation critique des Francophones hors du Québec.

Les principaux intéressés, comme nous-mêmes, estimaient déjà que les relations entre les minorités et les majorités avaient assez peu progressé ; mais qu'une Commission de cette envergure soit venue confirmer nos appréhensions, elle qui a scruté notre vie collective et nos institutions, voilà qui devrait donner à réfléchir à tous les Canadiens. Si nous voulons réaliser les nobles idéaux inscrits dans la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés*, il faudra de toute évidence que le gouvernement fédéral accroisse sensiblement son soutien moral et financier aux minorités.

Recherche sur les communautés francophones hors du Québec

Bien que nos minorités militent depuis fort longtemps pour obtenir des structures institutionnelles et sociales adaptées à leurs besoins, bien peu de recherches avaient été faites pour soutenir et orienter leur action. C'est pourquoi la Fédération des Francophones hors Québec a tenu un colloque en novembre 1984 sur l'état de la recherche visant les minorités francophones, où l'on s'est employé à cerner les lacunes en ce domaine et à définir des champs de recherche susceptibles de contribuer au développement des communautés minoritaires. Comme en font foi les Actes de ce colloque, qui ont été publiés en 1985, on sait peu de choses sur les moyens d'intervention politique dont elles disposent et, faute d'études de cas, sur les causes profondes du succès ou de l'échec de leurs initiatives. L'une des principales recommandations du colloque a été de créer un réseau pluridisciplinaire de chercheurs. Baptisé Alouette, ce réseau serait constitué des six chapitres (Moncton, Ottawa, Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton et Vancouver), et ses membres se réuniraient une fois l'an à l'occasion des assises de l'Association canadienne-française pour l'avancement des sciences.

L'année 1985 a été marquée par certains progrès sur le plan juridique et institutionnel. Les questions juridiques sont analysées en détail à la partie I (voir *Les droits linguistiques*).

L'Ontario

Rendu public en décembre 1984, le Rapport Bovey sur l'avenir des universités en Ontario révélait que l'accès des Franco-Ontariens à l'enseignement postsecondaire demeurait un grave problème. Leur taux de participation à ce niveau est de 50 p.100 inférieur à celui des non-Francophones, ce que l'on attribue à leurs possibilités restreintes de faire des études secondaires en français. De plus, une étude du Conseil de l'éducation franco-ontarienne, publiée en novembre, est venue confirmer les pires craintes à cet égard : « Tant dans les collèges communautaires que dans les universités, l'absence presque totale de programmation en français pour les domaines reliés à la technologie, à l'industrie, à la science et au commerce a pour effet d'exclure les Franco-Ontariens de la génération actuelle de participer sur un pied d'égalité à l'avenir social et économique du Canada[1] ».

Sur la question de l'enseignement primaire et secondaire, la même étude souligne que jusqu'en 1968, un Franco-Ontarien avait six fois moins de chances qu'un non-Francophone de se rendre jusqu'en treizième année. Malgré certains progrès depuis lors, le Conseil considère que les écoles mixtes aggravent les problèmes de scolarisation des Franco-Ontariens, et en réclame l'abolition pure et simple. Il propose

[1] *Éducation et besoins des Franco-Ontariens : le diagnostic d'un système d'éducation*, Churchill, Frenette et Quazi, Conseil de l'éducation franco-ontarienne, novembre 1985, vol. 2, p. 27.

également une série de mesures correctives, dont la création de conseils scolaires régionaux homogènes de langue française. Il va sans dire que nous appuyons sans réserve ces propositions.

Nous nous réjouissons d'ailleurs que le ministère de l'Éducation de la province ait annoncé en décembre la création d'un conseil scolaire homogène de langue française dans Ottawa-Carleton ; pour les autres régions cependant, le Ministre préconise une représentation francophone au sein des conseils existants.

La scolarisation des Franco-Ontariens

L'Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario a publié en mai dernier les résultats d'une étude intitulée *Les Francophones tels qu'ils sont : regard sur le monde du travail franco-ontarien* ; les statistiques qu'on y trouve n'ont rien de réjouissant. Ainsi, quelque 31 p.100 des Francophones de 25 à 64 ans peuvent être considérés comme des analphabètes fonctionnels, n'ayant pas plus de huit années de scolarité. Malheureusement, si les causes de cette situation déplorable sont maintenant bien connues, les solutions, elles, n'iront pas de soi. En effet, il faudra non seulement définir des objectifs et trouver des moyens susceptibles d'assurer un enseignement efficace en langue française, mais aussi augmenter considérablement les ressources qui y sont consacrées.

On ne peut s'empêcher de mettre en parallèle les constatations de ces études et la difficile question du droit des Franco-Ontariens à la gestion de leurs écoles. Bien de l'eau coulera sans doute sous les ponts avant qu'une loi en ce sens ne soit promulgée ; en attendant, malgré quelques lueurs d'espoir, la situation suscite un malaise profond. L'opposition déconcertante d'un grand nombre à l'établissement d'un conseil scolaire homogène de langue française dans Prescott-Russell montre bien que les Franco-Ontariens sont loin de jouir de la sécurité et des garanties d'avenir auxquelles nos collectivités minoritaires devraient avoir droit.

Pénurie de spécialistes francophones

Le Conseil de planification sociale d'Ottawa-Carleton a publié cette année une étude intitulée *Les professionnels francophones dans les services de santé et les services sociaux en Ontario*. On se rappellera qu'en 1982, le Conseil avait publié un premier rapport faisant état, chiffres à l'appui, de la pénurie de spécialistes francophones dans ces domaines. Cette pénurie, on s'en doute, limite la capacité de fournir des services en langue française. Tout en notant certains progrès, le Conseil estime qu'il faudrait davantage de pharmaciens, de dentistes, d'audiologistes, d'orthophonistes et de médecins francophones. Aussi s'est-il fixé comme objectifs la création d'un programme de sciences infirmières entièrement en français à l'Université d'Ottawa, ainsi que l'établissement d'un programme de deuxième cycle dans le domaine du travail social et de l'administration des services sociaux. Chose certaine, sans un effort soutenu pour former plus de spécialistes de la santé, la communauté de langue française devra continuer de se contenter d'un service sporadique.

Passons maintenant aux bonnes nouvelles : le Procureur général de la province a annoncé en novembre que tous les tribunaux reconnaîtront prochainement aux Francophones le droit d'être jugés dans leur langue. Au même moment, le ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires dévoilait les grandes lignes d'une politique visant à améliorer non seulement les services en français dispensés par son Ministère, mais encore ceux fournis par les agences parapubliques et les associations

volontaires, telle la Société d'aide à l'enfance. Il incombe désormais à ces organismes de revoir leur structure, d'évaluer les besoins des Franco-Ontariens et d'encourager ceux-ci à participer davantage à leurs activités. Dans les régions désignées, en particulier, le personnel du Ministère et des organismes subventionnés devra être en mesure d'offrir des services en français, aussi bien verbalement que par écrit, et ces services devront être annoncés clairement au moyen d'affiches bilingues ou en français. Enfin, une entente fédérale-provinciale conclue en septembre permettra à TVOntario d'établir, vers le début de 1987, un réseau en langue française diffusant 70 heures de programmation hebdomadaire.

Le bilinguisme officiel

L'un des faits marquants de 1985 aura été l'adoption par l'Association des municipalités de l'Ontario, lors de son congrès en août, d'une résolution en faveur du bilinguisme officiel en Ontario. Cette résolution a été appuyée publiquement et de tout cœur par le Commissaire et par le Premier ministre du Canada, qui ne laisse passer aucune occasion de réaffirmer son appui. Hélas, elle ne s'est pas encore concrétisée. Il ne fait aucun doute que la cause du bilinguisme officiel en Ontario se heurte à une opposition considérable. Ainsi, un sondage réalisé en février 1984, mais rendu public en octobre 1985, a révélé que 75 p.100 des Ontariens étaient alors opposés à l'adoption du bilinguisme officiel dans la province. Paradoxalement, 72 p.100 des personnes interrogées se sont dites favorables à l'adoption d'une loi garantissant la prestation de services en français là où le nombre le justifie. Le gouvernement de l'Ontario, en cette fin d'année 1985, est donc à préparer une loi en ce sens, et entend réévaluer l'efficacité des services existants. À notre avis, l'adoption prochaine d'une loi garantissant la prestation de services en langue française constitue un grand pas vers la reconnaissance officielle du statut d'égalité des deux langues. En définitive, il ne s'agira que de confirmer en droit un état de fait[1].

Pour terminer, signalons la tenue en septembre dernier de la troisième Semaine francophone, à Toronto, à laquelle plus d'une cinquantaine de groupes ont participé. Cette manifestation, qui gagne en popularité chaque année, contribuera sans nul doute à rehausser le prestige du français dans la capitale ontarienne. Notons au passage que plusieurs ministères fédéraux y ont participé et ont fait valoir leur capacité d'offrir des services en français dans la Ville Reine.

Pris dans leur ensemble, ces progrès nous permettent d'envisager avec plus de confiance que jamais l'avenir des Franco-Ontariens. Une brèche s'est ouverte dans le mur des oppositions à la reconnaissance du français comme langue officielle de la province. Il est maintenant permis d'espérer que l'évolution des mentalités et les efforts de la minorité de langue officielle porteront fruit dans un avenir pas trop lointain.

Le Québec

Le défi du Québec en matière de langues officielles n'a pas son pareil ailleurs au Canada. Il lui faut tout à la fois veiller à la protection et à l'essor du français sur son territoire, aider les minorités francophones du pays (sans pour autant s'ingérer dans

[1] Le Cabinet ontarien a donné son accord de principe le 8 janvier 1986 aux propositions du ministre des Affaires municipales et ministre responsable des questions francophones, M. Bernard Grandmaître, concernant l'augmentation des services en français.

les affaires des autres provinces), et assurer le respect des droits séculaires des communautés de langue anglaise enracinées dans la province.

Pendant plusieurs années, la tentation a été forte pour certains d'abandonner à leur sort les minorités francophones et de n'accorder aux Anglo-Québécois que la portion congrue. Mais la population québécoise — bientôt suivie par ses dirigeants — a renoué avec l'esprit d'équité et de générosité dont elle a toujours fait preuve à l'égard de ces deux groupes. C'est qu'elle est de plus en plus confiante dans sa vitalité linguistique et culturelle, malgré les dangers que représentent aux yeux de certains l'évolution démographique, la prédominance de l'anglais dans le monde de l'informatique ou le fait que les transferts linguistiques se font toujours en faveur de cette langue. Elle a pu ainsi se montrer plus attentive aux difficultés de sa minorité officielle et, partant, à ses revendications légitimes. Par ailleurs, divers sondages d'opinion ont confirmé que les Québécois sont beaucoup plus favorables à la reconnaissance des droits des minorités linguistiques que les autres Canadiens. D'après le sondage de Réalités canadiennes commandé par notre Commissariat, par exemple, les Québécois francophones sont généralement en faveur de la prestation de services en langue anglaise : dans l'enseignement (91 p.100), dans les hôpitaux (91 p.100), dans les bureaux de poste (87 p.100) et dans les grands magasins (84 p.100). Les Anglophones des autres provinces semblent plus réticents à l'égard du français, les taux d'approbation étant respectivement de 71, 68, 58 et 43 p.100.

Lors de notre colloque sur les minorités, le président d'Alliance Québec, M. Michael Goldbloom, décrivait ainsi la situation :

> La communauté anglaise du Québec a perdu près de 11 p.100 de ses effectifs dans une période relativement courte (...) Cette rapide baisse démographique a eu de graves conséquences pour notre communauté. Notre système d'éducation en souffre en raison de la brusque chute des inscriptions et nos établissements de santé et de services sociaux voient se rétrécir le bassin de population qu'ils desservent. Une autre conséquence est qu'il y a moins de bénévoles pour tout un éventail d'activités communautaires telles que les troupes de théâtre amateur ou le hockey mineur, moins de bénévoles dans les hopitaux, etc. L'existence même de plusieurs de ces activités, qui reposent sur l'apport des bénévoles, est menacée par le déclin de la population ; or c'est précisément ce genre d'activités qui forme, pour une grande part, le tissu social de notre communauté.

Politique à l'égard des communautés francophones hors du Québec

En prenant de nouveau conscience d'être une terre d'accueil pour de nombreuses ethnies, le Québec s'est aussi rappelé de sa mission envers les minorités francophones du pays. C'est ainsi qu'au printemps dernier le gouvernement québécois dévoilait une nouvelle politique à l'égard des communautés francophones des autres provinces, laquelle visait à favoriser les échanges et à promouvoir une association plus étroite. Ses objectifs sont les suivants :

- contribuer au développement des communautés francophones partout au Canada en tenant compte de leurs priorités et de leurs besoins, et en respectant leur autonomie ;

- intensifier les échanges économiques entre les Québécois et les Francophones hors du Québec en créant un réseau à cette fin ;

- multiplier les liens et accroître les échanges de toutes sortes entre le Québec et les autres communautés francophones, afin de mieux faire connaître les minorités aux Québécois et inversement.

Pour atteindre ces objectifs le gouvernement québécois préconise la coopération avec les associations francophones, les organismes publics et privés et les autres administrations provinciales. Comme le précisait M. Pierre Marc Johnson, alors ministre des Affaires intergouvernementales : « Le Québec estime que pour réellement faire avancer les choses, il faudra compter autant et même plus sur la coopération intergouvernementale que sur la Constitution. Le gouvernement du Québec est disposé à collaborer activement avec tout gouvernement d'une autre province désirant améliorer les services de sa minorité francophone. » Il va sans dire que cette politique a été bien accueillie par les minorités francophones, qui ont toujours estimé que le gouvernement du Québec se devait de jouer un rôle de premier plan dans la défense de leurs intérêts et dans la protection du statut du français en tant que langue officielle du Canada. Par ailleurs, cette ouverture envers les minorités francophones en a incité plusieurs à réévaluer la situation linguistique des Anglo-Québécois.

Les Québécois d'expression anglaise

À l'approche des élections au Québec, d'aucuns ont souligné le caractère circonstanciel de certaines des propositions constitutionnelles présentées en mai par le gouvernement québécois. Notons cependant que les deux principaux partis en lice préconisaient la reconnaissance du droit des Québécois d'expression anglaise à des service sociaux et de santé dans leur langue. D'autre part, l'intention du gouvernement de réorganiser les services sociaux de la province afin de confier davantage de responsabilités aux Centres locaux de services communautaires (CLSC) a continué de susciter chez les Anglo-Québécois de vives inquiétudes. En effet, un tel transfert de pouvoir, s'il n'est pas assorti des dispositions voulues, pourrait compromettre la capacité de certains centres à offrir des services en langue anglaise. Dans le cas du Centre de services sociaux Ville-Marie, par exemple, le gouvernement avait « reconnu » en 1977 que cet établissement fournissait des services à des personnes « en majorité d'une langue autre que française ». On comprend donc pourquoi la communauté anglophone refuse que cette désignation soit changée en l'absence de solides garanties. Comment ne pas mentionner aussi dans ce contexte les efforts déployés par la Townshippers Association pour sensibiliser les pouvoirs publics à la situation de l'emploi chez les jeunes Anglophones des Cantons de l'Est, ou ceux de Voice of English Quebec dans le dossier des services sociaux et de santé.

En ce début d'année, il y a lieu d'espérer que le problème de la reconnaissance du droit à des services sociaux et de santé en langue anglaise sera bientôt réglé. S'adressant au Canadian Club au début de novembre, le chef du parti libéral, M. Robert Bourassa, s'engageait à suspendre la réorganisation de ces services jusqu'à ce que la Commission Rochon ait terminé son examen de la question. « Les institutions anglophones ne doivent pas disparaître au profit d'une fantaisie de technocrates », déclara M. Bourassa. Peu après son arrivée au pouvoir, le nouveau gouvernement donnait d'ailleurs suite à ses promesses en stoppant le transfert de personnel des centres touchés vers d'autres établissements.

La Charte de la langue française

On se souviendra qu'en janvier 1985, la Cour supérieure du Québec reconnaissait le droit à l'affichage bilingue en déclarant l'article 58 de la *Charte de la langue française*, qui impose l'unilinguisme français dans l'affichage public et la publicité commerciale, incompatible avec le droit à la liberté d'expression consacré dans la *Charte québécoise des droits et libertés de la personne* et la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés*. Le gouvernement d'alors en avait appelé de cette décision. Au cours de la campagne électorale, M. Robert Bourassa avait indiqué qu'il appuyait dans ses grandes lignes la Loi faisant du français la langue officielle de la province, mais qu'il verrait d'un bon œil la disparition de certains « irritants inutiles » telles les dispositions interdisant l'affichage « en langues multiples ». Le Parti libéral du Québec s'engageait également à régler cas par cas le problème des quelque 900 enfants toujours illégalement inscrits à l'école anglaise. M. Bourassa a expliqué sa position dans les termes suivants lors d'une entrevue au journal *The Gazette* le 21 novembre dernier :

> Peut-être le climat social permettra-t-il l'établissement d'un consensus. Je crois qu'on s'entend aujourd'hui pour adopter une attitude plus modérée, ce qui n'était pas le cas il y a une dizaine d'années. Je crois aussi que la majorité des Québécois francophones reconnaissent maintenant qu'il nous faut être plus souples ; mais cela peut changer, il faut rester vigilants[1].

Le nouveau gouvernement a mis un terme aux poursuites concernant l'affichage bilingue et a signifié son intention de revoir la structure des divers organismes chargés de veiller à l'application de la *Charte de la langue française*. La vice-première ministre du Québec, M^me^ Lise Bacon, affirme pour sa part qu'« il n'est pas question de changer l'esprit, le contenu ou le fond de la Loi 101 ». Cependant, des observateurs et non des moindres estiment que la Loi ne répond pas aux besoins actuels et futurs des Francophones du Québec.

Alliance Québec

Les porte-parole de la communauté anglophone, dont Alliance Québec, ont profité de la dernière campagne électorale pour sensibiliser les différents partis politiques à leurs principales préoccupations. Dans le domaine de l'éducation, ils demandaient notamment qu'on lève les interdictions touchant l'accès aux écoles anglaises pour les enfants des Anglophones venus s'établir au Canada, qu'on régularise le statut des enfants illégalement inscrits à l'école anglaise, et qu'on améliore les programmes d'éducation permanente en langue anglaise. Pour ce qui est des services gouvernementaux, ils souhaitaient que des mesures soient prises afin d'assurer une participation plus équitable des Anglophones au sein de la fonction publique québécoise, d'améliorer la prestation des services publics et parapublics en langue anglaise et de garantir la disponibilité de certains documents officiels en anglais. Tout en insistant sur la nécessité de garanties juridiques quant au maintien des services sociaux et de santé de langue anglaise, ils soulignaient que les Anglophones devraient être représentés de façon plus équitable au sein du réseau d'établissements œuvrant dans ce domaine (CLSC, centres d'accueil, conseils consultatifs, centres hospitaliers, conseils régionaux).

Alliance Québec continue par ailleurs d'intervenir en faveur des minorités de langue officielle ailleurs au Canada lorsque le besoin s'en fait sentir. Elle a notamment appuyé les revendications de la communauté acadienne au cours des audiences

[1] Notre traduction.

du Comité consultatif sur les langues officielles du Nouveau-Brunswick, et soutenu de diverses façons les causes linguistiques portées devant les tribunaux dans l'Ouest canadien. Comme le soulignait avec beaucoup d'à-propos M. Michael Goldbloom, alors vice-président d'Alliance Québec, alors qu'il comparaissait en mars 1985 devant le Comité mixte permanent de la politique et des programmes de langues officielles :

> Nous voulons souligner le fait que la langue est une préoccupation qui touche tous les Canadiens et que la reconnaissance de la dualité linguistique inhérente au Canada n'est ni plus ni moins qu'une question cruciale d'intérêt national. Nous ne resterons pas muets devant les arguments présentés au Québec, au Manitoba ou ailleurs, qui mèneraient à une réduction des droits des minorités que l'on justifierait en invoquant des injustices perpétrées ailleurs. On ne peut réduire la dualité linguistique canadienne au plus petit dénominateur commun.

Ce souci de l'équité est tout à l'honneur d'Alliance Québec, qui a compris que l'injustice est plus contagieuse que ne l'est la générosité.

Les provinces atlantiques

Les audiences que le Comité consultatif sur les langues officielles a tenu un peu partout au **Nouveau-Brunswick** en 1984 et au début de 1985 ont suscité un vif émoi dans plusieurs milieux, et c'est avec une certaine appréhension que l'on attend les conclusions du rapport prévu pour le début de 1986 ; la controverse aura eu néanmoins pour effet de mettre clairement en évidence les enjeux du débat. Reste à voir quelles propositions le gouvernement provincial formulera afin de répondre aux nombreuses interrogations des diverses parties intéressées.

La Société des Acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick a été très active dans ce dossier, et son assemblée annuelle a été des plus fructueuses. Par la suite, elle a étudié entre autres questions la possibilité de créer une association des municipalités francophones, et a terminé une étude sur les services de santé offerts aux Francophones de la province. Soulignons également la naissance de la Fédération des agriculteurs francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick, qui vise notamment à favoriser une plus grande participation de ses membres à la gestion agricole.

Dans le secteur culturel et éducatif, une contribution fédérale de plus de 23 millions de dollars, en vertu d'une entente signée avec la province en juillet, a permis la construction d'une résidence universitaire à Shippagan, la mise en chantier du campus sud-est du Collège communautaire du Nouveau-Brunswick et le parachèvement d'un centre communautaire francophone dans la Miramichi.

La nomination par le fédéral d'un juge unilingue anglophone à la Cour du Banc de la reine du district judiciaire de Bathurst, région à 65 p.100 francophone, a naturellement été mal accueillie. Comme disent les avocats : *res loquitur ipsa* — voilà où en sont les choses.

Le gouvernement de la **Nouvelle-Écosse** a nommé en 1985 un conseiller aux Affaires acadiennes, M. Jean-Denis Comeau, ex-directeur général de la Fédération

acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse. Mais c'est l'école Notre-Dame-de-l'Annonciation, à Chéticamp (un village de 5 000 âmes), qui a fait la manchette cette année. Au cours de l'été, le ministre de l'Éducation de la province accordait le statut d'école « acadienne[1] » à cet établissement, en vertu de la loi scolaire de 1981. L'école, qui compte quelque 600 étudiants au primaire et au secondaire, se voyait ainsi autorisée à augmenter les heures d'enseignement en langue française, notamment au secondaire. Mais il s'en trouva pour jeter les hauts cris. Un groupe rassemblé sous la bannière des Parents for Bilingualism contesta cette désignation et exigea qu'un plébiscite soit tenu sur la question lors des élections scolaires. À leurs yeux, il fallait avant tout assurer un apprentissage efficace de l'anglais. Lors des élections, le 19 octobre, 60 p.100 des citoyens se prononcèrent contre cette désignation. Le Ministre semble toutefois hésiter sur le sens à donner à ce résultat, et maintient sa décision pour le moment. Mais la question fondamentale n'a pas été résolue. Quelle est la meilleure formule pour permettre aux élèves francophones de parfaire leur connaissance de leur langue maternelle tout en apprenant bien l'anglais, langue obligée du marché du travail ? Chose certaine, résoudre ce problème exigera un support institutionnel qui aille bien au-delà de la simple reconnaissance d'un statut particulier à une école donnée. Le ministère de l'Éducation et le Conseil scolaire devront démontrer à tous les intéressés que le système actuel, comme l'ont prouvé de nombreuses recherches pédagogiques et sociales, mène directement à l'assimilation, alors que la création d'écoles de langue française ne nuit en rien à l'apprentissage de l'anglais.

La Société Saint-Thomas-d'Aquin, qui représente les Acadiens de l'**Île-du-Prince-Édouard,** a annoncé en septembre son intention de réaliser une étude sur le statut de la langue française dans la province. Sans rechercher la bilinguisation générale de l'administration provinciale, la Société compte examiner les répercussions et les avantages éventuels d'une reconnaissance officielle du français. La province, pour sa part, a fait un effort modeste en matière d'éducation, en modifiant cette année sa loi scolaire pour la rendre plus conforme aux dispositions de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés*. Toutefois, cette loi ne garantit toujours pas l'établissement d'écoles françaises, pas plus qu'elle ne permet l'élaboration d'un bon programme d'études en français. Les perspectives de la minorité en matière de droits scolaires ne sont donc guère encourageantes. Manifestement, le gouvernement doit adopter une politique vigoureuse, plus conforme à l'esprit de la Charte.

La province de **Terre-Neuve** a posé cette année un geste symbolique en autorisant le ministère provincial des Transports à mettre en place une signalisation bilingue dans la péninsule de Port-au-Port pour désigner notamment les communautés francophones de Pointe-à-Luc, Ruisseau-Rouge, Cap-Saint-Georges, Degrau, La Grand'Terre, Maison d'Hiver et l'Anse-à-Canard. Cette décision a bien entendu été applaudie dans les pages du mensuel de la Fédération des Francophones de Terre-Neuve et du Labrador, *Le Gaboteur*, qui fêtait cette année son premier anniversaire. Sur le plan culturel, les Franco-Terreneuviens ont pu se réjouir de la nomination d'un des leurs au Conseil des arts de la province.

Enfin, la communauté francophone de la péninsule de Port-au-Port a vu récemment de nombreuses années d'efforts récompensées. En effet, le ministre de l'Éducation

[1] Une école désignée « acadienne » est une école où l'enseignement est dispensé en français à 100 p.100 au primaire, à 70 p.100 au secondaire I, II et III, et à 60 p.100 au secondaire IV et V.

rendait public le 27 août dernier un plan détaillé visant à établir une école française à Grand'Terre et une autre à Cap-Saint-Georges. Voilà qui est de très bon augure.

Dans l'ensemble, le bilan est donc assez peu reluisant, ce qui illustre une fois de plus la distance qui existe entre la parole et les actes. Comme le soulignait l'ancienne directrice générale de la Fédération des Acadiens de la Nouvelle-Écosse, M^me^ Denise Samson, dans une communication lors de notre colloque sur les minorités : « *Depuis 230 ans*, nous luttons quotidiennement dans le simple but de parler librement notre langue et de vivre paisiblement notre culture. N'essayez surtout pas de prétendre que nous sommes responsables du taux d'assimilation actuel de notre communauté. *Personne* ne peut dire que nous n'avons pas essayé. Nous continuons de faire plus que notre part. Et vous, que faites-vous pour nous aider ? »

L'Ouest

Pour la communauté francophone du **Manitoba,** l'événement marquant de l'année a bien sûr été l'arrêt de la Cour suprême du Canada qui, en juin, confirmait le caractère impératif des dispositions de l'article 23 de la *Loi de 1870 sur le Manitoba*. Pour être valides, les lois et règlements de la province doivent donc être adoptés et publiés en français et en anglais. En octobre, cette même Cour entérinait un accord survenu entre les parties concernant les délais de traduction : trois ans pour les lois actuellement en vigueur, cinq pour les autres textes.

Il est à souhaiter que les gouvernements fédéral et provincial tireront la leçon de ce jugement non équivoque et amélioreront les services souvent déficients qu'ils offrent à la population francophone de la province. Notons également que les citoyens francophones de Winnipeg ont eu maille à partir avec la municipalité au sujet de la disponibilité réelle de services en français. Si on en croit les intéressés, il est plus difficile pour un Francophone d'obtenir spontanément un service de qualité dans sa langue que pour un chameau de passer par le chas d'une aiguille.

Une autre question linguistique qui a défrayé la chronique locale et nationale est celle des revendications pour le moins paradoxales de certains parents francophones à Saint-Pierre-Jolys (visant l'augmentation des heures d'enseignement de l'anglais), question qui n'est pas sans rappeler l'affaire de Chéticamp en Nouvelle-Écosse, et même celle de Prescott-Russell, en Ontario. Nous en traitons à la partie V du présent rapport.

Parmi les bonnes nouvelles, signalons l'établissement au Collège de Saint-Boniface d'un Centre de recherche sur les minorités francophones du Canada. Le Centre offre des services de conseil, de recherche et d'évaluation des programmes dans plusieurs domaines, notamment celui des sciences sociales et de l'éducation.

Le destin a parfois de ces caprices : l'année même où la Cour suprême réparait une injustice presque séculaire, les Franco-Manitobains commémoraient la pendaison du fondateur du Manitoba, Louis Riel. Les multiples cérémonies entourant cet anniversaire ont été l'occasion pour plusieurs de réfléchir sur le rôle que Riel a joué dans l'histoire des relations linguistiques au Canada, et sur ce qu'elles auraient pu être si les règles du jeu avaient été respectées.

Comme l'exprime l'historien W.L. Morton[1] :

> Par la résistance, Riel a sauvé les Francophones du Nord-Ouest de l'oubli. Il les a sauvés autant des agressions irréfléchies de l'Ontario que de l'indifférence bornée du Québec. Par la résistance, Riel a mis le Québec au défi de jouer un rôle positif dans la Confédération, de maintenir les institutions françaises non seulement dans cette province mais dans le Canada tout entier[1].

Il reste à espérer que le malaise suscité par le débat touchant la reconnaissance du français comme langue officielle au Manitoba sera de courte durée. De toute évidence, la communauté minoritaire souhaite arriver à une solution politique qui tienne compte de son histoire et de ses aspirations légitimes.

C'est avec fierté que les Fransaskois ont rendu hommage à Louis Riel en créant une maison d'édition qui porte son nom, et que la Société historique de la **Saskatchewan** a publié l'ouvrage de Richard Lapointe retraçant leur histoire. Mais c'est résolument tournés vers l'avenir qu'ils ont célébré l'ouverture de deux nouveaux centres culturels, l'un à Bellevue et l'autre à Gravelbourg.

Dans le domaine juridique, la Cour du Banc de la reine de la province a confirmé en juin le droit d'un accusé francophone d'utiliser sa langue alors qu'il comparaissait devant un juge d'une cour criminelle supérieure. En août, la province a sollicité l'avis de la Cour d'appel de la province afin de préciser ses obligations à cet égard[2].

En octobre, une requête en jugement déclaratoire était déposée auprès de la Cour du Banc de la reine de Regina par la Commission des écoles fransaskoises, l'Association culturelle franco-canadienne, la Fédération des aînés et le collège Mathieu ainsi que par six comités de parents et deux particuliers. Les requérants demandaient au tribunal de déclarer la loi scolaire de la province incompatible avec la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés* et de reconnaître leur droit à la gestion de leurs écoles, ce qui permettrait de créer un conseil scolaire homogène pour la province.

Il semble donc, au seuil de la nouvelle année, qu'un optimisme modéré soit de mise. Qui sait quelles réformes peuvent entraîner des décisions favorables aux Francophones ? Il est tout de même malheureux qu'il faille demander aux tribunaux de décréter ce que le législateur devrait consentir de bon cœur.

Les Francophones de l'**Alberta** ont eux aussi suivi avec intérêt divers dossiers juridiques. En juillet, le juge Sinclair de la Cour du Banc de la reine de l'Alberta confirmait, dans l'affaire *Paquette*, le droit des Francophones d'utiliser leur langue dans un procès, devant un juge qui la comprenne, en vertu des dispositions de l'article 110 de la *Loi sur les territoires du Nord-Ouest* de 1896. Par la suite, un avis a été déposé auprès de cette même Cour afin d'obtenir des éclaircissements sur le droit d'un accusé francophone d'exiger que les membres du jury soient bilingues.

Autre fait notable, le même mois, le juge Purvis de la Cour du Banc de la reine a reconnu aux Franco-Albertains le droit de gérer leur système scolaire. En effet, le

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[1] W.L. Morton, *in* W.L. Morton (éd.), *Alexander Begg's River journal* (1956), p. 148.

[2] L'accusé a néanmoins subi son procès en français devant un juge et un jury comprenant cette langue, à Gravelbourg, en novembre dernier.

magistrat a estimé que les dispositions de la loi scolaire de l'Alberta étaient inconciliables avec les principes de l'article 23 de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés* portant sur l'éducation dans la langue de la minorité. Mais bien des questions devront trouver réponse avant que ce droit ne se concrétise. La décision a d'ailleurs été portée en appel.

Dans le domaine culturel et social, notons que la télévision éducative provinciale, l'Alberta Educational Communications Association (ACCESS), a inscrit à sa nouvelle grille-horaire plusieurs émissions en langue française. Enfin, dans un geste symbolique, l'Hôtel de ville de Calgary a décidé de hisser le drapeau franco-albertain tout au long de la semaine francophone.

Pour les Francophones de la **Colombie-Britannique,** l'année 1985 aura été celle du développement économique et communautaire. Appuyée par la Fédération des Franco-Colombiens, une société privée à but non lucratif (la Société LaVérendrye) a entrepris la construction d'un groupe de logements d'une valeur de 6 millions de dollars dans le quartier Saint-Sacrement de Vancouver. D'autre part, la vallée de l'Okanagan a pu s'enorgueillir de l'ouverture du premier centre communautaire francophone de la province, à Kelowna. Les Francophones se sont également dotés d'un centre communautaire à Nanaimo et d'un centre d'accueil à Powell River. La Fédération des Franco-Colombiens a pour sa part distribué à 15 000 exemplaires un important *Annuaire* des commerçants, des professionnels et spécialistes et des organismes francophones de la province ainsi qu'un guide touristique à l'intention des visiteurs de langue française. Elle a en outre mis sur pied une société commerciale au nom ambitieux, Avant-Garde, qui offre des services de traduction, de conseil et d'agence de voyage.

En septembre dernier, le ministre fédéral de la Justice et son homologue du **Yukon** ont amorcé des discussions concernant la reconnaissance du français, la traduction des lois et la prestation de services dans cette langue. Il va sans dire qu'en établissant les priorités dans ce domaine, il importera de préciser également le statut des langues autochtones.

Lors de sa visite à Whitehorse au début d'octobre, le Commissaire a discuté avec des représentants de l'Association des Franco-Yukonnais des progrès souhaitables en matière de services en français, en plus de s'entretenir avec des membres du Conseil exécutif du Yukon sur diverses questions, tels la reconnaissance du français comme langue officielle, le droit à l'enseignement en langue française et la prestation de services en français. Il a également rencontré une dizaine de directeurs régionaux de l'administration fédérale afin d'examiner la possibilité d'accroître les services offerts en français. Si nous faisons état de ces visites, c'est d'une part qu'elles sont plutôt rares, mais surtout qu'elles manifestent notre désir d'associer pleinement les Territoires à la relance proposée dans notre Rapport annuel de 1984.

En juin 1984, le gouvernement des **Territoires du Nord-Ouest** accordait par ordonnance au français et à l'anglais le statut de langues officielles, tout en reconnaissant officieusement les sept langues autochtones ; il s'engageait par ailleurs à concrétiser progressivement ce principe. Le statut privilégié du français et de l'anglais par rapport aux langues autochtones a soulevé l'ire de plusieurs membres de la nation Dénée. L'Association culturelle Franco-TéNOise, pour sa part, entend poursuivre ses démarches en vue de faire respecter les dispositions de l'ordonnance sur les

langues officielles. Elle a également lancé un projet de recherche sur la contribution des Francophones au développement des Territoires. Enfin, l'Association compte faire paraître dès janvier 1986 un journal mensuel.

De passage à Yellowknife en novembre dernier, le Commissaire s'est entretenu avec des porte-parole de l'Association afin de s'informer de leurs priorités. Il a également discuté avec des représentants des gouvernements fédéral et territorial de la question linguistique et des solutions possibles au problème des services bilingues.

Il apparait clairement que les obligations linguistiques découlant de la Constitution représentent un fardeau pour les gouvernements des Territoires du Nord-Ouest et du Yukon. Ce n'est pas tant la bonne volonté qui manque que les moyens pratiques de réaliser les objectifs de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés*, tout en respectant la réalité démographique et les droits des peuples autochtones. C'est pourquoi nous estimons que le gouvernement fédéral doit apporter tout le soutien nécessaire ; nous nous réjouissons donc qu'il ait déjà accepté de délier les cordons de la bourse en faveur des Territoires du Nord-Ouest[1] et qu'il s'apprête vraisemblablement à faire de même au Yukon afin d'assurer à la fois le plein respect des langues officielles du Canada et des langues autochtones.

[1] Le Secrétaire d'État s'est engagé à fournir au cours des trois prochaines années une aide technique en vue d'assurer la traduction des ordonnances des Territoires du Nord-Ouest, et d'élaborer et de mettre en œuvre un plan visant à assurer des services bilingues. Le gouvernement fédéral avait déjà décidé en 1984 de verser 16 millions de dollars sur une période de cinq années afin de favoriser le développement des langues autochtones.

La radiotélévision : le message minoritaire

En vertu du paragraphe 3(g) de la *Loi sur la radiodiffusion*, le service national de télédiffusion a non seulement pour mission de répondre aux besoins des collectivités francophones et anglophones de toutes les régions du pays, mais également celui « de contribuer au développement de l'unité nationale et d'exprimer constamment la réalité canadienne ». C'est en s'appuyant sur ces principes que nos minorités nationales demandent depuis longtemps que les structures et la programmation des réseaux radiophoniques et télévisuels de l'État soient mieux adaptés à leur milieu et à leurs besoins. Après une période de décentralisation qui s'est avérée fructueuse, elles craignent qu'on adopte maintenant l'attitude inverse, comme si la concentration des ressources était le seul gage de la qualité de la programmation. Une telle centralisation contribue à marginaliser davantage les minorités de langue officielle en les privant de leur reflet médiatique ; en outre, cela a pour effet de diminuer aux yeux de la majorité leur importance culturelle et sociale et de dévaloriser leur contribution à l'ensemble de la société.

Groupe de travail sur la politique de la radiodiffusion

En mai 1985, le ministre des Communications, M. Marcel Masse, annonçait la nomination de MM. Gerald Caplan et Florian Sauvageau comme coprésidents d'un groupe de travail chargé de réviser la politique canadienne en ce domaine. Faisant suite au Comité consultatif des télécommunications et de la souveraineté canadienne (Comité Clyne) en 1979 et au Comité d'étude de la politique culturelle fédérale (Comité Applebaum-Hébert) en 1982, il va sans dire que ce nouveau comité n'a pas reçu un accueil follement enthousiaste de la part des diverses associations minoritaires. Les difficultés de toutes sortes qu'éprouvent nos minorités en la matière sont bien connues ; ce sont les correctifs qui tardent. Les associations se sont néanmoins prêtées au jeu de bonne grâce en soumettant au Groupe de travail des mémoires et des études sur leurs besoins et leurs attentes. Dans leurs recommandations, les membres du Groupe de travail devront tenir compte des priorités du gouvernement dans les secteurs culturel et économique, et de la nécessité de comprimer les dépenses, de favoriser l'initiative privée et de maintenir la coopération fédérale-provinciale. D'autre part, il leur faudra aussi définir l'équilibre idéal entre les services nationaux, régionaux et locaux, et évaluer les besoins particuliers des publics francophone et anglophone. De toute évidence, les membres du Groupe de travail devront faire preuve d'une grande sagesse pour résoudre toutes ces contradictions.

Étude CÉGIR

La Fédération des Francophones hors Québec, pour sa part, a soumis au Groupe de travail les résultats d'une recherche très fouillée sur les services de radio et de télévision hors du Québec. Effectuée par la firme d'experts-conseils CÉGIR, l'étude en question ne fait pas que définir les problèmes ; elle propose également des solutions. Nous souhaitons vivement que le Groupe de travail s'inspire des propositions contenues dans cette étude ainsi que dans les mémoires soumis par les autres associations minoritaires. Les suggestions de l'étude CÉGIR touchant la création d'un réseau de télévision en langue française à l'extérieur du Québec et l'établissement de radios communautaires, entre autres, méritent d'être examinées avec le plus grand soin.

D'autre part, la FFHQ n'a pas ménagé ses efforts pour sensibiliser le gouvernement du Québec aux besoins de la francophonie canadienne en matière de télédiffusion. Aussi la Fédération a-t-elle été heureuse d'apprendre qu'une partie de la programmation de Radio-Québec serait vraisemblablement diffusée dans tout le pays, et que le gouvernement de l'Ontario allait créer une chaîne française parallèlement au service de langue anglaise de TVOntario. Les autorités fédérales, en annonçant leur intention de participer financièrement à ces projets, ont manifesté leur volonté de favoriser l'accès des minorités à la plus vaste gamme possible d'émissions en langue française, en faisant appel notamment aux nouvelles technologies.

Une stratégie nationale

Le Commissaire, quant à lui, a fait parvenir en novembre un mémoire au Groupe de travail dans lequel il exposait les grands principes qui devraient présider à l'élaboration d'une nouvelle politique. À son avis, il faut viser trois objectifs majeurs : le soutien et le développement de nos ressources linguistiques et culturelles ; l'établissement de relations fructueuses entre nos deux principaux groupes linguistiques ; le renforcement de l'identité et le développement culturel de nos minorités.

Sur le plan culturel, les Francophones hors du Québec et les petites communautés anglo-québécoises sont extrêmement vulnérables. Aussi est-il de la plus haute importance qu'ils aient un accès beaucoup plus large aux médias électroniques, afin de défendre leur identité linguistique et culturelle contre les pressions de la culture majoritaire et s'épanouir. Ce besoin est particulièrement pressant pour certaines petites collectivités qui captent très peu d'émissions dans leur langue, voire aucune. Or, dans bien des cas, la Société Radio-Canada et ses postes affiliés sont les seuls prestataires d'émissions dans la langue de la minorité. Il faudra donc d'une part faire des ententes avec d'autres diffuseurs francophones, et d'autre part, tirer parti des techniques de diffusion améliorées — signaux satellisés, télévision par câble, antennes paraboliques. Parallèlement, toute politique de télédiffusion devrait prendre en considération l'incidence notamment des réseaux éducatifs et de la télé payante sur les minorités, afin que celles-ci ne soient pas laissées pour compte et que les technologies nouvelles profitent d'abord à ceux qui en ont le plus besoin. C'est pourquoi nous proposons que des projets pilotes soient lancés afin de déterminer de quelle façon et dans quelle mesure ces technologies pourraient contribuer au mieux-être des minorités de langue officielle.

La programmation locale

Mais comment le gouvernement fédéral peut-il répondre aux attentes des communautés minoritaires ? Comment faire en sorte que la télédiffusion publique soit *au service* de tous les citoyens ? En premier lieu, il conviendrait de renforcer la programmation locale et régionale dans la langue minoritaire. Malgré les progrès accomplis ces dernières années, les insuffisances dans ce domaine sont encore

trop nombreuses. Ainsi, les secteurs information et affaires publiques de Radio-Canada devraient davantage faire place aux nouvelles locales. La programmation presque exclusivement originaire de Montréal ou de Toronto aliène les minorités autant qu'elle les attire. Si les informations politiques, culturelles et sportives que leur présentent les réseaux dans leur langue reflètent uniquement la réalité des grands centres, comment résisteront-ils aux émissions locales diffusées dans la langue de la majorité ?

Signalons à ce sujet une importante étude qui a porté sur la population francophone du nord de l'Ontario. Rappelant que les jeunes sont coupés de la tradition culturelle de leurs parents, l'étude conclut que « c'est la radio française qui pourrait aider à réparer la séparation, à réintégrer les deux générations dans la tradition francophone du Nord de l'Ontario, à dégager les forces vives de la culture pour relancer cette dernière[1] ». À condition, bien entendu, que cette radio soit à l'écoute des préoccupations du milieu.

En second lieu, le gouvernement fédéral doit rechercher une plus grande concertation en ce qui touche le développement culturel de nos minorités et mettre davantage l'accent sur l'égalité des chances au sein de la collectivité, autant sur le plan de la création que de la technique. Malgré tous les attraits des émissions « importées », la production locale peut s'avérer aussi créatrice et plus authentique. Elle permet de nourrir et de former des talents qui, autrement, ne pourraient s'épanouir. Elle joue enfin le rôle indispensable d'agora électronique où s'affirment la cohésion et l'identité des collectivités locales.

Pour assurer l'épanouissement culturel de nos minorités il faut d'une part faire connaître leurs aspirations aux groupes majoritaires et convaincre ceux-ci de leur légitimité, et d'autre part montrer aux minorités que les majorités n'entretiennent pas nécessairement à leur égard des vues monolithiques. En effet, les médias électroniques ont fait peu de cas jusqu'ici de l'harmonisation des relations entre les collectivités francophones et anglophones, qu'elles soient en situation minoritaire ou majoritaire. Manifestement, les médias financés par l'État devraient faire des efforts soutenus pour exposer à chaque groupe linguistique les préoccupations et les réalisations de l'autre.

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[1] Jean Routier Consultation, *Étude des motivations et résistances de la population francophone du Nord de l'Ontario (Face A CBON, Radio-Canada)*, octobre 1984, p. 226.

PARTIE V

La jeunesse, la langue et l'enseignement

L'option jeunesse : d'hier à demain

Il existe, à propos de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, une évidence sur laquelle on ne reviendra jamais assez : cette Loi, qui proclame l'égalité du français et de l'anglais en matière de statut, de droits et de privilèges, a vu le jour dans un pays où cette égalité ne s'était que rarement, voire jamais matérialisée. Le premier Commissaire, dans son premier Rapport annuel (1970-1971), était déjà convaincu que s'il était essentiel de transformer l'administration fédérale, il était impossible de changer le cours des choses à l'échelle nationale en une seule génération, en se contentant de réaménager les ressources existantes, sans la participation de tous et chacun. Voici comment M. Keith Spicer décrivait la situation.

> De toute évidence, des solutions radicales et durables ne peuvent venir que de la reconnaissance, par tous les Canadiens, de l'égalité de dignité et de valeur de leurs deux principales communautés linguistiques (...) Il faut, bien sûr, semer le bon grain à tous les niveaux, mais surtout dans les écoles, pour qu'il germe dans l'esprit de nos enfants (...) Il faudra en particulier que les Canadiens trouvent le moyen d'accroître massivement les échanges de jeunes et de donner plus de réalisme à l'enseignement de la langue seconde.

L'« option jeunesse » est rapidement devenue un thème familier de nos rapports annuels et un important élément des dépenses fédérales en matière de langues officielles... et, autant l'avouer, une échappatoire commode pour tous ceux qui préféraient refiler cette « patate chaude » aux générations futures. Combien de fois avons-nous entendu dire, d'un bout à l'autre du pays : « Pourquoi s'acharner aujourd'hui à franciser davantage la fonction publique quand le système d'enseignement peut régler le problème demain ? » L'option jeunesse est à ce point séduisante qu'elle constitue à la fois une promesse de lendemains meilleurs et une excuse pour l'indolence d'aujourd'hui.

Au cœur de ce débat, on retrouve ces deux questions : De combien de temps disposons-nous ? Et jusqu'à quel point ces jeunes sont-ils assez avertis pour qu'on les lance dans la mêlée ? L'heure étant venue de suivre le déroulement de la partie d'une manière plus détachée et de se demander jusqu'où on peut leur faire confiance, nous avons tenté en 1985 d'éclaircir les questions suivantes :

- Quel est le degré de bilinguisme des Canadiens de 15 à 24 ans ?
- Que pensent-ils du bilinguisme ?

- Apprennent-ils leur langue officielle seconde et le font-ils avec enthousiasme ?
- En quoi diffèrent-ils à ces égards de leurs aînés ?
- Quelles sont les différences entre Francophones et Anglophones à ce sujet ?
- Les bilingues sont-ils vraiment en demande sur le marché du travail ?
- Comment les jeunes envisagent-t-ils leur propre avenir dans un Canada bilingue ?

Portrait d'une génération

Les bilingues

Bien sûr, la question fondamentale est de savoir si la génération des jeunes Canadiens qui a atteint l'âge de la majorité au cours des quinze ans qui ont suivi la naissance de l'option jeunesse est vraiment plus bilingue que les générations précédentes et, conséquemment, plus favorable à un Canada officiellement bilingue.

Il n'est pas facile de définir ce qu'est au juste une personne bilingue. Le critère que nous utilisons ici n'est certes pas parfaitement objectif, car il se fonde sur l'appréciation de chacun lors des recensements. La question qu'on y pose est la suivante : « Connaissez-vous assez bien le français ou l'anglais pour soutenir une conversation ? » À en juger par le nombre de personnes ayant répondu « les deux » à cette question, la réponse est : oui, il y avait, au début des années 80, plus de Canadiens de 15 à 24 ans qui disaient pouvoir soutenir une conversation dans les deux langues qu'il n'y en avait voici trente ans. Bien que le pourcentage d'augmentation ne soit pas vraiment exceptionnel, il représente néanmoins des centaines de milliers de « nouveaux bilingues ».

On peut voir par le tableau V.1 que le groupe des 15-24 ans au Canada a presque doublé entre 1951 et 1971 (+ 86 p.100), et que le taux de bilinguisme individuel dans ce groupe d'âge a progressé encore plus rapidement (+ 109 p.100). Par la suite, même si le nombre de bilingues dans ce groupe a continué d'augmenter de 1971 à 1981, leur taux s'est stabilisé à 18,2 p.100. Par contre, au cours de la même période, le taux pour tous les groupes a progressé de façon marquée, une bonne part de cette progression étant attribuable aux 25-34 ans. Les données globales ne révèlent cependant pas grand-chose. Une ventilation selon les régions et la langue maternelle permet de faire ressortir plus clairement la nature des changements.

Le tableau V.2 compare les données tirées des recensements de 1971 et 1981 concernant le bilinguisme dans le groupe des 15-24 ans et dans l'ensemble de la population, au Québec et dans les autres provinces. On remarque une remontée du bilinguisme dans l'ensemble de la population, dans les deux cas. Les jeunes de l'extérieur du Québec, toutefois, ne sont pas plus bilingues, relativement parlant, en 1981 qu'ils l'étaient en 1971. C'est au Québec que le bilinguisme parmi les 15-24 ans a connu la poussée la plus forte. Mais encore là, la nature de cette augmentation n'apparaît que si l'on fait intervenir la langue maternelle des répondants[1].

[1] Une certaine prudence s'impose lorsqu'on tente de comparer les données sur la langue maternelle tirées des recensements de 1971 et 1981, car on n'a pas utilisé les mêmes méthodes pour le classement de ceux qui déclaraient avoir plus d'une langue maternelle.

Tableau V.1

Personnes qui se disent bilingues[1] et population globale selon l'âge, 1951, 1971 et 1981

	Groupe des 15-24 ans				Tous les groupes d'âge			
	Bilingues		Population globale		Bilingues		Population globale	
	Nombre	%	Nombre	%	Nombre	%	Nombre	%
1951	350 536	16,3	2 147 584	100	1 727 447	12,3	14 009 429	100
1971	733 215	18,2	3 998 590	100	2 900 155	13,4	21 568 310	100
1981	846 510	18,2	4 638 000	100	3 681 960	15,3	24 083 495	100

[1] Ceux qui ont répondu « les deux » à la question « Connaissez-vous assez bien le français ou l'anglais pour soutenir une conversation ? ».

Source : Statistique Canada, recensements de 1951, 1971 et 1981.

Tableau V.2

Ventilation selon les groupes d'âges des personnes ayant répondu « les deux » à la question « Connaissez-vous assez bien le français ou l'anglais pour soutenir une conversation ? », 1971 et 1981

		Québec		Extérieur du Québec		Ensemble du Canada	
		15-24	Tous les groupes	15-24	Tous les groupes	15-24	Tous les groupes
1971	Nombre	394 955	1 663 795	338 260	1 236 360	733 215	2 900 155
	%	33,8	27,6	11,8	8,0	18,2	13,4
1981	Nombre	449 285	2 065 105	397 225	1 616 855	846 510	3 681 960
	%	35,7	32,4	11,8	9,1	18,2	15,3

Source : Statistique Canada, recensements de 1971 et 1981.

Au Québec, le bilinguisme « déclaré » parmi les trois catégories de langue maternelle a augmenté dans l'ensemble de la population, mais les augmentations les plus marquées touchent les Anglophones (de 49 à 65 p.100) et les Allophones[1] (de 50 à environ 56 p.100) du groupe des 15-24 ans. Ailleurs, une baisse apparente du nombre et de la proportion de jeunes dont la langue maternelle est le français et qui se définissent comme bilingues pourrait fort bien constituer un signe d'assimilation, bien que le taux de bilinguisme de ce groupe se situe encore à 84 p. 100. Ce recul provent vraisemblablement de jeunes qui, même s'ils sont encore capables de comprendre le français, ne se croient plus en mesure de converser dans cette langue (tableau V.3.)

Enfin, vu notre intérêt particulier pour l'option jeunesse en ce qu'elle touche le bilinguisme chez les Anglophones, regardons de plus près le groupe de langue maternelle anglaise, selon la région (tableau V.4).

[1] Les gens qui déclarent une langue maternelle autre que le français ou l'anglais.

Tableau V.3

Pourcentage des répondants ayant répondu « oui » à la question « Connaissez-vous assez bien le français ou l'anglais pour soutenir une conversation ? » selon l'âge et la langue maternelle, 1971 et 1981

Langue maternelle			Québec		Extérieur du Québec		Ensemble du Canada	
			15-24	Tous les groupes	15-24	Tous les groupes	15-24	Tous les groupes
Anglais	1971	Nombre	71,000	289,750	157,965	421 175	228 965	710 925
		%	49.0	36.7	6.8	3,5	8,4	5,5
	1981	Nombre	86 995	371 050	219 090	743 200	306 085	1 114,250
		%	65,0	53,4	7,6	5,3	10,2	7,8
Français	1971	Nombre	297 435	1 250 640	153 445	720 590	450 880	1 971 230
		%	30,6	25,1	85,9	78,0	39,0	34,0
	1981	Nombre	320 970	1 504 190	146 515	731 955	467 485	2 236 145
		%	30,2	28,7	83,7	78,9	37,0	36,2
Autre	1971	Nombre	26 525	123 405	26 845	94 595	53 370	218 000
		%	50,2	33,1	8,5	3,9	12,8	7,7
	1981	Nombre	41 315	189 865	31 625	141 700	72 940	331 565
		%	65,6	44,6	9,9	5,2	18,7	10,5
Total	1971	Nombre	394 960	1 663 795	338 260	1 236 360	733 218	2 900 155
		%	33,8	27,6	11,8	8,0	18,2	13,4
	1981	Nombre	449 285	2 065 105	397 225	1 616 855	846 510	3 681 960
		%	35,7	32,4	11,8	9,1	18,2	15,3

Source : Statistique Canada, recensement de 1971 et 1981.

Chaque région affiche, pour la période de 1971 à 1981, une progression du bilinguisme chez les gens dont la langue maternelle est l'anglais. Qui plus est, on note dans chacune des régions que le groupe des 15-24 ans se dit bilingue dans une proportion beaucoup plus forte que l'ensemble de la population. On pourrait penser que, à 10 p.100, la proportion de bilingues parmi les jeunes Canadiens anglophones n'est pas renversante au point de changer l'aspect linguistique du pays. Les sceptiques pourraient même se demander si les jeunes Anglophones, en 1981, n'auraient pas été un tantinet plus portés à se prétendre bilingues que leurs homologues de 1971. Quoi qu'il en soit, une augmentation d'environ 77 000, en chiffres absolus, représente assurément un grand pas dans la bonne direction.

Les attitudes des jeunes face au bilinguisme

On constate avec étonnement que bien peu d'études systématiques ont été menées sur les opinions des jeunes Canadiens concernant le fait de vivre dans un pays officiellement bilingue, de devenir eux-mêmes bilingues, ou concernant l'autre groupe de langue officielle. Divers sondages menés auprès des jeunes au cours des cinq dernières années confirment la rumeur voulant que leurs attitudes divergent de celles de leurs aînés sur plusieurs questions liées aux relations entre les groupes linguistiques et à la compétence linguistique. On note aussi que le Québec diffère invariablement du reste du Canada à cet égard. Dans leur étude intitulée *The Emerging Generation*[1], Bibby et Posterski ont constaté que les adolescents étaient plus favorables au bilinguisme officiel que ne l'étaient les adultes interrogés en 1980,

[1] Bibby, Reginald W., et Posterski, Donald C. *The Emerging Generation: An inside look at Canada's teenagers*. Irwin Publishers, Toronto, 1985.

Tableau V.4

Pourcentage des répondants de langue maternelle anglaise ayant répondu « les deux » à la question « Connaissez-vous assez bien le français ou l'anglais pour soutenir une conversation ? », selon la région et l'âge, 1971 et 1981

		Groupe des 15-24 ans		Tous les groupes d'âge	
		1971	1981	1971	1981
Ouest		4,8 %	5,9 %	2,4 %	4,0 %
Ontario		8,4	9,5	4,3	6,6
Atlantique		4,4	6,6	2,6	4,4
Toutes les provinces sauf le Québec	Nombre	157 965	219 090	421 175	743 200
	%	6,8	7,6	3,5	5,3
Québec	Nombre	71 000	86 995	289 750	371 050
	%	49,0	65,0	36,7	53,4
Tout le Canada	**Nombre**	**228 965**	**306 085**	**710 925**	**1 114 250**
	%	**8,4**	**10,2**	**5,5**	**7,8**

Source : Statistique Canada, recensements de 1971 et 1981.

cette divergence étant la plus marquée dans les provinces de l'Atlantique et dans la Prairie.

Vu le peu de données disponibles sur les attitudes des jeunes Canadiens face aux questions linguistiques en 1985, le Commissariat a commandé un sondage à la firme Réalités canadiennes. Les enquêteurs ont rencontré quelque 4 000 personnes de 15 ans et plus, et les ont interrogées notamment sur les sujets suivants : l'utilité de connaître les deux langues officielles ; les relations entre Francophones et Anglophones ; et la prestation de services dans les deux langues[1].

Une proportion étonnamment élevée de 86 p.100 de tous les répondants se sont dits d'acord avec l'affirmation suivante : « Ce serait une bonne chose si tous les Canadiens pouvaient parler et le français et l'anglais. » Les Francophones étaient un peu plus nombreux à être d'accord (97 p.100) que les Anglophones (81 p.100). On a aussi constaté que ce pourcentage augmentait chez ceux des répondants qui avaient une formation universitaire et chez ceux qui avaient une certaine maîtrise de la langue seconde. De même, plus ils avaient étudié longtemps la langue seconde et plus ils la maîtrisaient, plus ils désapprouvaient l'affirmation selon laquelle l'anglais devrait être la seule langue officielle du Canada. En général, on a noté des différences marquées entre les réponses des Francophones et des Anglophones, et entre celles des jeunes et de leurs aînés. Les Francophones de tous les âges ont été plus nombreux à donner des réponses qu'on pourrait qualifier de favorables à l'égard des langues officielles. Également, pour la plupart des questions, le groupe

[1] On trouvera le questionnaire du sondage à l'annexe E.

des 15-24 ans était le plus favorable de tous ; plus les répondants étaient âgés, moins ils étaient susceptibles de l'être. Cette corrélation entre l'âge et les attitudes était particulièrement marquée chez les Anglophones. Les jeunes avaient généralement des vues beaucoup plus favorables que celles de leurs aînés. Chez les Francophones, les jeunes, tout en étant mieux disposés, tendaient à partager les vues de leurs aînés. De plus, lorsqu'on leur demandait à quel point la connaissance de la langue seconde leur était utile aujourd'hui ou le serait dans dix ans, les Francophones étaient plus enclins à répondre « très » ou « assez » utile.

Les jeunes répondants étaient le plus souvent en accord avec l'affirmation suivante : « Le français et l'anglais devraient être des matières obligatoires dans toutes les écoles canadiennes. » Les Canadiens plus âgés, cependant, étaient tout aussi enclins que les jeunes à considérer le bilinguisme individuel comme une bonne chose, en soi ou pour les autres. Aux affirmations comme « Ce serait une bonne chose si tous les Canadiens pouvaient parler et le français et l'anglais », et à la question « À votre avis, dans quelle mesure est-ce important de pouvoir parler l'anglais et le français pour un jeune qui veut réussir au Canada de nos jours ? », les différents groupes d'âges ont eu des réactions assez uniformes. Par contre, davantage de jeunes considéraient l'apprentissage des langues comme une initiative personnelle enrichissante.

Attitudes face aux droits de la minorité linguistique

On a aussi demandé aux répondants dans quelle(s) langue(s), à leur l'avis, les services fédéraux, provinciaux et commerciaux devraient être offerts au public. Dans l'ensemble, ils se sont montrés plutôt favorables à l'emploi des deux langues officielles dans les trois cas, mais plus les répondants étaient jeunes, plus ils étaient susceptibles d'adopter ce point de vue. Parmi tous les résultats ci-haut mentionnés[1], deux choses en particulier nous ont frappés : les données comportaient un degré inusité de cohérence interne, et leur interprétation n'a posé que très peu de problèmes ; et surtout, ces données ont fourni un reflet très positif de l'attitude des Canadiens en général, et des jeunes en particulier, à l'égard de la problématique des langues officielles.

Les diplômés des programmes immersifs

Le Commissariat a également commandé en 1985 un sondage téléphonique auprès d'anciens élèves de programmes d'immersion dans la région d'Ottawa-Carleton. Son but principal était de déterminer si ces jeunes utilisaient leurs compétences linguistiques, que ce soit au travail ou dans le cadre d'études postsecondaires. On trouvera plus loin le détail des résultats, à la section intitulée *Le monde du travail*. Nous nous arrêterons ici à une question générale concernant les avantages personnels du bilinguisme. On a demandé aux 405 répondants si le fait d'avoir participé à un programme d'immersion avait été, en gros, bénéfique, nuisible ou encore sans effet ; 336 d'entre eux, soit 83 p.100, ont qualifié leur expérience de bénéfique, seulement 3 (1 p.100) de nuisible, tandis que 66 (16 p.100) l'ont jugée sans effet. D'autres sondages auprès d'étudiants et de diplômés de programmes d'immersion ont fait ressortir un même degré de satisfaction.

Le concours Œuvres de fiction

Enfin, pour marquer l'Année internationale de la jeunesse, nous avons invité en 1985 les Canadiens de 15 à 24 ans à nous faire part de leurs réflexions sur le fait de vivre dans un pays ayant deux langues officielles. Un jury formé d'écrivains reconnus a évalué près de 1 400 œuvres ; puis, au début du mois de décembre, les

[1] Un rapport complet de cette étude sera publié en temps opportun.

auteurs des vingt meilleures ont été invités à Ottawa où ils ont reçu des mains du Gouverneur général une plaque commémorative ainsi qu'un chèque représentant les droits de publication de leurs œuvres[1].

Afin de discerner ce qu'elles avaient en commun, nous avons analysé le contenu d'un échantillon d'environ 20 p.100 des œuvres présentées. L'échantillonnage s'est fait de telle manière qu'un nombre plus ou moins égal d'entre elles soient choisies parmi les quatre communautés linguistiques : les Francophones et les Anglophones du Québec, les Francophones et les Anglophones des autres provinces. Les résultats ont confirmé une bonne part des impressions que les juges avaient ressenties à la lecture des œuvres, à savoir que le concours avait exercé un attrait particulier sur les groupes linguistiques minoritaires ; en effet, on a noté une proportion anormalement élevée d'œuvres présentées par des Anglophones du Québec et des Francophones hors du Québec. Le thème le plus fréquent était le biliguisme individuel, qui était traité dans près de la moitié des œuvres à travers les paroles et les réflexions de personnages bilingues. La plupart des auteurs présentaient le bilinguisme individuel comme un avantage : 60 p.100 des œuvres étaient « positives » à cet égard, et seulement 3 p.100 « négatives ».

Les œuvres des Anglo-Québécois

Le contraste entre bilingues et unilingues a été le plus marqué dans le cas des candidats anglo-québécois, qui se sont imposés comme les plus ardents défenseurs du bilinguisme. Toutefois, bien qu'ils aient parlé en faveur du bilinguisme individuel, ils se sont montrés relativement moins confiants envers l'autre groupe linguistique. Seulement 36 p.100 des œuvres anglo-québécoises ont présenté un tableau flatteur de l'autre groupe linguistique, tandis que ce pourcentage atteignait entre 44 et 47 p.100 pour les trois autres catégories. Autre découverte intéressante, 34 p.100 des Anglo-Québécois manifestaient une préoccupation pour la sauvegarde de leur langue, tandis que les pourcentages chez les trois autres groupes oscillaient entre 20 et 25 p.100.

Les minorités francophones

Naturellement, les œuvres des Francophones hors du Québec différaient sensiblement de celles des Anglo-Québécois. Mais les deux groupes avaient tendance à partager une confiance moindre envers l'autre collectivité de langue officielle. Les œuvres des Francophones hors du Québec présentaient en général les Anglophones sous un jour moins favorable, et c'est parmi elles qu'on a trouvé le plus grand nombre de descriptions très négatives de l'autre groupe linguistique (12 p.100 contre 3 à 7 p.100 pour les trois autres catégories).

Les groupes majoritaires

Les œuvres des groupes majoritaires, tant francophones qu'anglophones, laissaient apparaître des attitudes fort voisines. Leur ton était généralement favorable quant au fait de vivre dans un pays officiellement bilingue. Si les jeunes Francophones du Québec et les jeunes Anglophones du reste du Canada divergent fortement d'opinions à cet égard, cela n'est pas ressorti clairement de notre concours.

Les sentiments exprimés

Si notre analyse du contenu des œuvres ramènent celles-ci à une dimension purement statistique, les œuvres elles-mêmes décrivaient avec force la dualité linguistique du Canada dans toute sa subtilité et sa complexité. Voici ce qu'en a pensé un membre du jury :

> Ils (les auteurs) savent que le bilinguisme est source de tensions et de discorde chez les adultes ; ils connaissent aussi personnellement les

[1] Les œuvres primées, ainsi qu'une sélection des meilleurs textes, seront publiées dans le numéro 18 de *Langue et Société*.

> tracasseries associées à l'apprentissage à l'école d'une langue seconde *officielle* et *obligatoire*. La plupart des œuvres soumises (à l'exception des œuvres de poésie) s'emploient à décrire les conflits qui naissent dans une société bilingue — des situations où les différences linguistiques causent des problèmes entre Canadiens francophones et anglophones. Ainsi, tout en exprimant des attitudes généralement favorables au bilinguisme, en s'efforcant de trouver des solutions aux difficultés et aux tensions, et en envisageant une société devenant de plus en plus bilingue, les auteurs sont conscients du fait que cela ne va pas sans ressentiment ni résistance[1].

On retrouve cette même sensibilité dans un grand nombre d'œuvres, tant françaises qu'anglaises, de toutes les régions du pays. Si les auteurs anglophones du Québec se sont souvent faits les champions d'un Canada bilingue, les participants issus des minorités francophones avaient généralement une vision plus nuancée. Tout y était : les frustrations, les espoirs et les paradoxes. Peut-être le dernier mot à ce sujet devrait-il revenir à l'un des lauréats, Réal Robert Fillion, 21 ans, de Winnipeg. Bien que rédigée en anglais, son œuvre raconte l'enfance d'un Francophone en situation minoritaire.

L'histoire se déroule dans une école où, voici une dizaine d'années, les étudiants du groupe A recevaient un enseignement essentiellement en français, et ceux du groupe B, 50 p.100 en français et 50 p.100 en anglais. Le narrateur appartenait au groupe A et son ami Michel, au groupe B. L'histoire se présente aussi comme une sorte d'oraison funèbre puisque les premières lignes nous apprennent que Michel a été tué dans un accident d'automobile. Après avoir décrit la bataille entre les partisans d'une école française et ceux qui défendent l'école bilingue — au cours de laquelle le narrateur et son ami Michel, à cause de leurs parents, se retrouvent dans des camps opposés — l'auteur conclut ainsi :

> On m'a donné une pancarte; on m'a dit de ne pas aller en classe ; on m'a dit de faire les cent pas sur le trottoir en face de l'école. En tenant la pancarte et la tête bien hautes.
>
> Mais comme les heures passaient, la pancarte me semblait de plus en plus lourde. Je ne trouvais plus ça drôle de manquer l'école et j'aurais donné n'importe quoi pour pouvoir déposer ma pancarte et m'asseoir, ou même me sauver et aller jouer.
>
> Puis, j'ai aperçu Michel. Il était là, immobile, de l'autre côté de la rue. Il avait les épaules basses, sa boîte à lunch pendait au bout de son bras. Je ne l'avais pas vu depuis longtemps, même pas en secret, avec les préparatifs de la grève et tout le tralala. Mon visage s'illumina ; je brandis ma pancarte, m'efforçai d'attirer son attention en l'agitant comme un drapeau.
>
> Il se détourna et poursuivit sa route, la tête basse.
>
> J'avais oublié ce que disait ma pancarte[1].

[1] Commentaire de Richard Lemm.
[1] Notre traduction.

Le monde du travail

Points de vue

Il ne fait plus guère de doute que le bilinguisme ou le multilinguisme individuels sont considérés presque partout comme « une bonne chose ». Pour les minorités de langue officielle, la question ne se pose même pas : les Francophones hors du Québec ont toujours été obligés de parler l'anglais pour pouvoir faire leur chemin dans la vie ; quant aux Anglo-Québécois, ils éprouvent depuis quelque temps maintenant la nécessité de parler le français, tant pour des raisons sociales que pour trouver un emploi. Mais qu'en est-il de nos deux communautés majoritaires, les Francophones du Québec et les Anglophones du reste du pays ?

Les Québécois francophones

Un certain nombre des œuvres soumises dans le cadre de notre concours par des jeunes Francophones du Québec mettaient en scène des personnages francophones bilingues qui l'emportaient sur des unilingues dans la course aux emplois. Par ailleurs, des articles de journaux laissent croire que les parents font pression auprès de certaines commissions scolaires pour qu'elles améliorent ou intensifient l'enseignement de l'anglais comme langue seconde. Il semble que les Francophones du Québec aient sensiblement les mêmes motivations à devenir bilingues que la majorité anglophone du reste du Canada, mais qu'elles soient plus fortes chez eux. La mobilité et l'avancement professionnels constituent des facteurs importants, tout comme les possibilités d'épanouissement personnel et le sentiment de se sentir chez soi partout en Amérique du Nord. Si le bilinguisme est une lame à deux tranchants pour les Québécois francophones, il semble qu'ils soient prêts à s'en accommoder.

Les Anglophones hors du Québec

De l'autre côté de la clôture linguistique, on a beaucoup discuté ces dernières années du marché des emplois bilingues auquel on fait si souvent allusion quand il s'agit de promouvoir l'apprentissage du français comme langue seconde : ce marché existe-t-il vraiment, ou existera-t-il au moment où la majorité des étudiants actuels entreprendront leur carrière ? Les sondages auprès des étudiants qui suivent des programmes d'immersion en français et de leurs parents révèlent systématiquement une forte tendance à *croire* que la connaissance du français sera un atout dans le milieu du travail, quoique bien des questions demeurent encore sans réponse. *Combien* d'emplois exigent de nos jours la connaissance des deux langues ? Combien y en aura-t-il dans dix ans ? Dans quelles régions se trouveront-ils ? Dans quels secteurs ? De quel genre d'emplois s'agira-t-il ?

Les postes bilingues

Le Commissariat a mené en 1985 quelques études sommaires en vue de trouver des réponses à ces questions. Nous espérons que ces dernières feront l'objet d'un examen plus poussé. Par exemple, nous avons fait un relevé des offres d'emplois d'été affichées dans un Centre d'emploi du Canada à Ottawa. Le bilinguisme était considéré comme essentiel une fois sur dix, souhaitable une fois sur dix, et comme un atout une fois sur dix. Ainsi, dans 30 p.100 des cas, il était question de bilinguisme, le plus souvent dans le domaine de la vente et des services.

Nous avons aussi examiné la section offres d'emploi des petites annonces de six grands journaux canadiens, au mois de juillet 1985. Il s'agissait de deux quotidiens de langue française, l'un de Montréal et l'autre d'Ottawa, et de quatre quotidiens de langue anglaise, soit deux de Toronto, un d'Ottawa et un autre de Montréal. Il est intéressant de noter que 2 121 offres d'emploi, parues dans ces six journaux au cours d'une période de deux semaines, faisaient état d'exigences linguistiques. Presque toutes stipulaient que le bilinguisme était essentiel. La plus forte proportion

de ces annonces provenait de Montréal, mais au moins 21 p.100 d'entre elles ont paru dans le *Citizen* d'Ottawa. Plus de la moitié concernait des emplois de bureau.

Une étude préliminaire sur le bilinguisme dans le secteur privé, dans la région d'Ottawa-Hull, visait aussi à évaluer la demande d'employés bilingues auprès d'un échantillon de magasins de détail, d'établissements financiers, d'hôtels et ainsi de suite. Seulement deux employeurs — un hôtel et un grand magasin — *exigent* de leurs nouveaux employés qu'ils soient bilingues, mais la grande majorité des entreprises sondées considèrent comme un atout important le fait qu'un candidat soit bilingue.

Comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné, le Commissariat a commandé un sondage téléphonique, en novembre 1985, auprès de nouveaux diplômés d'écoles secondaires qui avaient participé à des programmes immersifs de français à Ottawa. Les 405 répondants ont été interrogés sur leur situation actuelle, qu'ils soient étudiants au niveau postsecondaire, employés ou sans emploi, ainsi que sur leurs emplois passés ou présents, à temps complet ou partiel. À la question : « Estimez-vous que votre formation linguistique vous a aidé sur le marché de l'emploi ? », 304 d'entre eux, soit 75 p.100, ont répondu « oui » . Si on fait abstraction de ceux qui étaient sans emploi, le taux de satisfaction grimpe à 80 p.100.

Les trois quarts des répondants poursuivaient des études postsecondaires, 90 p.100 d'entre eux à l'université et le reste dans des collèges communautaires. La plupart occupaient par ailleurs un emploi. Vingt-six pour cent de tous les étudiants suivaient au moins quelques cours en français. Parmi ceux qui avaient un emploi, 78 p.100 ont indiqué qu'ils utilisaient le français au travail, une moitié seulement « occasionnellement » et l'autre, « tout le temps », « souvent » ou « environ la moitié du temps ». Plus d'un tiers de tous les répondants ayant un emploi utilisaient fréquemment le français. Au sujet de leurs emplois d'été antérieurs ou de leur précédent travail à temps complet ou partiel, plus des deux tiers ont indiqué que leurs connaissances en français leur avaient servi. Ces résultats, bien qu'ils reflètent certainement la situation particulière qui prévaut dans la Capitale nationale, démontrent clairement que le bilinguisme est très utile dans ce milieu de travail.

Une majorité des répondants ont par ailleurs affirmé qu'ils utilisaient le français « souvent » ou « parfois » au cours de leurs voyages et dans leurs conversations avec des amis, qu'ils lisaient, regardaient la télévision, allaient voir des films ou écoutaient la radio en français. Lorsqu'on leur demandait pourquoi ils jugeaient que leurs cours immersifs avaient été une « bonne » expérience, ils ont été plus nombreux à répondre que cela leur avait permis de « rencontrer des Francophones » (94 d'entre eux) qu'à mentionner les occasions d'emploi (62 répondants). Voilà qui contraste avec un certain nombre de sondages auprès des parents, lesquels tendent à invoquer l'emploi comme étant la principale raison de l'inscription de leurs enfants à des programmes immersifs. Peut-être les parents se sentent-ils obligés de souligner les raisons les plus pratiques, surtout quand ils s'adressent à leurs enfants.

Les conclusions générales de ce sondage peuvent donc se résumer comme suit : la réponse à la question « Les diplômés de cours d'immersion font-ils bon usage de leur français une fois sortis de l'école secondaire ? » est « Oui... à Ottawa ». Il serait très intéressant de mener des sondages du même genre dans d'autres centres

où les programmes d'immersion en français existent depuis assez longtemps pour qu'il y ait un nombre important de diplômés ; bien sûr, nous ne nous attendons pas à ce que les résidants de Vancouver ou de Calgary aient autant d'occasions de mettre leurs connaissances linguistiques en pratique. Nous serions aussi curieux d'interroger les étudiants dix ans après qu'ils aient quitté l'école secondaire, et d'essayer de retrouver ceux qui se sont déplacés un peu partout au pays, afin de savoir comment leurs compétences en langue seconde ont évolué dans l'intervalle.

L'option jeunesse a-t-elle réussi ?

À la lumière de ces quelques données, le lecteur pourra juger de lui-même si notre investissement à long terme dans le bilinguisme individuel et les changements d'attitudes a des chances d'entraîner une transformation du pays, ou à tout le moins de répondre à ses besoins en matière de langues officielles. Le problème avec l'option jeunesse, c'est que bien des gens ont tendance à croire que tout ce qui s'est passé *au sein* de la fonction publique depuis seize ans ne visait qu'à gagner du temps : on imagine une ou deux générations de fonctionnaires « monoglottes » d'âge mûr, accroupis derrière leurs chariots, attendant l'arrivée de la cavalerie bilingue. N'empêche que les mentalités évoluent, que les Canadiens rafraîchissent leurs compétences linguistiques ou en acquièrent de nouvelles. Tout cela est fort bien, et il faut certainement être reconnaissants envers les jeunes, leurs parents et leurs professeurs pour avoir contribué à donner à notre pays une *chance* d'atteindre la maturité linguistique.

Mais qu'en est-il de nos minorités de langue officielle ? Il serait tout à fait irréaliste de croire, sous prétexte qu'il s'est produit une mini-révolution linguistique chez certains jeunes Canadiens, que la survie des minorités est désormais garantie, que le public est assuré d'un service aussi bien en français qu'en anglais, et que nous sommes à l'aube d'une ère d'égalité linguistique sans précédent. Sans vouloir diminuer les progrès réalisés, il faut se garder de considérer l'option jeunesse — et cette opinion est plus répandue qu'on ne le pense — comme un remède miracle.

Le recensement quinquennal de 1986 viendra très probablement confirmer l'érosion de nos minorités de langue officielle. Ceux qui apprennent une langue seconde et ceux qui cherchent à maintenir l'usage de cette même langue dans la vie de tous les jours ont de toute évidence des intérêts convergents ; hélas, cela se manifeste bien rarement dans la pratique. L'option jeunesse ne peut à elle seule fournir aux minorités le sursis ou l'environnement linguistique dont elles ont besoin aujourd'hui. Si le nombre croissant de jeunes bilingues est certes un avantage, cela ne remplace pas un encouragement officiel de la part du gouvernement, un service rapide et fiable dans la langue minoritaire, un enseignement de qualité dans cette langue ou encore une certaine reconnaissance de la part des autorités provinciales ou locales. Quelques milliers de jeunes ayant une perception favorable de l'autre langue et de ceux qui la parlent ne suffisent pas à faire contrepoids aux millers et aux milliers d'autres Canadiens qui ne veulent rien entendre d'un Canada bilingue et qui mettent leurs gouvernements au défi d'en bâtir un. Heureusement, comme les résultats de notre sondage le démontrent, la « majorité silencieuse » des adultes semble aussi évoluer vers une vision plus généreuse.

Existe-t-il des façons d'accélérer la mobilisation de nos « jeunes bilinguisés » ? Même si le gouvernement a réduit le recrutement, on pourrait sans doute s'attendre à ce que ceux-ci constituent une plus grand proportion des recrues, bien que cela reste à déterminer de façon objective. Quoi qu'il en soit, cela pourrait prendre encore dix ou quinze ans avant qu'ils ne contribuent à l'instauration d'une Fonction publique « naturellement » bilingue.

Mais, d'ici là ? La suggestion de M. Keith Spicer de créer un corps linguistique interprovincial formé de volontaires fait sans doute très « années 60 », mais peut-on encore concevoir pareille chose dans les années 80, et qu'est-ce qu'un tel corps pourrait apporter ? Se pourrait-il que des volontaires de différentes disciplines (droit, communications, santé ou travail social) soient mis à la disposition des collectivités minoritaires, grâce à des subventions, afin qu'ils aident à améliorer le niveau général de compétence linguistique, à développer des réseaux communautaires, voire à assurer la liaison avec les autorités fédérales et provinciales ? Rien de tout cela n'est impensable, mais cela demanderait de la réflexion, de l'organisation et des crédits. Le critère fondamental serait d'effectuer une sélection minutieuse afin de trouver des jeunes gens ayant la volonté, les aptitudes générales ou techniques et les compétences linguistiques nécessaires pour mener à bien des projets communautaires hautement prioritaires. Cela pourrait ressembler à l'actuel Programme de moniteurs des langues officielles, qui s'adresse aux aides-enseignants, mais élargi au-delà du domaine de l'éducation. De toutes façons, avant que les promesses de l'option jeunesse ne se matérialisent, il faudra y réfléchir plus rigoureusement et planifier d'une façon objective, en tenant compte des individus. On ne peut imaginer pire gâchis que d'avoir stimulé la formation de bilingues de bonne volonté en fonction d'un objectif aujourd'hui disparu.

Les recherches effectuées jusqu'à maintenant ont à peine effleuré ce sujet d'importance nationale. Dans quelle mesure notre dépense considérable de ressources humaines et financières pour former une jeunesse bilingue et éclairée a-t-elle permis, ou permettra-t-elle, de créer un pays également bilingue et éclairé ? Jusqu'à quel point les attitudes favorables que l'on a constatées sont-elles enracinées dans notre société et comment se traduisent-elles dans la réalité ? Sommes-nous, comme certains le prétendent, en train de produire deux classes de Canadiens : une « jeunesse dorée » bilingue et un prolétariat sous-développé linguistiquement ? Nous devons chercher à connaître davantage nos « jeunes bilinguisés », savoir quelles sont leurs perspectives de carrière, leurs relations avec les membres de l'autre communauté, leur pratique véritable de la langue seconde et leur capacité à mettre leurs talents à contribution. Par exemple, nous avions espéré, en 1985, pouvoir déterminer le taux relatif d'embauche de jeunes Francophones et Anglophones bilingues au sein de la Fonction publique fédérale au cours des dernières années. Cette tâche présentait malheureusement certaines difficultés statistiques que l'on s'emploie à régler ; l'an prochain, cependant, nous devrions être en mesure d'évaluer et de commenter la disponibilité de Canadiens bilingues comme candidats à la Fonction publique.

Recommandations

L'option jeunesse ne peut certes pas être tenue pour acquise ; cela dit, voici les mesures que nous considérons comme les plus urgentes :

- que les conséquences de l'option jeunesse soient évaluées et quantifiées rigoureusement ;
- que les stratégies gouvernementales visant à rendre la Fonction publique vraiment bilingue et à soutenir nos minorités nationales soient reliées plus explicitement et plus systématiquement aux résultats probables de l'option jeunesse ;
- que des projections sérieuses soient faites quant à l'avenir de l'enseignement immersif ;
- que le gouvernement fédéral explore activement, de concert avec ses homologues provinciaux, la faisabilité financière d'un corps linguistique interprovincial formé de volontaires en vue de fournir un appui direct aux collectivités de langue officielle, grâce au concours de jeunes bilingues provenant de l'autre groupe linguistique.

Le système d'enseignement

C'est dans le monde de l'enseignement que l'on trouve les developpements les plus intéressants et les plus encourageants, comme les retards les plus décourageants. Avant de passer en revue l'enseignement dans la langue officielle minoritaire, celui des langues officielles comme langues secondes et celui des langues non officielles, nous tenons à souligner deux faits survenus en 1985 et qui concernent l'enseignement des langues en général.

Le Réseau d'information sur le matériel pédagogique en français

Voilà plusieurs années que nous parlons d'un projet visant à relier les centres de ressources en didactique des langues à une banque de données centrale, ce qui permettrait de faciliter l'accès, dans tout le Canada, à une documentation d'une valeur inestimable sur l'enseignement du français et en français. Par suite d'une étude de faisabilité financée par le Secrétariat d'État, une proposition a été soumise à l'attention du Conseil des ministres de l'Éducation au début de l'année 1984. En septembre 1985, le Conseil a donné son approbation à la création d'un Réseau d'information sur le matériel pédagogique en français. Selon nos renseignements, ce réseau serait mis sur pied en vertu d'une entente, qui devrait être conclue en avril 1986, entre le Conseil et la Centrale des bibliothèques (à Montréal), qui dispose déjà d'une importante banque de données sur les ressources pédagogiques en français. Lorsque la banque de la Centrale sera en mesure d'avoir accès à la documentation rassemblée dans les autres provinces, elle remplira effectivement le rôle qualifié d'essentiel dans le projet original pour le développement de l'enseignement du français au Canada. Au nom d'un public vaste et avide d'information, nous suivrons avec un vif intérêt l'évolution technique du réseau, ainsi que ses travaux.

L'entente fédérale-provinciale

On a annoncé en mai dernier une nouvelle prolongation de deux ans du protocole d'entente fédéral-provincial sur l'enseignement des langues officielles, ce qui signifie une prorogation des accords actuels jusqu'en mars 1988. La participation fédérale aux programmes des provinces et des territoires en matière d'enseignement de la langue seconde et dans la langue minoritaire connaîtra une modeste augmentation de 3 p.100 en 1986-1987 ; toutefois, on ne prévoit actuellement aucune augmentation pour l'année suivante. La participation du gouvernement en 1985-1986 à toutes les formes d'enseignement des langues officielles s'élève à 210 millions de dollars. Le tableau V.5 indique la répartition des subventions en 1984-1985, laquelle ne devrait pas varier énormément en 1985-1986.

Tandis que l'ensemble des dépenses gouvernementales a augmenté de quelque 142 p. 100 depuis 1977-1978, la participation fédérale aux programmes d'enseignement des langues officielles est à présent *inférieure* à ce qu'elle était à cette époque. En pourcentage de l'ensemble du budget fédéral, les crédits affectés à l'enseignement des langues officielles sont passées de 0,5 p. 100 en 1977-1978 à 0,2 p. 100 en 1985.

Même si, assurément, le gouvernement fédéral a bien d'autres chats à fouetter, les provinces, sans parler du public en général, sont en droit de penser qu'il ne se montre guère extravagant dans ce programme. La faible augmentation de la participation fédérale globale cette année par rapport à 1984-1985 sera sans doute à peine suffisante pour compenser l'augmentation des dépenses nécessaires au maintien des services actuels. Si les programmes d'enseignement de la langue seconde et dans la langue minoritaire qui doivent leur subsistance à ces subventions ne risquent pas de mourir d'inanition dans un avenir immédiat, il y a longtemps qu'ils ont cessé de s'engraisser en profitant des largesses du gouvernement. Déjà, ils présentent des symptômes de malnutrition.

Tableau V.5

Participation du gouvernement fédéral en vertu de l'entente fédérale-provinciale/territoriale sur l'enseignement des langues officielles, 1984-1985

	Québec	Autres provinces et territoires	Total
Enseignement dans la langue minoritaire	64 546 909 $	56 286 086 $	120 832 995 $
Enseignement de la langue seconde	18 960 868	45 243 783	64 204 651
Activités combinées[1]			
• Bourses pour les cours d'été	—	—	8 734 409
• Programme de moniteurs	—	—	4 743 720
• Divers	—	187 810	187 810
• Total		187 810	13 665 939
Grand total	**83 507 777**	**101 718 679**	**198 704 585**

[1] Activités qui combinent l'enseignement de la langue seconde et celui dans la langue minoritaire.
Source : Secrétariat d'État, notes préparées en vue d'une rencontre fédérale-provinciale/territoriale, novembre 1985.

L'enseignement dans la langue minoritaire : pour quelques dollars de plus

L'enseignement dans la langue minoritaire a souvent fait la manchette en 1985. Les actions en justice concernant le droit des parents de faire instruire leurs enfants dans leur propre langue ont été suivies par toute une série de controverses et de causes, engagées ou envisagées, sur le problème de la direction des établissements d'enseignement des minorités.

Si la prolongation de l'accord fédéral-provincial s'est faite, elle, sans trop de fausses notes, elle n'a pas suscité non plus un bonheur sans mélange. Plus du tiers des 210 millions de dollars prévus à l'accord est consacré à l'enseignement de la langue seconde, tandis que les deux autres tiers vont à l'enseignement dans la langue des minorités (voir le tableau V.4). De ce dernier montant, quelque 65 millions servent à soutenir le système d'enseignement dans la langue minoritaire au Québec, ce qui ne laisse que 56 millions environ pour le reste du pays.

Il doit sûrement exister une façon de canaliser une plus grande proportion de ces fonds vers la prestation de services d'enseignement en langue minoritaire dans les provinces actuellement démunies à cet égard, notamment la Saskatchewan, l'Alberta et Terre-Neuve. C'est ce qu'avait soutenu en 1981 la Fédération des Francophones hors Québec lors de la renégociation de l'accord original. Selon cet organisme, l'ancien mode de paiements, qu'on présente maintenant comme des « contributions de base au titre de l'aide à l'infrastructure », n'était rien d'autre que des « paiements d'inégalisation ou une péréquation qui fonctionne à l'envers[1] », puisque toutes les provinces étaient placées sur le même pied et récompensées pour ce qu'elles *avaient* accompli, plutôt que de recevoir des stimulants en fonction de ce qu'elles *devaient* faire pour leur minorité. Ce déséquilibre en faveur des réalisations passées s'écarte dangereusement du principe de *développement* sur lequel devrait en théorie reposer l'ensemble du programme.

Le fossé qui sépare les garanties données dans la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés* et l'enseignement en français dont bénéficient réellement les collectivités francophones hors du Québec a été clairement souligné dans le rapport que faisait paraître en décembre le professeur Pierre Foucher, sous le titre *Les droits constitutionnels des minorités de langue officielle du Canada*. Il y conclut que, de toutes

[1] *À la recherche du milliard*. Richard Chevrier (éd.), FFHQ, 1981.

les provinces, c'est le Nouveau-Brunswick qui se rapproche le plus du respect intégral de l'article 23 de la Charte. La plupart des législations provinciales en matière d'enseignement ne font nullement mention des droits linguistiques (Terre-Neuve et Colombie-Britannique), contiennent des clauses quantitatives restrictives (Île-du-Prince-Édouard), ou encore autorisent les conseils scolaires, sans les y obliger, à mettre sur pied des programmes d'enseignement en langues autres que l'anglais sans indiquer clairement en quoi consiste un programme en langue française (Alberta et Saskatchewan). Dans les provinces dépourvues de législation ou de structures institutionnelles, les programmes actuellement en vigueur ne le restent que « selon le bon plaisir » du gouvernement en place.

Au terme de son étude comparative des législations provinciales existantes et des exigences de l'article 23, le professeur Foucher déclare : « Nous avons conclu à (l')invalidité relative (de cette législation). » Il poursuit en énumérant les trois éléments essentiels à la constitution d'une base solide pour une réforme valable des systèmes d'enseignement :

- la clarification des rôles et des responsabilités ;
- l'abolition des pouvoirs discrétionnaires ;
- la définition des droits à l'instruction, aux écoles et à leur gestion, et la mise en œuvre de ceux-ci.

Il nous rappelle ce fait essentiel : « Certes, on ne réforme pas un système scolaire provincial en une soirée, mais on ne peut non plus se payer le luxe d'attendre qu'il n'y ait plus de minorités pour agir. » La nécessité de mesures à la fois juridiques et politiques continuera de se faire sentir et « les provinces doivent faire face à leurs obligations constitutionnelles mieux qu'elles ne le font maintenant », si nous désirons éviter la réalisation de ce scénario catastrophique.

Bien que la *proportion* des enfants appartenant à un groupe minoritaire qui ont accès à un enseignement dans leur propre langue augmente à grand-peine, leur nombre absolu est en général sur le déclin. Il fallait s'y attendre, compte tenu du pourcentage actuel de transferts linguistiques, de l'émigration incessante d'Anglo-Québécois et de la baisse générale de la population d'âge scolaire. Ce n'est que dans les régions où l'enseignement dans la langue de la minorité n'est offert que depuis peu et où le nombre d'élèves est très restreint (par exemple la Colombie-Britannique et le Yukon) que l'effectif augmente chaque année. Le contraste avec les effectifs des classes immersives en français dans chacune des provinces est frappant. À l'exception de l'Ontario et du Nouveau-Brunswick, le nombre d'élèves inscrits à ces programmes est de 2 à 17 fois plus élevé que l'effectif des écoles de langue française.

Dans ces conditions, il ne faut pas s'étonner du fait que nombre d'élèves membres de groupes minoritaires se sentent submergés par la langue de la majorité, même dans leurs propres écoles. Dans des régions comme celle de Toronto, où les écoles secondaires françaises sont plus nombreuses que celles offrant un programme d'immersion, les Anglophones s'inscrivent en si grand nombre que cela remet en cause le caractère français des écoles. Selon certaines évaluations, 40 p.100 des étudiants inscrits aux écoles secondaires françaises du Conseil scolaire de Toronto

ont une langue maternelle autre que le français. Les jeunes Francophones minoritaires devront faire preuve du même genre d'humour et de détermination que cet étudiant franco-ontarien de Cornwall qui a lancé à ses condisciples ce cri de ralliement : « Grenouillons-nous! »

L'enseignement postsecondaire

Il existe également de graves lacunes au niveau postsecondaire. Au cours d'une conférence tenue en mai par la Fédération des Francophones hors Québec, on a souligné le besoin de mesures immédiates pour contrer les handicaps auxquels doivent faire face les Francophones hors du Québec par rapport à la majorité anglophone, la faiblesse relative des programmes postsecondaires offerts en français et la très faible proportion d'étudiants membres de groupes minoritaires qui parviennent au niveau collégial ou universitaire.

D'une province à l'autre

Le Yukon

Le programme d'enseignement en langue française de Whitehorse a connu une expansion en 1985 ; il est maintenant offert depuis la maternelle jusqu'à la neuvième année, mais dans deux écoles différentes. Malheureusement, le manque de matériel didactique et de personnel enseignant est venu tempérer l'enthousiasme qu'avait suscité cette bonne nouvelle.

Les Territoires du Nord-Ouest

Les Territoires du Nord-Ouest ont enfin amorcé le processus qui leur permettra de ne plus être la seule administration canadienne à n'avoir pris aucune disposition officielle concernant l'enseignement dans la langue minoritaire. Les auteurs d'une étude financée par le gouvernement fédéral et publiée en 1985 recommandent l'adoption de mesures afin d'assurer l'avenir des deux classes de langue française existant à Frobisher Bay et Nanisivik. Les autorités territoriales doivent faire face à un défi administratif de taille : tâcher de satisfaire aux besoins de neuf collectivités linguistiques autochtones ainsi qu'à ceux des Francophones unilingues et bilingues, tous étant assez dispersés sur l'ensemble des Territoires.

La Colombie-Britannique

Le monde de l'enseignement en langue française en Colombie-Britannique a continué à faire preuve d'une grande ténacité en 1985. En dépit d'importantes coupures dans le personnel et les budgets dans l'ensemble du système scolaire, le programme cadre de français a connu une remarquable augmentation de 20 p.100 de son effectif par rapport à l'année précédente, passant de 1 362 à plus de 1 600 en chiffres absolus. Il s'agit là d'une véritable percée pour une population de langue maternelle française de quelque 40 000 personnes.

On prévoit apporter certains amendements à la loi scolaire. À l'heure actuelle, le droit des Francophones à l'enseignement ne repose que sur la politique ministérielle, la Loi n'en faisant nullement mention. Les Francophones espèrent que la nouvelle législation établira clairement les droits à l'enseignement de la minorité, et peut-être également que l'on fera preuve d'une ouverture d'esprit suffisamment grande pour reconnaître le caractère essentiel du transport dans les services d'enseignement quand les écoles sont rares et, partant, difficilement accessibles. Le

manque de transport scolaire continue en effet de constituer une menace pour les services offerts par le programme cadre, à North-Vancouver et à Nanaimo par exemple.

L'Alberta L'événement marquant de l'année a été sans aucun doute l'affaire Bugnet, qui consistait essentiellement à déterminer si la loi scolaire de l'Alberta était compatible avec l'article 23 de la Charte. La décision rendue au mois de juillet fut favorable aux plaignants, un groupe de parents francophones d'Edmonton, puisqu'elle déclarait la Loi non conforme à la Charte dans la mesure où l'enseignement dans la langue de la minorité était non pas garanti, mais seulement autorisé. Toutefois, cette décision laissa sans réponse, ou du moins sans réponse aussi claire, un certain nombre d'autres questions soulevées devant la Cour. Le juge en était venu à la conclusion que la loi scolaire devait garantir aux citoyens admissibles en vertu de l'article 23, « ... le droit d'exercer un certain contrôle exclusif sur la langue d'enseignement de la minorité française à leurs enfants[1] » lorsque le nombre le jusfifiait, et poursuivait en déclarant la loi scolaire incompatible avec la Charte dans la mesure où ce droit n'y était pas inscrit. Toutefois, le juge concluait en disant qu'il incombait à l'Assemblée législative de trouver une méthode permettant d'honorer ce droit, et qu'il n'était pas de la compétence de la Cour de décrire en détail la marche à suivre. Faute d'une définition claire de l'expression « un certain contrôle exclusif », il y eut appel.

Il est donc impossible de considérer ce jugement comme un triomphe pour le droit à l'enseignement de la minorité. Il est plus important de noter que le gouvernement provincial ne s'est pas senti obligé de prendre rapidement des mesures afin d'éclaircir les règles du jeu. Au contraire, le ministre de l'Éducation a insisté sur le fait que ni le jugement, ni les amendements proposés à la loi scolaire, prévus dans le courant de l'année 1986 seulement, n'imposeraient la mise sur pied de conseils scolaires français et anglais distincts.

Entre-temps, l'effectif des classes en langue minoritaire, dans la poignée de municipalités où ils ont une existence distincte de celle des programmes d'immersion française, a malgré tout suivi une courbe de croissance prononcée. À l'école Sainte-Anne de Calgary, par exemple, qui n'est qu'à sa deuxième année de fonctionnement, l'effectif a augmenté de 44 p.100, passant de 130 à 187 élèves. L'existence d'une demande, de même que la volonté d'obtenir la totalité des droits à l'éducation garantis par la Charte, ne font aucun doute. Pourtant, à l'extérieur des grands centres, la dissémination des candidats à l'enseignement en langue française dans de nombreux districts scolaires rend extrêmement problématique la mise en œuvre de programmes en français, sans parler des mesures qui permettraient aux parents de disposer du « certain contrôle exclusif » que le juge semblait considérer comme nécessaire dans l'affaire Bugnet. Les résultats d'une enquête effectuée par l'Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta sur les conseils scolaires, faisant état de « grandes divergences dans l'interprétation de l'article 23 entre les différents conseils », ne furent d'aucun réconfort, pas plus que la perception d'une détermination générale de s'en tenir au strict nécessaire tant que la province n'aura pas effectivement mis sur pied le système de prestation approprié.

Nous sommes sensibles à l'ampleur des problèmes administratifs et politiques reliés à l'instauration de ce système. Mais ces problèmes ne sont pas insolubles, et les

[1] Notre traduction.

associations des minorités francophones de tout le Canada ont fourni une foule de suggestions pratiques sur la manière d'y parvenir. La seule façon dont le temps pourrait simplifier ce problème consisterait à voir la minorité, dépourvue de son droit constitutionnel, rabaissée au rang de quantité démographique négligeable. Nous refusons de croire que c'est là la « solution » que souhaitent le gouvernement et la population de l'Alberta. Mais à moins qu'ils ne prennent sans tarder des mesures plus concrètes, il se peut que ce soit la solution à laquelle ils aboutissent.

La Saskatchewan

Douze groupes de Francophones, se fondant sur le fait que la loi scolaire de la province ne garantit pas aux Francophones le droit de diriger leurs propres écoles, ont remis en question devant les tribunaux la constitutionnalité de cette Loi. Cette poursuite, engagée par la Commission des écoles fransaskoises, reflète la déception des Francophones de la Saskatchewan face à leurs négociations, longues et finalement stériles, avec le gouvernement. S'il faut admettre l'existence d'obstacles à l'établissement d'un mécanisme donnant à la minorité la mainmise sur ses écoles dans une province où celle-ci est faible et éparpillée, il est évident que la réaction du ministre de l'Éducation, qui se dit déçu face à « l'ingratitude » des Francophones, dénote qu'il n'a pas parfaitement saisi toute la portée des obligations constitutionnelles. La cause en question n'a pas encore été entendue.

Au début de l'année, le collège Mathieu, un pensionnat privé qui offre un programme d'études secondaires en langue française et qui est situé à Gravelbourg, a présenté au gouvernement provincial une proposition qui était le fruit d'une recherche approfondie. Le Collège demandait l'autorisation d'offrir certains cours de niveaux universitaire et collégial, et d'établir un centre pédagogique ainsi que des services de coordination de l'enseignement collégial pour les Francophones de l'ensemble de la province. Il essuya un refus pour des raisons budgétaires, mais, à titre de prix de consolation, deux coordonnateurs furent chargés d'effectuer une analyse préliminaire des besoins en matière d'éducation permanente et postsecondaire de la collectivité minoritaire.

Le Manitoba

La création par le gouvernement d'un groupe d'étude sur les droits à l'enseignement a constitué un pas dans la bonne direction vers la gestion, par les Francophones, des écoles de langue minoritaire. Dirigé par deux sous-ministres adjoints du ministère de l'Éducation, ce groupe étudiera les obligations constitutionnelles du Manitoba. Bien que la publication d'un rapport puisse exiger un certain temps, il ne fait pas de doute que le gouvernement provincial prend la question au sérieux.

La collectivité à majorité francophone de Saint-Pierre-Jolys a été le cadre d'une contestation déchirante. Soutenant que les diplômés des écoles françaises n'étaient pas suffisamment à l'aise en anglais pour se tailler une place sur un marché du travail à prédominance anglophone, un groupe de parents, principalement des Francophones, a exprimé le souhait que l'on réduise l'enseignement en français dans les écoles locales de 75 p.100 qu'il est actuellement à 50 p.100. La controverse et la vigueur des sentiments exprimés semblent avoir pris les administrateurs scolaires et de nombreux étudiants par surprise. Il nous apparaît que dans ce cas, comme à Chéticamp, en Nouvelle-Écosse, les autorités scolaires et peut-être les associations francophones auraient pu s'efforcer davantage de faire connaître aux parents les résultats des recherches sur l'enseignement dans la langue de la minorité, qui démontrent qu'en général, lorsque de jeunes Francophones sont submergés par l'anglais parlé dans la rue, à la télévision et à la radio, ainsi que dans l'ensemble de

la collectivité, ce sont leurs aptitudes en français et non en anglais qu'il faut renforcer à l'école. De toute façon, d'un point de vue pédagogique, il n'y a aucune raison pour que les étudiants francophones d'une école française où les cours sont principalement donnés en français ne reçoivent pas également un enseignement de qualité en langue anglaise. À Saint-Pierre-Jolys, on a adopté la solution classique qui consiste à créer un comité d'administrateurs pour étudier la question ; dans les circonstances cependant, cela nous semble indiqué.

L'Ontario

Encore une fois, la province la plus peuplée du Canada a vécu une année remplie d'événements dans le domaine de l'enseignement en langue française. De profonds changements en cette matière, qui avaient fait l'objet de nombreuses discussions au cours des dernières années, ont enfin commencé à voir le jour.

Un projet de loi devant permettre aux Francophones de diriger leurs écoles a été présenté au mois de novembre. Les représentants de la communauté franco-ontarienne ont pu se réjouir du fait que ce projet de loi donne aux Francophones le droit de gérer leurs écoles dans toutes les régions de la province, même celles où la population de langue française est peu nombreuse. Des mesures provisoires assureront une certaine participation des Francophones à la gestion des écoles jusqu'en 1987 ; à cette date, tous les conseils scolaires comptant des établissements de langue française auront une section francophone. Quant aux conseils sans classes ou écoles de langue française, qui sont dans l'obligation d'acheter des services d'enseignement en français aux conseils voisins, ils auront leur propre comité consultatif. Un groupe de travail a été créé par le ministre de l'Éducation afin d'étudier les façons concrètes de mettre en œuvre les dispositions du projet de loi.

Au même moment, le Ministre apportait de bonnes nouvelles à la région d'Ottawa-Carleton, où les Francophones et les quatre conseils scolaires avaient unanimement demandé la création d'un seul conseil homogène de langue française. Ce conseil verra le jour en 1988. Jusqu'à présent, rien n'indique que le gouvernement envisage la création de conseils de ce genre dans d'autres régions de l'Ontario, mais l'ouverture d'esprit qui prévaut aujourd'hui dans la province nous permet d'être optimistes.

Comme prévu, l'octroi de fonds publics aux écoles catholiques pour les classes supérieures du niveau secondaire a eu d'importantes répercussions sur les écoles françaises. Des groupes de Francophones ont exprimé leurs craintes quant à la vulnérabilité des droits à l'enseignement dans la langue de la minorité au sein des systèmes scolaires restructurés selon ce nouveau mode de financement. Rares en effet sont les régions où les étudiants sont assez nombreux pour justifier la création d'écoles secondaires catholiques françaises et anglaises. Plusieurs associations franco-ontariennes ont réclamé que soit reportée à une date ultérieure la mise en œuvre du nouveau système, au moins jusqu'à ce qu'un tribunal se prononce sur sa constitutionnalité.

Dans un rapport publié en novembre, le Conseil de l'éducation franco-ontarienne pose un diagnostic très clair sur les niveaux d'enseignement élémentaire, secondaire et postsecondaire des Franco-Ontariens[1]. Les conclusions de cette étude sont les suivantes : en dépit d'une augmentation des services en français en Ontario, le

[1] *Éducation et besoins des Franco-Ontariens : le diagnostic d'un système d'éducation*, Churchill, Frenette et Quazi, Conseil de l'éducation franco-ontarienne, novembre 1985.

nombre d'enfants parlant le français à la maison ne cesse de diminuer ; les faiblesses des services d'enseignement en français sont responsables du pourcentage plus élevé de décrocheurs au niveau secondaire chez les Francophones que chez les Anglophones, ainsi que de la proportion plus faible de Francophones entreprenant des études en mathématiques, en sciences et en technologie ; enfin, les programmes en français dans les écoles bilingues sont « très appauvris », et le taux de décrochage chez les Francophones y est le plus élevé.

Les lacunes sont encore plus graves au postsecondaire. « Tant dans les collèges communautaires que dans les universités, l'absence presque totale de programmation en français pour les domaines reliés aux professions de la technologie, de l'industrie, de la science et du commerce a pour effet d'exclure les Franco-Ontariens de la génération actuelle de participer sur un pied d'égalité à l'avenir social et économique du Canada. »

Le Québec

La Cour supérieure du Québec a déclaré inconstitutionnel le projet de loi 3, visant à remplacer les commissions scolaires confessionnelles par des commissions linguistiques. Le gouvernement provincial a fait appel de cette décision. Entre-temps, Alliance Québec, porte-parole d'une grande partie de la communauté anglophone qui soutenait le concept des commissions linguistiques, a lancé un appel au public afin qu'il continue à se préoccuper de la restructuration du système scolaire québécois.

Parmi les faits saillants de l'année, signalons la création, au ministère de l'Éducation, de la Direction des services éducatifs aux Anglophones dont le mandat comprend, entre autres, les points suivants :

- jouer le rôle de représentant ministériel auprès de la collectivité anglophone en échangeant de l'information avec les écoles et les commissions scolaires, et en les consultant ;
- déterminer les services éducatifs dont la collectivité anglophone a besoin ;
- participer à l'élaboration de la politique ministérielle, et à la mise sur pied et à l'adaptation des programmes.

La collectivité anglophone continue de souffrir de la baisse des effectifs et des fermetures d'écoles qui en résultent. À la Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal, la plus importante commission scolaire catholique du Québec, le secteur anglophone a connu une baisse de 10,8 p.100 en 1985, comparativement à 2,8 p.100 dans le secteur francophone. Un certain nombre d'écoles seront donc forcées de fermer leurs portes. Simultanément, la Commission des écoles protestantes du Grand Montréal, la plus grande commission protestante du Québec, annonçait son intention de fermer ou de convertir en écoles françaises plusieurs de ses établissements de langue anglaise. Par ailleurs, l'effectif des classes maternelles a augmenté de plus de 40 p.100 dans les commissions scolaires des Cantons de l'Est — une bonne nouvelle pour cette collectivité depuis longtemps en perte de vitesse.

Le Nouveau-Brunswick

Au printemps 1985, ce sont les recommandations du Cabinet de la réforme gouvernementale traitant des questions d'éducation qui ont retenu l'attention générale. Ces propositions, relatives à l'élaboration des programmes, au subventionnement des écoles et à la formation des enseignants, sont destinées sans distinction aux

systèmes français et anglais de la province. Bien qu'on n'y fasse pas expressément référence à l'enseignement dans la langue de la minorité, un certain nombre de propositions visaient à améliorer l'enseignement de l'anglais comme langue seconde dans les régions à forte concentration de Francophones. Grâce à une subvention du Secrétariat d'État, l'Université de Moncton a offert gratuitement l'été dernier un programme de perfectionnement en français principalement destiné aux jeunes Francophones vivant en situation minoritaire. Ce programme avait pour but de promouvoir la fierté linguistique et culturelle parmi les jeunes Francophones, tout en améliorant leurs aptitudes en langue écrite et orale.

La Nouvelle-Écosse

Une dure controverse portant sur la désignation « acadienne » de l'école Notre-Dame-de-l'Annonciation, à Chéticamp, a jeté une ombre sur l'évolution de l'enseignement dans la langue de la minorité. La collectivité de Chéticamp, en majorité francophone ou d'ascendance française, était partagée sur la question du choix pour cette école du programme « acadien », qui aurait porté le pourcentage d'enseignement en langue française au niveau secondaire de 25 p.100 à l'heure actuelle à 50 p.100. Les adversaires du projet ont prétendu qu'un enseignement plus axé sur le français compromettrait la formation de leurs enfants en langue anglaise et, par conséquent, réduirait leurs chances futures de trouver un emploi sur un marché du travail à prédominance anglophone. Quant aux partisans, ils considéraient l'augmentation de l'enseignement en français comme une condition essentielle à la survie de la culture française. Bien que la collectivité se soit prononcée majoritairement contre le programme acadien à la fin de l'automne dernier, par voie de référendum, le Ministre n'a pas encore rendu sa décision sur le nouveau statut de l'école.

L'Île-du-Prince-Édouard

Depuis l'adoption de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés*, les parents de la ville de Summerside s'efforcent d'obtenir l'enseignement en langue française pour leurs enfants, soutenant que la définition donnée par la province à l'expression « là où le nombre le justifie » était beaucoup trop restrictive, les empêchant de bénéficier d'un enseignement en langue française. Les tribunaux, après de très nombreux délais, se pencheront sur cette affaire en 1986.

Entre-temps, l'effectif du district scolaire de langue française d'Évangeline a légèrement diminué, passant de 475 à 465 élèves. Toutefois, à l'école française de Charlottetown, il est passé de 40 à 50 en 1985-1986.

Dans plusieurs collectivités de la province, notamment Tignish, Summerside et Charlottetown, des maternelles dites de « refrancisation » ont été créées afin d'améliorer les aptitudes en langue première des enfants francophones.

Le programme de secrétariat bilingue du collège Holland, supprimé faute d'inscriptions il y a deux ans, a été réinstauré. De plus, le Collège offre à présent un programme de commis-dactylo bilingue, de même qu'un cours commercial en français et un programme de formation de policiers bilingues pour les trois provinces de l'Atlantique.

Terre-Neuve

Lors d'une allocution aux membres de la Fédération des Francophones de Terre-Neuve et du Labrador en octobre dernier, le ministre de l'Éducation s'est engagé à mettre sur pied un système scolaire en langue française dans la péninsule de Port-au-Port. Soulignant la nécessité d'offrir un meilleur enseignement dans leur langue

aux Francophones, le Ministre a proposé un plan comprenant les éléments suivants : la construction d'une école destinée à desservir le village de Grand'Terre[1] (péninsule de Port-au-Port), de la maternelle à la neuvième année ; la transformation de l'école d'immersion de Cap-Saint-George en une école française ; une certaine aide financière aux jeunes de Grand'Terre qui veulent poursuivre leurs études secondaires en français à Cap-Saint-George ; la nomination d'un conseiller chargé d'élaborer un programme d'enseignement franco-terreneuvien ; et une série de consultations au sein de diverses collectivités. Selon le ministère de l'Éducation, le programme d'immersion en langue française de Cap-Saint-George se transformera graduellement, à partir de 1986, en un programme en langue française, et l'école française de Grand'Terre devrait ouvrir ses portes en septembre 1987. Il s'agira des deuxième et troisième écoles de langue française dans la province (l'autre se trouvant à Labrador City) et des premières sur l'île de Terre-Neuve elle-même. Les Francophones de la province se réjouissent de ces nouvelles, mais se préoccupent du fait que le conseil scolaire de la péninsule de Port-au-Port ne soit pas entièrement d'accord avec la portée des plans ministériels.

Recommandations

- Il est recommandé que le Secrétariat d'État, dans l'élaboration d'un accord fédéral-provincial qui entrerait en vigueur en 1988, attache une importance particulière aux provinces où la collectivité de langue officielle minoritaire n'a eu que peu de possibilités d'accès à un enseignement dans sa propre langue.
- Il est recommandé d'organiser une conférence nationale ou une série de rencontres régionales, afin d'étudier les façons de garantir aux minorités de langue officielle le plein exercice de leur droit à la gestion de leur propre système d'enseignement.

[1] Mainland en anglais.

L'enseignement de la langue seconde : un atout maître

L'adoption en 1969 de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* a incité les Canadiens à repenser les diverses façons d'envisager l'apprentissage de la langue seconde (et de toute autre langue). Les gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux n'ont pas tardé à prendre conscience du fait qu'une communication franche et harmonieuse supposait d'abord et avant tout une compréhension de l'autre culture, laquelle ne peut être assurée que par une véritable compétence dans la langue seconde. Depuis 1970, le gouvernement fédéral a consacré au-delà de 733 millions de dollars à ce chapitre, et les résultats de cette initiative continuent d'avoir une grande influence sur le succès du programme des langues officielles dans son ensemble.

Possibilités d'apprentissage

Même si un nombre croissant de Canadiens reconnaissent que la maîtrise des deux langues officielles est non seulement un atout mais une nécessité, l'accès à des moyens d'apprentissage est loin d'être assuré pour la majorité des familles canadiennes. En fait, la question de l'accès est en passe de devenir le problème de l'heure en ce qui a trait à l'apprentissage de la langue seconde. C'est un véritable supplice de Tantale que de se faire vanter les avantages du bilinguisme, mais de ne pas pouvoir apprendre l'autre langue parce qu'on n'offre pas de cours dans sa région, qu'il n'y a plus de place disponible, que les cours ne sont offerts qu'à certains groupes de personnes, ou seulement jusqu'à un certain niveau, ou seulement à certains endroits qui ne sont pas desservis par le transport scolaire. Le malheur est que le droit de faire instruire ses enfants dans leur seconde langue officielle est à toutes fins utiles inexistant. Si la législation et la politique officielle du Nouveau-Brunswick, du Manitoba et de la Saskatchewan garantissent parfois, jusqu'à un certain point, l'accès à cette instruction (quand le nombre le justifie, bien sûr), personne jusqu'ici n'a obtenu gain de cause ou n'a été débouté *directement* à ce sujet devant les tribunaux, et aucune loi provinciale ne garantit expressément l'accès à l'instruction dans la seconde langue officielle. Nous sommes quant à nous convaincus qu'au cours des deux ou trois prochaines années, les groupes de parents exerceront de fortes pressions, politiques ou judiciaires, en vue de se faire accorder de telles garanties.

Sur un autre plan, seuls le Québec et le Nouveau-Brunswick *exigent* l'apprentissage de la langue seconde après la première année du secondaire, et aucune province

sauf le Nouveau-Brunswick ne l'impose avant la quatrième année du primaire. Il est pour le moins déconcertant que les autorités scolaires, malgré toutes les recherches à leur disposition sur le sujet, semblent encore considérer comme satisfaisant un petit trente minutes par jour de cours de langue pendant deux ou trois ans. Quant aux cours facultatifs, ils souffrent d'interruptions constantes, d'autant plus que les conseils scolaires, financièrement à l'étroit, hésitent à mettre en place de nouveaux cours. Ce qui manque ici, à part des fonds, c'est une planification et une coordination minutieuses des programmes, que ceux-ci soient obligatoires ou non.

Les conseils scolaires peuvent se réjouir du fait que l'accord fédéral-provincial sur l'enseignement des langues officielles ait été prorogé jusqu'en 1988. Mais il y a tout simplement trop peu de fonds répartis entre un trop grand nombre d'initiatives, et la hausse minime du financement est tout à fait disproportionnée à l'accroissement de la demande. Le problème vient de ce qu'on tente de répondre avec une seule source de financement aux besoins de tous et chacun. Ces sommes limitées doivent non seulement alimenter les programmes d'enseignement dans la langue de la minorité et de la langue seconde dans les écoles primaires et secondaires, mais elles doivent aussi servir aux programmes universitaires et à ceux des collèges communautaires, à la formation des professeurs, à l'éducation permanente, aux échanges d'étudiants, à la télévision éducative, aux bourses d'étude et au Programme de moniteurs. Une province qui veut affecter des fonds à une activité doit donc souvent prendre à Pierre ce qu'elle donne à Paul.

Taux de participation

Qu'en est-il exactement des taux de participation ? Comme le font voir les tableaux 3, 4 et 5 de l'annexe B, la participation aux programmes d'enseignement de la langue seconde augmente indéniablement. Mais les statistiques ne révèlent pas tout. Pendant qu'on s'émerveille de l'essor en ce domaine, il est facile d'oublier le nombre d'élèves qui n'apprennent *pas* leur langue seconde : en 1984-1985, à l'échelle du pays, ils étaient 2,1 millions, soit 51 p.100 des 4,3 millions d'enfants fréquentant les écoles primaires et secondaires. Ces chiffres plutôt décourageants méritent qu'on s'y arrête. Dans l'ensemble du pays, 53 p.100 de tous les élèves du primaire ne participent pas à des programmes de langue seconde[1]. C'est le Nouveau-Brunswick qui remporte la palme puisque seulement 31 p.100 des élèves de l'élémentaire et du secondaire n'apprennent pas leur langue seconde, tandis que l'Alberta a le pire rendement sur ce plan, 76 p.100 des élèves ne participant à aucun programme de ce genre. Il y a là de quoi refroidir notre enchantement face à l'accroissement du nombre des participants aux programmes d'immersion en français.

Selon le sondage Gallup réalisé pour la Canadian Parents for French en 1984 et l'enquête que nous avons confiée cette année à Réalités canadiennes, les Canadiens souhaitent vivement voir leurs enfants apprendre le français et l'anglais à l'école ; ce n'est donc pas faute de demande que la plupart des petits Canadiens n'ont pas l'occasion d'apprendre l'autre langue. Il semble plutôt que les autorités

[1] Ces chiffres ne portent que sur l'apprentissage du français et de l'anglais langues secondes, et ne tiennent pas compte des autres langues apprises en classe ou à l'extérieur, sujet dont nous discuterons au chapitre suivant.

scolaires n'aient pas saisi les désirs du public. Il est intéressant de comparer cette situation à ce qui se produit dans les écoles privees.

À la fin de l'année scolaire 1984-1985, le Commissariat a communiqué par téléphone avec 151 écoles privées de langue anglaise dans neuf provinces. Soulignons ici qu'il ne s'agit pas d'un échantillon représentatif du point de vue statistique, étant donné que la plupart des établissements inclus étaient situés dans des grands centres ou à proximité de ceux-ci, et que nous n'avons rejoint aucune école au Manitoba. Les résultats sont tout de même frappants. Près des trois quarts des écoles offraient le français comme langue seconde, et la grande majorité de leurs élèves l'étudiaient soit dans des programmes immersifs, soit dans des programmes cadres, soit encore dans des programmes enrichis (où une ou deux matières sont enseignées en français en plus des cours de langue et de littérature françaises). Il semble donc que, dans les grandes villes du moins, les écoles privées aient entrepris de répondre à la demande des parents — à moins qu'elles n'aient agi selon leurs propres convictions quant à la valeur d'une langue seconde — un peu plus rapidement que les autorités des systèmes publics, lesquelles accusent un retard injustifiable.

Programmes de français langue seconde

L'enseignement immersif

Comme par les années passées, l'enseignement immersif a continué en 1985 de croître en popularité. Cependant, un des traits les plus marquants de cette cohorte de 160 000 adeptes est sa forme pyramidale : on ne trouve qu'une poignée d'élèves inscrits à ces programmes au secondaire, alors qu'ils sont nombreux dans les petites classes, spécialement à la maternelle et en première année. Quand on sait que seulement 4 p.100 des élèves anglophones de tous les niveaux sont en immersion française, contre 10 p.100 de ceux qui sont en première année, on imagine un peu les tendances futures. Dans les provinces où cette forme d'enseignement est relativement nouvelle, jusqu'au tiers de tous les élèves qui en bénéficient sont en première année.

Le succès des programmes immersifs est indéniable, et le fait que l'on s'interroge maintenant sur certains aspects de leur application est en quelque sorte la rançon de ce succès. Les élèves eux-mêmes, par exemple, affirment qu'ils n'apprennent pas à s'exprimer correctement par écrit, constatation confirmée par des chercheurs reconnus. Il semble que l'un des principes directeurs de la pédagogie immersive — soit la communication fonctionnelle — n'ait pas toujours été appliqué dans le cas de la communication écrite.Les spécialistes des programmes d'études, les professeurs de pédagogie et les enseignants eux-mêmes ont donc manifestement beaucoup de travail à faire sur ce plan. Assurément, voilà un domaine où les nouvelles techniques d'enseignement pourraient se révéler des plus utiles ; entre autres moyens d'aider les élèves à communiquer véritablement par écrit, on pourrait créer un réseau de correspondants par ordinateur.

Encore une fois, l'accès continue d'être le grand problème pour beaucoup de familles qui sont tentées par l'enseignement immersif. De nombreux conseils scolaires dans les régions rurales hésitent encore à adopter cette méthode, d'autres n'offrent pas de moyen de transport ou imposent des frais pour celui-ci, d'autres encore limitent

l'accès en optant, par souci d'économie, pour des programmes d'immersion courte plutôt que longue. Mais le problème le plus déplorable à cet égard est sans doute la tendance à offrir les programmes immersifs, au secondaire, aux élèves les plus forts et les plus susceptibles de poursuivre des études universitaires. Pourtant, il nous a suffi de dépouiller les annonces classées pour voir qu'il existe une demande importante de personnes bilingues pour des postes de soutien administratif et dans le secteur des services ; or, d'une façon générale, les candidats à ces postes ne sont pas ceux qui, au secondaire, se destinent à des études universitaires. Ces élèves ne méritent-ils pas qu'on leur donne une chance de bénéficier du bilinguisme ? Y a-t-il raison de croire que des techniques immersives bien adaptées donneraient de moins bons résultats dans le cas d'élèves qui n'envisagent pas d'aller à l'université ?

Mais l'ironie de l'affaire, c'est qu'il subsiste une conception saugrenue selon laquelle la croissance de l'enseignement immersif démontre que l'on fait beaucoup « pour les Francophones ». Un article paru dans un journal de la Saskatchewan annonçait par exemple : « Bien que les systèmes scolaires de Yorkton offrent des programmes d'immersion en français cet automne, le Commissaire aux langues officielles estime que la situation des collectivités francophones de la Saskatchewan est source de grande inquiétude[1]. » Les minorités francophones et la Canadian Parents for French font un travail exemplaire pour lutter contre les malentendus et les illogismes de ce genre. Elles publient par exemple des brochures qui expliquent les différences entre l'enseignement immersif et l'enseignement dans la langue de la minorité, elles font des déclarations publiques où elles s'appuient mutuellement et font valoir leur compréhension réciproque, malgré leurs buts différents. Vraisemblablement, elles ne sont pas au bout de leurs peines.

Les programmes cadres

Les programmes cadres de français, comme on appelle les cours ordinaires de français langue seconde, gardent leur réputation d'« enfant problème » du système d'enseignement, malgré les vaillants efforts déployés pour transformer leur image. Nous en avons reçu au moins une description éloquente lors du concours d'œuvres de fiction organisé à l'occasion de l'Année internationale de la jeunesse :

> J'ai appris à l'école que... dans la classe de français, il y a 18 vitres aux fenêtres, 216 carreaux au plafond et 48 tubes fluorescents[2].

Il y a toutefois lieu d'espérer que la situation va changer. Ainsi, nous nous réjouissons du fait que l'Association canadienne des professeurs de langues secondes ait entrepris une étude approfondie de trois ans sur les programmes cadres de français. Les chercheurs se pencheront sur la théorie et la pratique de la didactique des langues, et leurs constatations devraient avoir un effet salutaire sur les programmes.

Les programmes cadres comme remplacement de l'immersion longue ?

Les retombées éventuelles des améliorations apportées aux programmes cadres suscitent une grande controverse dans plusieurs régions. Bien que ceux qui travaillent à ces améliorations soient parfaitement conscients des différences quant aux objectifs des programmes cadres et des programmes d'immersion longue, certains administrateurs scolaires, incités à réduire leurs budgets, considèrent les premiers comme une solution de rechange moins coûteuse aux seconds. Les

[1] *The Yorkton Enterprise*, le 8 avril 1985 (notre traduction).
[2] Notre traduction.

défenseurs avertis des deux types de programmes sont manifestement inquiets à l'idée que des améliorations apportées à l'enseignement de la langue seconde obligent à faire un choix entre les deux modes d'enseignement.

L'anglais langue seconde

On a beaucoup discuté ces dernières années, dans le nord du Nouveau-Brunswick et au Québec, des moyens d'améliorer l'enseignement de l'anglais langue seconde ; c'est que bien des parents et des enseignants doutaient de la qualité des programmes existants.

Le projet du Cabinet de la réforme gouvernementale du Nouveau-Brunswick d'améliorer les programmes cadres d'anglais langue seconde dans les régions à forte concentration francophone a été favorablement accueilli par l'Association des enseignantes et des enseignants francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick. Manifestement, tous reconnaissent que les jeunes Francophones doivent acquérir les compétences en langue seconde qu'exige le marché du travail.

Au Québec, entre-temps, où il n'existe pas de programme d'immersion en anglais et où les cours intensifs d'anglais langue seconde sont très peu nombreux, les écoles francophones ont entrepris la mise en œuvre progressive d'un nouveau programme qui est davantage axé sur l'aptitude à communiquer que la méthode antérieure. Par contre, le ministère de l'Éducation a encore une fois reporté l'adoption d'une note de passage en anglais pour l'obtention du diplôme de secondaire 5, ce qui aurait mis les élèves francophones sur un pied d'égalité avec leurs homologues anglophones, qui doivent réussir leurs cours de français pour obtenir leur diplôme d'études secondaires. En reportant cette mesure de 1986 à 1990, on voulait permettre aux commissions scolaires de mettre en place les nouveaux programmes d'anglais langue seconde à tous les niveaux du secondaire.

Il y a trois ans, la Commission scolaire de Châteauguay est délibérément allée à l'encontre de la politique provinciale qui interdit l'enseignement de l'anglais aux Francophones avant la quatrième année, faisant valoir que la province ne pouvait pas limiter indûment son droit de déterminer le programme d'études. En réponse à une demande de jugement déclaratoire sur la question présentée par plusieurs commissions scolaires, tant de langue française que de langue anglaise, la Cour supérieure du Québec a déclaré l'automne dernier que la province avait effectivement droit de regard sur les programmes d'études dans les écoles élémentaires et secondaires. Cette décision à caractère essentiellement technique a pour effet de donner un statut différent à l'enseignement du français et de l'anglais langues secondes au Québec ; mais la vigueur relative de ces deux langues dans le contexte nord-américain, en 1985, rend cette distinction inévitable, même si nous attendons avec impatience le jour où elle sera inutile.

L'enseignement de la langue seconde au postsecondaire

Depuis plusieurs années, dans nos rapports annuels, nous n'avons pas été tendres à l'égard des universités canadiennes qui refusent de rétablir la connaissance de la langue seconde comme condition d'admission.

Désireux de vérifier notre information, et espérant que quelque bonne nouvelle nous avait échappé, nous avons effectué un sondage auprès du bureau du registraire de toutes les universités canadiennes, sauf pour la Colombie-Britannique où les trois établissements postsecondaires importants ont déjà rétabli cette exigence. Hélas, nous sommes forcés de reprendre notre vieille rengaine : sur une soixantaine d'établissements, seulement trois universités et trois facultés bilingues ou collèges affiliés exigent une certaine connaissance de la langue seconde comme condition d'admission, tandis que deux établissements exigent de tous leurs étudiants qu'ils connaissent l'autre langue pour obtenir un diplôme. Qu'attendent donc les autres ? L'obligation de connaître l'autre langue officielle, comme condition d'entrée ou de sortie, ne favoriserait-elle pas un retour aux normes d'il y a une génération (considérées comme plus élevées) tout en permettant de répondre aux aspirations des étudiants d'aujourd'hui ?

Les cours en français

Les cours offerts dans les universités et les collèges soulèvent encore une fois la question de l'accès et du choix. Comme le déclarait en novembre 1984 le Secrétaire d'État de l'époque, l'honorable Walter McLean, à l'Association canadienne des professeurs d'université : « ... l'accessibilité signifie un choix de cours dans l'une et l'autre langues officielles de manière que les étudiants ne soient pas forcés de s'instruire dans un milieu culturel et linguistique qui leur soit étranger. Cela signifie aussi que les élèves des classes immersives qui maîtrisent bien leur seconde langue peuvent poursuivre leurs études dans cette langue s'ils le désirent[1]. » Fort heureusement, le nombre d'universités qui prennent ce message au sérieux augmente sensiblement. Nous mettrons d'ailleurs en lumière, dans notre tour d'horizon national, nombre de réalisations prometteuses à cet égard, de Terre-Neuve jusqu'à l'île de Vancouver.

Nous devons certes féliciter les universités anglophones qui ont pris des mesures concrètes pour faire du français, comme le disait un professeur, une « langue officielle supplémentaire ». Celles qui offrent des cours en français, destinés principalement aux diplômés des programmes immersifs, estiment toutefois que les effectifs sont encore extrêmement faibles. Mais qu'à cela ne tienne ; comme nous l'avons indiqué, la vague d'élèves des programmes immersifs a encore quelques années à faire avant d'atteindre le postsecondaire, ce qui explique que la clientèle actuelle demeure peu nombreuse et éparse. Mais c'est maintenant qu'il faut se préparer.

Autres organisations

D'autres organisations s'intéressant à l'éducation se sont aussi employées en 1985 à promouvoir le bilinguisme à l'université. La Canadian Parents for French a tenu trois conférences sur la question, soit à Winnipeg, à Charlottetown et à Toronto, et sa section de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard a publié un excellent guide sur la situation à cet égard dans les provinces atlantiques[2]. Pour sa part, la section de l'Ontario a diffusé une brochure sur les programmes bilingues offerts dans les collèges et universités de la province et elle envisage d'organiser des réunions annuelles sur la question. Enfin, la *Revue canadienne des langues vivantes* a publié un supplément sur l'enseignement postsecondaire bilingue.

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[1] Notre traduction.

[2] *French Immersion Graduates — What Are Atlantic Canada's Colleges and Universities Offering Them ?*

Échanges et autres possibilités d'enrichissement

Les programmes d'échanges

Qu'il est réconfortant d'entendre des linguistes, des enseignants, des hauts fonctionnaires et des politiques défendre avec tant d'enthousiasme les programmes d'échanges en tant que partie intégrante de l'apprentissage de la langue seconde et comme moyen indispensable d'établir une nation bilingue. Jusqu'ici, personne ne s'est opposé à l'appel que le Commissaire aux langues officielles lançait dans son Rapport annuel de 1971-1972 en vue de « mobiliser massivement les jeunes dans un échange spontané d'idées », par le biais de visites bilingues, de moniteurs dans les classes et d'autres moyens semblables. Il est par contre plutôt triste de voir ce qu'il advient des programmes d'échanges et d'autres projets financés par le gouvernement visant à rendre plus vivants l'apprentissage et l'utilisation de la langue.

Ainsi, le budget d'Hospitalité Canada, qui sert à payer les frais de voyage des jeunes de 14 à 21 ans qui participent à des échanges, a de nouveau été réduit en 1985. Des organismes comme la Société éducative de visites et d'échanges au Canada ont dû consacrer beaucoup de temps et d'énergie simplement pour obtenir les fonds leur permettant de maintenir leurs services.

Combien d'élèves ont l'occasion grâce à des échanges de communiquer avec des jeunes de l'autre groupe linguistique ? En 1985, on dénombrait au Canada environ 2,3 millions d'élèves de l'élémentaire et du secondaire dans des programmes de langue seconde. Or, sans disposer de données exactes pour tous les types d'échanges, dont beaucoup étaient sans caractère officiel et ne bénéficiaient d'aucune aide gouvernementale, nous estimons que moins de 1 p.100 de tous les élèves ont participé à des échanges. Comment une activité jugée *nécessaire* peut-elle être offerte à une si petite proportion du groupe cible ? De toute évidence, il y a quelque chose qui cloche.

L'un des problèmes est qu'il n'y a pas de source unique de financement. Le programme fédéral Hospitalité Canada sert à subventionner toutes sortes d'échanges, l'apprentissage de la langue seconde n'étant qu'un objectif parmi d'autres, mais il ne s'applique pas aux enfants âgés de moins de 14 ans. Quant aux ministères de l'Éducation qui parviennent à affecter des fonds aux échanges linguistiques, dans le cadre de l'accord fédéral-provincial, ils ne font, encore une fois, que prendre à Pierre pour donner à Paul, puisqu'ils se trouvent ainsi à couper les vivres à d'autres activités. Il n'est donc pas étonnant que peu de provinces choisissent de financer les échanges de cette manière.

Par ailleurs, la province qui est disposée à assumer les frais de voyage de ses élèves se bute inévitablement à un obstacle : le Québec, destination « naturelle » des jeunes Anglophones participant à un programme d'échanges, ne peut répondre à la demande et payer les frais de voyage de *ses* élèves dans les autres régions du pays. Après avoir revendiqué en vain pendant des années l'accroissement des fonds destinés aux échanges bilingues par le biais des programmes existants, nous croyons que le moment est venu de demander l'établissement d'un programme national pour les élèves de l'élémentaire et du secondaire. Assurément, ce serait pure perte que de consacrer des sommes appréciables à l'enseignement de la langue seconde sans tirer parti du moyen le plus susceptible de le faire fructifier. Que ce soit au titre d'un nouveau programme ou à même un programme existant, il faut absolument réserver des fonds aux échanges ; c'est la seule façon d'accroître

les possibilités lamentablement limitées qui s'offrent actuellement aux jeunes. Nous ne pouvons l'exprimer mieux que cette étudiante du secondaire de la ville de Québec qui a écrit à ce sujet, dans une lettre à un journal : « ... le coût en vaut la peine, car maintenant, nous maîtrisons bien l'anglais et nous avons vécu une expérience inoubliable. Je souhaite à beaucoup de jeunes de vivre comme moi un stage aussi enrichissant[1]. »

Programme de moniteurs des langues officielles

Les échanges ne sont pas la seule activité importante reliée à l'apprentissage de la langue seconde chez les jeunes qui soit sous-estimée par les décisionnaires. Une des initiatives qui a connu le plus de succès au cours des deux dernières décennies a été le Programme de moniteurs, financé par le Secrétariat d'État et dirigé par le Conseil des ministres de l'Éducation du Canada. Ce programme permet à des étudiants d'université de poursuivre leurs études dans leur seconde langue officielle dans une autre province, tout en étant rémunérés à titre d'aides pédagogiques pour des cours où leur première langue est enseignée comme langue seconde. Non seulement les étudiants de ces classes bénéficient-ils grandement d'un contact avec un locuteur d'origine « en chair et en os » autre que leur professeur, mais le programme a aussi des retombées très avantageuses. Par exemple, une proportion appréciable de ces jeunes demeurent dans leur province d'accueil ou y retournent pour répondre à la demande pressante de titulaires de cours immersifs et de professeurs de langue en général. Plusieurs provinces en sont même venues à compter sur cette conséquence inattendue du programme.

Que dire de l'envergure de cette initiative ? En 1985, ils étaient à peine plus d'un millier de moniteurs de langue seconde, plus une poignée d'autres à l'œuvre dans les classes de la minorité francophone. Les hausses annuelles dérisoires des subventions accordées à ce titre sont tout à fait disproportionnées à la demande. Pourtant, dans le Rapport annuel de 1971-1972, le Commissariat prévoyait un contingent de dizaines de milliers d'étudiants-moniteurs, et ce quelques années à peine après la création du programme. Comment une initiative aussi bénéfique peut-elle être si pauvrement soutenue ?

Faits saillants de 1985

Nous avons toutefois pu voir, au cours de l'année, de nombreux exemples d'innovation en matière d'activités parascolaires destinées à mettre les élèves en contact direct avec la langue qu'ils apprennent.

- La Société éducative de visites et d'échanges au Canada a mis en place un programme de « Contacts culturels » visant à améliorer le contenu éducatif des visites « à sens unique » effectuées au Québec par les classes qui ne peuvent prendre part à des échanges ;
- au Québec, on a entrepris un projet pilote dont le but est d'amener des élèves de l'extérieur de la province à des cégeps de langue anglaise situés dans des secteurs majoritairement francophones ;
- les échanges peuvent aussi se faire entre régions voisines ; ainsi, des élèves en cours immersifs d'Uxbridge, en Ontario, ont visité des Francophones de la collectivité avoisinante d'Agincourt ;

[1] *Le Soleil*, le 27 mai 1985.

- le Musée d'anthropologie de l'Université de la Colombie-Britannique, à Vancouver, offre désormais des visites guidées et des conférences en français, tout comme la Mendel Art Gallery de Saskatoon ;
- le Centre d'éducation bilingue de l'Université de Regina organise pour les classes immersives des journées d'activités en français qui servent à enrichir la composante culturelle de l'apprentissage de la langue ;
- des camps d'été immersifs pour la famille, mis sur pied notamment dans la vallée de l'Okanagan, en Colombie-Britannique, ont connu un franc succès.

Ce dernier programme n'est qu'une des initiatives dues aux efforts de la Canadian Parents for French. Faute d'espace, nous ne pouvons signaler que quelques-unes des activités organisées en 1985 par cette association extraordinairement efficace : le Festival d'art oratoire, qui s'est déroulé en mai à Ottawa et qui a permis aux lauréats des concours provinciaux de faire étalage de leurs talents ; la production d'un nouveau guide destiné aux parents et aux enseignants, et intitulé *More French, S'il Vous Plaît* ; et la réalisation d'enquêtes nationales sur les programmes cadres de français ainsi que sur les programmes de rattrapage et d'enrichissement offerts aux élèves des cours immersifs.

Bien que la Canadian Parents for French ait réussi des merveilles avec un budget minime, cela ne veut pas dire que tout doit *nécessairement* se faire à peu de frais ou grâce à des bénévoles. Si seulement les gouvernements manifestaient le même enthousiasme et le même engagement dont font actuellement preuve des milliers de Canadiens...

Tour d'horizon

Terre-Neuve

Les effectifs et le nombre des classes ont continué d'augmenter partout dans la province, bien qu'à Saint-Jean on ait connu une grave pénurie de locaux pour les classes d'immersion longue. Le problème a été réglé au début de l'année scolaire 1985-1986, mais il a mis en lumière la nécessité d'une planification à long terme. La section locale de la Canadian Parents for French a produit un rapport sur le sujet[1], où il était question, entre autres choses, de l'expansion des programmes immersifs et des programmes cadres de français, de l'amélioration de la qualité des programmes existants et de la formation des enseignants pour les deux types de programmes.

Par ailleurs, un groupe de l'université Memorial effectue une étude à l'échelle de la province portant sur les élèves des cours immersifs de première, deuxième et troisième année. Grâce à une aide financière du Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines et du Secrétariat d'État, il tentera de cerner les causes des différences éventuelles sur le plan du rendement chez les élèves des cours d'immersion longue.

L'université Memorial a aussi ajouté un élément novateur à ses programmes d'été d'anglais langue seconde. En effet, les étudiants francophones peuvent travailler au sein d'associations volontaires et perfectionner ainsi leur anglais, tout en apprenant à connaître le milieu.

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[1] *Ten Years Later: French Immersion and the Need for Planning.*

Île-du-Prince-Édouard

Si les effectifs des programmes immersifs sont à la hausse, on s'inquiète de la quantité de français enseigné au premier et au deuxième cycle du secondaire ; dans certaines classes supérieures, on ne donne qu'un seul cours en français.

Par suite d'une étude des programmes cadres de français, entreprise en février 1984, un rapport a été présenté au ministre de l'Éducation, mais est resté sans suite. Les auteurs du document ont proposé divers moyens de garantir que les élèves terminant le programme cadre de français possèdent, à la fin de la douzième année, une assez bonne connaissance de cette langue, et qu'ils sont en mesure d'entretenir une conversation simple ou de lire des textes à l'aide d'un dictionnaire.

L'Université de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard a quant à elle réalisé une étude qui lui a fait voir la nécessité d'élargir ses programmes en français pour inciter les diplômés des cours immersifs à demeurer dans la province.

Nouvelle-Écosse

Bien que les effectifs des programmes immersifs continuent d'augmenter à certains endroits, les parents de la région de Sydney livrent bataille depuis longtemps pour obtenir le rétablissement des cours d'immersion en français, supprimés il y a plusieurs années. Le conseil scolaire local a récemment distribué un questionnaire pour connaître l'opinion de la population à ce sujet. Nous ne doutons pas que les résultats seront favorables, et nous espérons qu'il y donnera suite.

À Clare-Argyle, le programme pilote d'immersion en français, durement gagné, englobe désormais la deuxième année, tandis que les sections locales de la Canadian Parents for French ont organisé à Amherst et à Halifax-Darmouth des programmes en français très fructueux pour les enfants d'âge préscolaire.

Par ailleurs, l'université Mount St. Vincent étudie actuellement la possibilité d'offrir des cours de beaux-arts et d'études religieuses en français, tandis que l'université Sainte-Anne a mis sur pied un programme d'immersion en français destiné aux ministres et aux députés provinciaux.

Nouveau-Brunswick

Plusieurs recommandations ont été formulées au sujet de l'enseignement de la langue seconde, tant dans les programmes cadres qu'en immersion : d'abord dans un rapport du Cabinet de la réforme gouvernementale, puis dans un rapport présenté au ministère de l'Éducation par le professeur Stern, de l'Institut d'études pédagogiques de l'Ontario. Dans les deux cas, on a suggéré de revoir complètement le programme cadre. Parmi les recommandations du Cabinet, signalons les suivantes :

- que l'enseignement dispensé dans les écoles publiques permette aux élèves d'acquérir une compétence suffisante dans leur langue seconde pour répondre aux besoins sociaux et à certaines exigences du milieu du travail ;
- qu'à cette fin le ministère de l'Éducation remplace le programme cadre par un programme enrichi. Ainsi, les Francophones et les Anglophones qui demeurent respectivement dans des milieux à prédominance française ou anglaise commenceraient à apprendre leur langue seconde dès la première année (plutôt qu'en troisième) et suivraient au moins un autre cours dans leur langue seconde à compter de la troisième année au plus tard.

D'autre part, le Cabinet de la réforme gouvernementale critique dans son rapport la prolifération non planifiée de programmes d'immersion longue et courte en français, et met en question leur efficacité. Il recommande au ministère de l'Éducation

de veiller à ce que ces programmes ne minent pas la qualité des programmes cadres. D'après lui, il s'agit « d'offrir un choix objectif aux parents dont l'un des enfants entreprend sa première année, plutôt que de permettre que se produise une situation où, du point de vue installations et autres ressources, les parents considèrent que le seul moyen pour leurs enfants d'acquérir une bonne éducation est de les inscrire à un programme d'immersion totale précoce. »

Le ton de cette déclaration, ainsi que les suggestions contenues dans le rapport Stern, ont alarmé les défenseurs de l'enseignement immersif qui craignaient pour la survie du programme. À la fin de l'année, plusieurs conseils scolaires, le ministère de l'Éducation et la Canadian Parents for French discutaient toujours des modifications éventuelles au programme immersif, mais aucune mesure n'avait encore été prise.

Mount Allison, de concert avec l'université St. Thomas et l'Université du Nouveau-Brunswick, décerne un certificat en bilinguisme aux diplômés admissibles. Ces deux derniers établissements offrent déjà des cours en français, tandis que le premier examine la possibilité de le faire.

Québec Quelque 15 000 élèves des écoles anglophones du Québec suivent actuellement des programmes immersifs, ce qui correspond grosso modo aux données de l'an dernier. En outre, 17 595 Anglophones fréquentent des écoles françaises.

Quiconque connaît un peu la législation québécoise en matière linguistique sait qu'une des raisons pour lesquelles on y a adopté le projet de loi 22 et les dispositions sur l'éducation de la *Charte de la langue française* était que bien des élèves venant de familles ni francophones ni anglophones tendaient à s'inscrire à l'école anglaise. Au printemps, le Conseil de la langue française a publié un rapport dans lequel il signale un changement important dans la langue de scolarisation de ces « Allophones ». Alors qu'en 1977-1978, seulement 30 p.100 d'entre eux fréquentaient des écoles de langue française, cette proportion atteint maintenant 57 p.100. De plus, parmi les élèves ni francophones ni anglophones nés à l'étranger, 85 p.100 fréquentent l'école française contre seulement 27 p.100 en 1976-1977.

Ontario Le nouveau système de crédits d'études secondaires de l'Ontario n'est pas très exigeant en ce qui a trait au français ; le ministère de l'Éducation a en effet ramené de 1 200 à 1 080 le nombre d'heures d'étude requises pour l'obtention d'un crédit de cours de base en français, et il a donné aux conseils scolaires jusqu'en 1996 pour se doter des moyens d'offrir à leurs élèves ce cours pourtant des plus anémiques.

Bien que plus de 60 conseils scolaires offrent désormais des programmes immersifs, ceux des régions rurales sont les moins portés à se lancer dans cette voie et les parents se plaignent d'être défavorisés par rapport aux résidants des grands centres. D'autre part, le manque de programmes bilingues au secondaire destinés aux élèves ayant suivi des cours immersifs à l'élémentaire incite un trop grand nombre d'Anglophones à s'inscrire aux écoles secondaires de langue française, ce qui n'est pas dans l'intérêt du système d'enseignement franco-ontarien.

Un nombre appréciable de conseils scolaires ont cédé aux pressions visant à faire commencer l'enseignement du français, dans les programmes cadres, dès la quatrième année. Cependant, le comté de Wellington a été le théâtre d'une bataille du

genre de celles dont nous avons fait état plus haut, où l'on s'est disputé sur les coûts et les avantages relatifs de l'immersion longue et des programmes cadres de français offerts dès les petites classes. Dans son rapport d'étude, un expert-conseil a préconisé que les programmes immersifs ne commencent qu'en quatrième année, ce qui supposerait l'abandon du programme existant qui débute à la maternelle. Comme compromis, on a proposé un programme cadre amélioré et commençant plus tôt. En fin de compte, le conseil a dû se plier aux protestations des parents et s'engager à offrir ce dernier, tout en maintenant l'immersion longue.

Sur le front postsecondaire, signalons que la Commission Bovey sur l'avenir de l'enseignement postsecondaire en Ontario a recommandé dans son rapport qu'on offre davantage de cours en français. Au moins deux établissements sont venus grossir les rangs de ceux qui avaient déjà pris des mesures à ce sujet. En effet, l'université Western Ontario a établi un comité spécial sur les programmes de français, tandis que l'Université de Waterloo a pris plusieurs initiatives, dont les plus intéressantes sont sans doute des échanges d'étudiants en génie avec deux universités de France, ainsi que des stages de travail dans des régions francophones du Canada. On étudie également des activités reliées à la langue et à la culture françaises, et destinées aux étudiants en génie.

Manitoba Au Manitoba, il semble que plus ça change, plus c'est pareil. Pour la troisième année consécutive, des parents ont contesté devant les tribunaux le refus d'un conseil scolaire de payer les frais de transport de leurs enfants qui suivent des programmes d'immersion en français dans des écoles éloignées. Cette fois, cela s'est déroulé à Thompson, où le conseil scolaire est demeuré inflexible malgré le jugement rendu l'an dernier à l'endroit du conseil de St. James-Assiniboia, qui avait été reconnu coupable de discrimination du fait qu'il assurait le transport des élèves inscrits aux programmes anglais, mais non de ceux participant à des programmes immersifs. La section locale de la Canadian Parents for French, qui a dû organiser le transport, à grands frais pour les parents, a intenté une poursuite à la fin de 1985. Aux prises avec le même problème, les parents de Brandon attendent eux aussi impatiemment la décision du tribunal dans cette affaire.

En avril, les sections de la Saskatchewan et du Manitoba de la Canadian Parents for French ont tenu à Winnipeg une conférence sur l'enseignement postsecondaire bilingue. On y a notamment recommandé que les écoles secondaires du Manitoba offrent un plus vaste éventail de cours en français afin que les diplômés de l'immersion soient en mesure d'étudier dans cette langue à l'université.

Saskatchewan La Canadian Parents for French a intenté une autre action contre un conseil scolaire, en l'occurrence la Weyburn School Division, qui refusait d'instituer un programme d'immersion en français malgré les dispositions en ce sens de la loi scolaire lorsqu'une pétition en bonne et due forme est présentée par un groupe de parents. Les défenseurs de l'enseignement immersif ont été déboutés, aussi bien à la Cour du Banc de la reine qu'à la Cour d'appel, du fait que la section provinciale de l'Association qui avait intenté la poursuite ne constituait pas selon la loi un groupe de parents d'élèves fréquentant les écoles locales. Le juge a cependant déclaré que son jugement aurait probablement été favorable si la requête avait été présentée par un tel groupe, ce qui laisse supposer que les parents visés ont de bonnes chances d'obtenir gain de cause éventuellement.

Alberta Au début de l'année, des parents de Calgary ont de nouveau fait la queue toute la nuit pour inscrire leurs enfants à des programmes d'immersion en français, malgré la promesse des autorités d'augmenter les fonds afin d'élargir l'accès à ces programmes.

Colombie-Britannique Les restrictions budgétaires se sont avérées plus préjudiciables aux programmes cadres de français, où les professeurs sont des surnuméraires itinérants, qu'aux programmes immersifs. Un programme visant à recycler les enseignants en améliorant leurs compétences linguistiques a connu un succès relatif ; il sera tout de même maintenu, mais on accroîtra les incitations financières pour les participants, qui doivent sacrifier une année de salaire à leur perfectionnement.

Dans le district scolaire de Cowichan, le prolongement des classes immersives au premier cycle du secondaire demeure une question controversée. Le ministre de l'Éducation a même révoqué, entre autres, le mandat des administrateurs scolaires de l'endroit, qui étaient réticents face à ce projet. Les parents d'élèves inscrits à des programmes immersifs songent à intenter des poursuites en vertu de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés*.

Par ailleurs, Expo 86 ravive l'intérêt au sujet du bilinguisme ; on envisage notamment de faire loger chez les élèves des programmes d'immersion en français les étudiants du Québec qui viendront y travailler.

Yukon L'immersion en français conserve sa popularité à Whitehorse, et il faudra même augmenter cette année le nombre de classes de maternelle pour répondre à la demande.

En ce qui concerne les programmes cadres, on a noté cette année ce qui pourrait bien être une percée : à titre de projet pilote, trois écoles offrent maintenant le programme dès la première année plutôt qu'à compter de la cinquième. Dans certaines collectivités, le français doit malheureusement rivaliser avec les langues autochtones. Pour éviter ce genre de situation, il faudra faire preuve d'ingéniosité et, sans aucun doute, délier les cordons de la bourse.

Territoires du Nord-Ouest Le français langue seconde est enseigné dans un grand nombre d'écoles dans les Territoires. Le programme cadre est offert dans toutes les écoles des principales collectivités ; en fait, le français y est souvent enseigné avec succès comme troisième langue aux enfants dont la langue maternelle est l'inuktitut. Le problème est de trouver et de retenir des enseignants compétents, d'autant plus qu'il est difficile de leur assurer un emploi à plein temps à cause d'un manque de fonds.

L'immersion en français n'est offerte qu'à Yellowknife, où les élèves les plus âgés ont atteint le secondaire. Il faut maintenant à tout prix coordonner les deux systèmes parallèles de cours immersifs à l'élémentaire dans les écoles publiques et les écoles séparées. À Inuvik et à Hay River, les parents ont également manifesté leur désir d'avoir des programmes d'immersion en français.

Recommandations

- Nous recommandons de nouveau que les universités de langue anglaise exigent la connaissance des deux langues officielles (attestée par des crédits d'études secondaires) comme condition d'admission aux programmes de premier cycle.
- Nous recommandons que le Secrétariat d'État examine la possibilité de créer un programme national d'échanges bilingues pour les enfants et les jeunes.

Les langues non officielles : la suite de l'Histoire

Bien que le mandat du Commissaire aux langues officielles ne concerne essentiellement que le français et l'anglais, la situation et l'évolution des autres langues sont inévitablement liées à l'idée que se font les Canadiens de la justice en matière linguistique. De nombreux jeunes Canadiens ont la chance de pouvoir apprendre non seulement leur deuxième langue officielle, mais aussi, selon la région qu'ils habitent, soit la langue de leurs ancêtres, soit une langue moderne de leur choix, et cela dans un milieu où cette langue constitue une présence vivante. Dans ce chapitre, nous passerons brièvement en revue l'enseignement de ces langues, tout d'abord dans les écoles « complémentaires » dirigées par des groupes communautaires en marge du système scolaire ordinaire ; dans le cadre de programmes provinciaux d'enseignement des langues patrimoniales ; dans celui des programmes bilingues subventionnés par les provinces ; et en tant que langues modernes au sein du système scolaire. Enfin, nous traiterons de l'enseignement des langues autochtones.

L'enseignement et l'apprentissage des autres langues

À mesure que les autres groupes linguistiques ont gagné en importance, à la fois en ce qui a trait aux langues parlées et au nombre de leurs locuteurs, l'enseignement et l'apprentissage des langues autres que le français et l'anglais ont eux aussi progressé. Bien qu'il soit difficile d'obtenir des statistiques sur les effectifs scolaires de la génération précédente, il apparaît clairement que, depuis quelques décennies, les classes de langues patrimoniales et les programmes scolaires bilingues comprenant une « autre » langue ont pris le pas sur les cours traditionnels de langue seconde à l'école secondaire, à la fois quantitativement et géographiquement. Si l'on observe les taux d'inscriptions, on constate une forte corrélation entre la répartition régionale des différentes collectivités linguistiques et les programmes de langues patrimoniales ou les programme bilingues comprenant l'enseignement de ces langues. Il existe également, ce qui est moins évident, une corrélation entre l'endroit où vivent les divers groupes linguistiques et la disponibilité des cours de langues modernes.

Nous savons que bien des enfants qui étudient aujourd'hui l'une ou l'autre des langues non officielles sont nés et ont grandi dans un milieu linguistique entièrement différent, quoique nous ne puissions actuellement en déterminer le nombre. Si nous désirons dresser le tableau des options linguistiques actuelles et futures, et nous interroger sur l'influence générale qu'elles peuvent avoir dans des domaines aussi

variés que la politique éducative et sociale ou notre compétitivité sur les marchés internationaux, une telle information nous apparaît essentielle.

L'augmentation du nombre des étudiants dont la langue première diffère de celle de l'école n'est pas passée inaperçue. Comme l'indique un rapport récent sur l'enseignement des langues patrimoniales, « l'augmentation rapide du nombre des jeunes qui apprennent une langue non officielle a donné lieu à de nombreuses discussions sur la façon dont les systèmes scolaires canadiens devraient réagir face à la diversité culturelle et linguistique de leurs étudiants[1] ». Alors que l'enseignement du français et de l'anglais comme langues secondes au sein du système scolaire public n'a soulevé que relativement peu de controverses, ce n'est pas le cas pour les *autres* langues.

Si, dans leur politique respective, les gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux ne manquent pas de souligner l'importance des ressources linguistiques du Canada, il ne s'agit en général que de belles paroles, comme en témoigne le manque d'uniformité dans le subventionnement accordé à l'enseignement des autres langues. En ce sens, les positions gouvernementales ne constituent vraisemblablement qu'un reflet de la gamme extrêmement variée des attitudes des Canadiens, qui vont de l'opposition farouche à l'appui inconditionnel. Comme on le souligne dans le rapport cité précédemment :

> À Toronto, les partisans du programme de langues patrimoniales (y compris bien sûr le bailleur de fonds, le ministère ontarien de l'Éducation), ont considéré la promotion des langues patrimoniales comme un avantage en matière d'enseignement pour les étudiants issus des minorités, en ce qu'elle renforçait la cohésion et la communication entre les enfants et les adultes au sein des familles allophones et qu'elle permettait d'élargir les horizons sociaux et culturels de tous les étudiants. Ses adversaires, pour leur part, estiment que l'enseignement des langues patrimoniales constitue un facteur de discorde, qu'on y engloutit des montants excessifs et qu'il s'agit d'un programme rétrograde en raison du fait que les étudiants des minorités ont besoin d'apprendre l'anglais[2].

Les classes en marge du système scolaire

À l'heure actuelle, l'enseignement à temps partiel d'autres langues, en cours du soir ou pendant les fins de semaine, est partiellement subventionné par le Programme de multiculturalisme du gouvernement fédéral et, dans certains cas, par des programmes provinciaux axés sur ce que l'on appelle désormais les langues « patrimoniales » ou « ancestrales ». C'est à la suite de fortes pressions des communautés culturelles elles-mêmes que fut créé en 1977 le programme fédéral. Son budget, relativement modeste à l'origine, atteignit 1 364 000 $ en 1980-1981 et 3 964 000 $ en 1984-1985. Ce programme offre une aide aux écoles dites « complémentaires », ainsi qu'à la formation des enseignants et à la création de matériels didactiques. La plus grande partie du budget, environ 86 p.100, est versée directement aux établissements scolaires de toutes les provinces. Le tableau V.6 donne un aperçu assez complet de la répartition des ressources par province.

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[1] James Cummins *et al.*, *Heritage Language Education, A Literature Review*, rapport commandé par le ministère ontarien de l'Éducation (notre traduction).

[2] *Ibid.*

Tableau V.6

Nombre d'écoles, de classes et d'étudiants subventionnés par le Programme d'épanouissement culturel, selon la province, 1984-1985

Province	Nombre d'écoles	Nombre de classes	Nombre d'étudiants	Subvention totale
Terre-Neuve	5	14	190	8 505 $
Nouveau- Brunswick	11	33	285	14 725
Nouvelle-Écosse	20	115	959	35 890
Île-du-Prince-Édouard	3	4	31	1 650
Québec	186	1 229	20 507	561 301
Ontario	685	3 831	64 789	1 757 077
Manitoba	164	603	9 260	330 425
Saskatchewan	58	201	1 704	77 555
Alberta	115	634	8 292	274 880
Colombie-Britannique	174	845	11 598	362 805
Total	**1 421**	**7 509**	**117 615**	**3 424 813**

Source : Secrétariat d'État.

Grâce au Programme d'épanouissement culturel, quelque 60 langues ont été enseignées l'année dernière dans les écoles complémentaires. Le tableau V.7 énumère les dix langues les plus populaires auprès des étudiants.

Certaines provinces subventionnent également l'enseignement de langues non officielles dans les écoles complémentaires. Le Manitoba et la Saskatchewan offrent de tels programmes, et apportent souvent une aide financière à des groupes qui bénéficient déjà d'une aide fédérale ; mais le Québec est la seule province où les communautés ethniques dirigent elles-mêmes des programmes à temps complet. En effet, le gouvernement québécois finance à 80 p.100 les écoles privées, à condition qu'une forte proportion de l'enseignement se fasse en français. Il existe par exemple 23 écoles juives, 2 grecques et 2 arméniennes qui offrent toutes l'enseignement d'une troisième langue.

Les langues patrimoniales en tant que matières

Depuis 1977, le gouvernement de l'Ontario subventionne les conseils scolaires afin qu'ils offrent jusqu'à deux heures et demie par semaine d'enseignement des langues patrimoniales en dehors de leur programme ordinaire qui dure cinq heures par jour. Il existe ainsi trois possibilités : l'enseignement pendant les fins de semaine, après les heures de cours, ou intégré à une journée d'école prolongée d'une demi-heure. Les inscriptions au programme ontarien de langues patrimoniales sont passées de 53 000 en 1977 à 90 981 en 1984-1985. Pour sa part, le Québec a créé en 1978 le Programme de l'enseignement des langues d'origine. Les langues suivantes sont enseignées à raison de 30 minutes par jour pendant les heures de classe : le grec,

Tableau V.7

Effectifs des écoles complémentaires subventionnées par le Programme d'épanouissement culturel, selon la langue patrimoniale étudiée, 1984-1985

Langue	Effectif
Italien	17 850
Grec	15 065
Hébreu/yiddish	13 087
Chinois	11 420
Allemand	10 851
Hébreu	9 240
Ukrainien	5 841
Portugais	4 828
Arabe	3 367
Créole haïtien	2 599

Source : Secrétariat d'État.

l'italien, le portugais, l'espagnol, le vietnamien, le laotien, le chinois, le cambodgien, l'hébreu et l'arabe. Le nombre d'étudiants inscrits à ce programme entièrement financé par le gouvernement provincial est passé de 2 566 en 1983-1984 à 3 449 en 1984-1985.

Les programmes bilingues subventionnés par les provinces

Plusieurs provinces ont créé des programmes d'enseignement bilingue au sein de leur système scolaire. Dans chacune des provinces de la Prairie, il existe des écoles ou des programmes bilingues portant sur les principales langues parlées dans ces régions. L'Alberta a été la première à réagir officiellement aux attentes de ses communautés ethniques en matière linguistique : depuis 1971, les langues patrimoniales peuvent être utilisées pour l'enseignement pendant 100 p.100 du temps à la maternelle et 50 p.100 à l'élémentaire. La Saskatchewan et le Manitoba emboîtèrent le pas en 1978 et en 1979 respectivement. Les trois provinces offrent actuellement des programmes bilingues comprenant l'ukrainien, l'allemand et l'hébreu ; on trouve en outre au Manitoba des programmes bilingues en chinois, en arabe et en polonais. En 1984-1985, l'effectif total s'élevait à 2 647 en Alberta, 1 691 en Saskatchewan et 1 294 au Manitoba.

L'enseignement des langues modernes et classiques

Les classes de langue seconde traditionnelles ne constituent donc plus pour les écoliers canadiens la principale méthode d'apprentissage des langues autres que le français et l'anglais. Il n'en reste pas moins que le nombre d'entre eux qui suivent de tels cours est impressionnant. Une enquête téléphonique auprès des ministères provinciaux de l'Éducation nous a permis de recueillir des statistiques pour l'année scolaire 1984-1985. Les chiffres donnés dans les tableaux V.8 et V.9 ne comprennent ni les programmes bilingues en milieu scolaire, ni les effectifs des écoles privées (à l'exception de celles de la Saskatchewan). Si certaines données sont

Tableau V.8

Effectifs des cours de langues autres que le français et l'anglais au niveau élémentaire, selon la province, 1984-1985

Langue	N.-É.	Man.	Sask.	Alb.	C.-B.	Total
Hébreu		1 461				1 461
Ukrainien		806	652	X[1]		1 458
Pilipino		303				303
Portugais		262				262
Allemand			138			138
Russe					129	129
Gaélique	99					99
Islandais		83				83
Latin		80				80
Polonais		53				53
Yiddish		41				41
Italien		23				23
Total des effectifs	**99**	**3 112**	**790**	**X[1]**	**129**	**4 130**
Total des langues	**1**	**9**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**12**

[1] L'ukrainien y est enseigné, mais on ne dispose d'aucune statistique.
Source : ministères provinciaux de l'Éducation.

approximatives, il y a tout lieu de croire qu'elles sont inférieures aux chiffres réels. Les effectifs sont énumérés par ordre décroissant pour les niveaux élémentaire et secondaire dans les provinces où l'on enseigne des langues non officielles et non autochtones. On remarquera que trois provinces — Terre-Neuve, l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard et le Nouveau-Brunswick — ne figurent pas dans ces tableaux ; c'est que seuls le français et l'anglais sont enseignés *au sein* de leurs systèmes scolaires.

À l'exclusion des langues autochtones, vingt langues différentes sont enseignées dans les écoles élémentaires et secondaires canadiennes à une population scolaire s'élevant à près de 46 000 élèves.

L'enseignement des langues autochtones

Malgré les difficultés particulières qu'ils soulèvent, l'enseignement et l'apprentissage des langues autochtones du Canada suivent une courbe ascendante. En vertu de la Constitution canadienne, l'enseignement aux Autochtones relève du gouvernement fédéral, dont les programmes sont dispensés dans des écoles fédérales ou

Tableau V.9

Effectifs des cours de langues autres que le français et l'anglais au niveau secondaire, selon la province, 1984-1985

Langue	N.-É.	Qué.	Ont.[2]	Man.	Sask.[3]	Alb.	C.-B.	Total
Allemand	328	50	4 297	4 944[4]	1 235	3 433	3 742	18 029
Latin	251	334	5 372	198	72	559	262	7 048
Espagnol	12	1 321	1 770	152		238	2 244	5 737
Italien		171	4 305	22		325	910	5 733
Ukrainien			52	567	1 112	1 117		2 908
Hébreu		708	X[5]			30		738
Portugais			385	167				552
Grec moderne		157	216					373
Chinois[1]			108				100	208
Russe		5	9				189	203
Polonais			85					85
Japonais							60	60
Pilipino				53				53
Gaélique	24							24
Finnois			22					22
Néerlandais			18					18
Lithuanien			16					16
Grec ancien			6					6
Yiddish			X[5]					X[5]
Total des effectifs	**615**	**2 746**	**16 661**	**6 103**	**2 419**	**5 762**	**7 507**	**41 813**
Langues	**4**	**7**	**15**	**8**	**3**	**6**	**7**	**20**

[1] Cantonais et mandarin.
[2] Les chiffres des écoles séparées (catholiques) sont incomplets.
[3] Incluant les écoles privées.
[4] Comprend l'allemand huttérite.
[5] La langue y est enseigné, mais on ne dispose d'aucune statistique.

Source : Ministères provinciaux de l'Éducation.

provinciales ou encore des écoles appartenant aux bandes. Le Yukon et les Territoires du Nord-Ouest assument l'entière responsabilité de l'enseignement des langues autochtones, tandis que quelques provinces offrent de leur propre initiative des cours de ces mêmes langues.

Programmes de formation des enseignants

Certaines langues peuvent présenter des problèmes particuliers : plusieurs d'entre elles, par exemple, n'ont aucune graphie normalisée, ou alors il manque de professeurs. Il existe cependant des programes de formation des maîtres à Frobisher Bay et à Fort Smith (T.N.-O.), qui sont assurés par le conseil scolaire Katavik (Québec) ; de même, l'université Lakehead et l'université Western Ontario en donnent parfois pendant l'été, et ce ne sont là que quelques exemples. Le Native Language Center, fruit de la collaboration entre le gouvernement territorial du Yukon et le Council for Yukon Indians, offre un cours de trois ans et connaîtra ses treize premiers diplômés en juin 1986. Cet organisme s'occupe également de la formation pédagogique de professeurs de langues athapascanes de la Colombie-Britannique, de l'Alaska et des Territoires du Nord-Ouest, dans le cadre du Yukon College Native Language Instructors Certificate Course, et joue un rôle innovateur dans le domaine de la formation d'enseignants peu scolarisés. D'autre part, le Saskatchewan Indian Languages Institute a assuré depuis 1972 la formation d'enseignants dans le cadre des programmes de baccalauréat en sciences de l'éducation, et a entrepris avec le Saskatchewan Indian Federated College (la seule université indienne au Canada) des pourparlers en vue de mettre sur pied un programme spécial permanent. Le tableau V.10 indique les effectifs des programmes du gouvernement fédéral.

Il n'existe pas de liste exhaustive des langues autochtones enseignées dans le cadre des programmes fédéraux, quoiqu'on sache que toutes les grandes familles sont représentées, et que le gouvernement a pour politique d'offrir à tous les étudiants autochtones la possibilité de maîtriser leur propre langue. Ainsi, on enseigne les langues algonquiennes depuis le Québec jusqu'en Alberta, et les langues athapascanes de la Saskatchewan à la Colombie-Britannique. Dans cette dernière, où les groupes linguistiques sont extrêmement diversifiés, on enseigne les langues wakashennes, tsimshennes, salishennes et tlingites, ainsi que l'haïda. Le mohawk, l'une des langues iroquoises, a suscité récemment un regain d'intérêt à Kanawake (Québec), où elle a pratiquement été réintroduite dans la collectivité grâce à un nouveau programme immersif, dont les étudiants les plus avancés sont à présent en troisième année. Enfin, on enseigne l'inuktitut et l'innu à Terre-Neuve, au Labrador et dans le Nord québécois. Il ne s'agit ici que de données fort incomplètes, recueillies rapidement ; nous accueillerions avec enthousiasme une étude plus poussée.

Quelques faits nouveaux dans le Grand Nord

L'enseignement des langues autochtones a connu une évolution très intéressante dans les Territoires. Le ministère de l'Éducation des Territoires du Nord-Ouest propose tous ses programmes d'enseignement depuis 1970. Dans l'est de l'Arctique canadien, pratiquement tous les étudiants autochtones, depuis la maternelle jusqu'à la neuvième année, reçoivent un enseignement en inuktitut. Dans les classes inférieures, elle est utilisée pour toutes les matières, tandis que les étudiants des classes supérieures l'apprennent comme langue seconde. Petit à petit, l'immersion en inuktitut est offerte à tous les niveaux, l'anglais étant la langue seconde. L'objectif de ce programme est de former des diplômés d'écoles secondaires bilingues anglais-inuktitut. Dans l'ouest de l'Arctique, où les langues autochtones sont pratiquement

Tableau V.10

Programmes fédéraux de langues autochtones ; effectifs par région et utilisation de la langue autochtone à l'école, 1984-1985

Région	Pas d'enseignement d'une langue autochtone	Utilisation comme langue d'enseignement	Enseignement comme matière seulement	Total
Atlantique	2 157	1,104	171	3 432
Québec	2 468	7 405	1 429	11 302
Ontario	6 297	5 488	2 327	14 112
Manitoba	8 367	2 825	3 473	14 665
Saskatchewan	5 152	4 669	3 268	13 089
Alberta	8 493	2 274	868	11 635
Yukon[1]	75	3	—	78
Colombie-Britannique	7 062	1 675	3 071	11 808
Canada	**40 071**	**25 443**	**14 607**	**80 121**

[1] Ces étudiants vont étudier dans les écoles de la Colombie-Britannique.

Source : Direction générale de l'éducation, Programme des affaires indiennes et inuit, Affaires indiennes et du Nord Canada.

en voie d'extinction, on enseigne l'inuvialuktun, le loucheux, l'esclave du Nord et du Sud, le flanc-de-chien et le chipewyan depuis la maternelle jusqu'à la neuvième dans bien des localités, mais parfois jusqu'à la deuxième ou la troisième année seulement. Ces cours sont offerts à un pourcentage moins élevé de la population autochtone dans l'ouest de l'Arctique que dans l'est. On nous a fait part du peu d'intérêt des non-Autochtones envers l'apprentissage de ces langues dans les Territoires du Nord-Ouest.

Cinq des sept langues autochtones parlées au Yukon sont enseignées comme matières dans les écoles : le tutchone du Nord et du Sud, le loucheux, le kaska et le tlingit. Environ 450 élèves, autochtones et non autochtones, sont inscrits dans les 14 écoles desservant une douzaine de collectivités. Les cours vont de la première à la sixième année, et jusqu'à la dixième dans quelques écoles. Ces programmes connaissent suffisamment de succès pour entraîner des effets secondaires encourageants : les parents non autochtones sont tellement impressionnés par les aptitudes de leurs enfants dans ces langues qu'ils désirent vivement leur faire aussi apprendre le français.

Les quinze dernières années ont vu un regain d'intérêt envers l'enseignement et la préservation des langues autochtones au Canada. Cela résultait en partie d'une forte tendance de la part des Canadiens autochtones à prendre leurs affaires en main, mais en partie également de la prise de conscience collective de la menace

d'extinction qui planait sur certaines langues et de la nécessité de mesures immédiates pour les protéger. C'est pourquoi on a connu, principalement au Yukon et dans les Territoires du Nord-Ouest, une vague de publication de manuels scolaires, une relance de la formation des professeurs et une augmentation du nombre de cours offerts. Toutefois, il reste encore beaucoup à faire dans ce domaine.

L'étude de ces programmes fournira aux spécialistes de l'enseignement des langues des éléments de comparaison d'une valeur inestimable avec l'enseignement du français. Le Commissariat présente ses meilleurs vœux de succès à tous ceux et celles qui participent à l'enseignement des langues autochtones.

Recommandation

Il est recommandé que toutes les parties concernées soient réunies grâce aux bons offices du Secrétariat d'État, afin d'étudier les possibilités réelles offertes aux écoliers canadiens d'étudier des langues autres que le français et l'anglais.

ANNEXES

Le Commissariat

Ainsi qu'il avait été prévu dans notre dernier rapport annuel, le Commissaire a revu au cours de l'année les orientations, les programmes et les structures administratives de son organisme. Il entendait s'assurer que lui-même et son personnel disposent des instruments nécessaires pour insuffler à la réforme du régime linguistique un esprit de renouveau et pour remplir aussi efficacement et économiquement que possible le rôle de protecteurs et de promoteurs des droits linguistiques au Canada que leur crée la *Loi sur les langues officielles*.

Les principaux changements apportés en 1985 ont donc été conçus pour permettre au Commissariat de mettre en pratique ce qu'il avait prêché dans son rapport de 1984 : une attaque directe et vigoureuse, non seulement dans la Capitale nationale mais aussi à la grandeur du pays, contre les obstacles à la réforme du régime linguistique. Il en est résulté trois modifications aux structures :

- La direction Analyse des politiques et Liaison a été remplacée par une direction des Politiques et une direction des Opérations régionales ; la première, qui disposera de ressources accrues, s'occupera de politique et de recherche ; la seconde sera chargée de la coordination entre l'administration centrale et les six bureaux régionaux, lesquels seront également dotés de moyens accrus.

- Les deux directions des Plaintes et des Vérifications ont été fondues en une seule. La nouvelle Direction a rationalisé ses méthodes d'examen et d'enquête concernant les plaintes, a accordé une plus grande place aux études transversales thématiques et a institué des suivis plus systématiques de ses vérifications.

- La direction des Communications (anciennement de l'Information) tendra à l'avenir vers un partage plus égal de son activité entre les divers éléments de la population, plutôt que de s'attacher en priorité aux programmes conçus pour la jeunesse.

Ces changements ont pour objet de permettre au Commissaire et à ses collègues d'intervenir plus souvent et de façon plus cohérente auprès des autorités fédérales, et d'encourager les autres administrations publiques et le secteur privé à faire preuve d'un dynamisme et d'un esprit de collaboration accrus dans leur soutien aux minorités de langue officielle. Le Commissaire et son personnel devraient donc être en meilleure posture pour exercer leur influence et faire des pressions morales

non seulement sur l'administration fédérale, mais aussi sur diverses autres autorités détenant des rôles clés dans la promotion de l'égalité linguistique.

Fonctions et activités en 1985

Le Commissaire

En cette première année complète de son mandat, le Commissaire s'est employé, pour une bonne part, à établir un large éventail de contacts au gouvernement, dans les universités et dans le secteur privé, et s'est adressé à de nombreux auditoires pour favoriser une meilleure compréhension de la Loi ; il a également supervisé la réorganisation du Commissariat.

Ces activités ont amené le Commissaire à se déplacer fréquemment ; il s'est ainsi rendu dans huit provinces et dans les deux Territoires, où il s'est entretenu avec des dirigeants politiques, des hauts fonctionnaires et des représentants des groupes minoritaires au sujet de questions locales et nationales. Ces visites, bien entendu, ont comporté des contacts avec les journalistes et des réunions avec les autorités du secteur de l'éducation. Parmi les communications les plus importantes du Commissaire, mentionnons celle de la conférence Falconbridge, à l'Université Laurentienne, et un discours à la Conférence internationale sur les droits des minorités, organisée par la Faculté de droit de l'université Laval.

L'un des faits les plus marquants de l'année 1985 pour le Commissaire a été l'organisation d'un colloque national sur les minorités de langue officielle qui s'est tenu en octobre à Ottawa et à Hull, sous le titre « Les minorités : le temps des solutions » (voir la partie IV). Le débat a réuni plus de cent personnes appartenant à divers milieux : représentants des minorités, personnalités politiques, hauts fonctionnaires, spécialistes du droit constitutionnel, éducateurs et représentants du secteur privé, qui se sont penchés sur divers problèmes intéressant les Francophones et les Anglophones vivant en situation minoritaire. D'après des entretiens ultérieurs avec, entre autres, le Premier ministre, le Secrétaire d'État et des membres du Comité mixte permanent de la politique et des programmes de langues officielles, le message du colloque était très clair, et il devrait faire l'objet de l'attention voulue. À la fin de l'année, le Commissaire a présenté officiellement au Comité ses propositions concernant la mise à jour et la révision de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*.

Politiques

Les principales tâches de la nouvelle direction des Politiques se résument ainsi : présenter au Commissaire et à son personnel des opinions d'ensemble et des analyses détaillées sur les lignes directrices, la législation, la réglementation et les arrêts des tribunaux concernant les langues officielles ; se tenir au courant des événements locaux et particuliers ayant des incidences linguistiques ; suivre attentivement les programmes gouvernementaux ainsi que les études, les enquêtes et autres initiatives en matière de langues officielles ; préparer des discours et des exposés pour le Commissaire et le Sous-Commissaire ; rédiger des parties importantes du Rapport annuel ; et assurer l'organisation et le suivi des conférences et autres manifestations patronnées par le Commissariat ou auxquels assistent ses représentants.

En 1985, la Direction a entrepris divers programmes de recherche, dont l'élaboration de propositions d'amendements à la *Loi sur les langues officielles* ; elle a assuré une liaison constante avec le Comité mixte ; elle a établi la stratégie du Commissariat et rédigé un certain nombre de discours, d'exposés et de mémoires pour le Commissaire et le Sous-Commissaire. C'est elle qui a été le maître d'œuvre du colloque national sur les minorités de langue officielle, tant à l'étape de la préparation qu'à celle du suivi. Pour 1986-1987, la Direction dispose d'un effectif de 13 personnes et d'un budget de 906 000 $.

Opérations régionales

Cette Direction, créée en mai 1985, témoigne de l'importance que le Commissaire attache aux opérations régionales.

Le personnel de l'administration centrale coordonne et dirige les activités des bureaux régionaux de Moncton, Montréal, Sudbury, Winnipeg et Edmonton ; un nouveau bureau doit s'ouvrir à Toronto en 1986. La Direction maintient des contacts réguliers avec les associations nationales de langue minoritaire, les groupes communautaires, les autorités locales, provinciales et fédérales, et le secteur privé. Elle analyse en outre les questions locales, fait le point des événements régionaux pouvant avoir des incidences sur les minorités, et supervise les activités des bureaux régionaux ; enfin, elle informe et conseille le Commissaire en vue de ses visites dans les régions. Le personnel des bureaux régionaux est en contact presque quotidien avec les représentants des minorités linguistiques et avec les bureaux locaux de l'administration fédérale. Son rôle est analogue à celui de l'administration centrale : il tient le Commissaire au courant des questions locales et régionales, l'appuie dans ses efforts en faveur de l'égalité du français et de l'anglais à l'échelon local, renseigne la population sur les objectifs et les exigences de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, examine les plaintes d'intérêt local ou régional, participe aux vérifications linguistiques et assure le suivi des visites du Commissaire aux autorités provinciales. Il remplit une fonction indispensable pour ce qui est d'apprécier les besoins des minorités et ceux des organismes grâce à des séances d'information avec les associations, les clubs, les représentants des médias, les étudiants, les fonctionnaires et le grand public.

Pour 1986-1987, la Direction (y compris ses bureaux régionaux) dispose d'un budget de 1 675 000 $ et d'un effectif de 28 personnes.

Plaintes et vérifications

Cette Direction, la plus considérable du Commissariat, remplit deux grandes fonctions : premièrement, elle examine les plaintes émanant de personnes qui estiment que les autorités fédérales ont porté atteinte à leurs droits linguistiques et leur donne suite le cas échéant, recommande les mesures correctives appropriées, puis en contrôle la mise en œuvre ; deuxièmement, elle effectue des vérifications dans les organismes fédéraux afin de déterminer dans quelle mesure ils satisfont aux obligations découlant de la Loi en ce qui concerne le service au public, la langue de travail et la participation équitable.

La Direction a maintenant terminé son plan quinquennal qui lui a permis d'examiner à peu près tous les ministères et organismes fédéraux ; elle pourra désormais se montrer plus sélective quant à ceux qui feront l'objet d'une vérification. À cette fin,

elle a recours particulièrement à deux moyens : des suivis systématiques des vérifications antérieures, et des études transversales sur certains aspects des langues officielles.

Les études, vérifications et suivis effectués cette année ont porté sur les thèmes dont il était fait état dans notre rapport de 1984 : offre active de services, organismes et ministères détenant des pouvoirs de coercition sur les citoyens, et organismes fédéraux qui appuient les minorités de langue officielle. Une étude transversale menée cette année a permis d'établir que les systèmes de controle et les méthodes de vérification interne des ministères étaient souvent déficients ; les recommandations qui en ont découlé feront l'objet d'un suivi l'année prochaine. Pour les fins d'une étude des problèmes relatifs à la langue de travail, la Direction a créé un instrument d'évaluation psycholinguistique pour mesurer les attitudes des fonctionnaires ainsi que les interactions entre eux. On se penchera de nouveau sur cette question au cours de l'année qui vient.

Pour ce qui est des plaintes, la Direction a mis sur pied un centre d'évaluation et de répartition, qui contribuera pour une large part à déterminer de quelle façon doivent être traités tels types de plaintes. L'analyse interne qui a abouti à ce changement avait pour but de réduire les coûts ainsi que la paperasserie qu'entraîne le traitement individuel des plaintes, de mettre mieux à profit les plaintes dans l'application de la Loi, et d'assurer des réponses plus complètes et plus promptes à leurs auteurs. Dorénavant, le ministère ou l'organisme concerné sera appelé à faire porter ses efforts non sur des réponses officielles aux allégations des plaignants, mais sur un plan d'action visant à résoudre les problèmes et à empêcher qu'ils ne se reproduisent.

En 1985, la Direction a effectué 44 opérations (vérifications, études et suivis) et traité quelque 1 400 plaintes. Pour 1986-1987, elle dispose d'un budget de 2 470 000 $ et d'un effectif de 50 personnes.

Communications

En 1985, cette Direction a revu ses programmes et redéfini ses publics cibles. Si les jeunes continueront d'occuper la première place, la Direction s'adressera davantage aux façonneurs de l'opinion et aux diverses parties intéressées par la réforme du régime linguistique : fonctionnaires, représentants des minorités, auteurs de plaintes, etc. Les besoins en information seront déterminés par le biais de consultations avec les fonctionnaires et les représentants des minorités ; de plus, le programme de communications du Commissariat s'orientera vers la promotion et vers une plus grande décentralisation, ce qui favorisera l'information régionale.

En 1985, la Direction a créé deux nouvelles productions pour son programme jeunesse : une affiche intitulée *Les deux langues officielles du Canada*, qui s'adresse aux enfants de moins de 8 ans ; et une trousse audiolinguistique, *Prêtez l'oreille*, pour les enfants de 8 à 11 ans. Mais la grande initiative de l'année a été, dans le cadre de l'Année internationale de la jeunesse, le concours Œuvres de fiction, auquel ont participé plus de 1 500 jeunes, de tous les coins du Canada (voir la partie V). La Direction a également obtenu une très forte réponse à une initiative de promotion s'adressant aux écoles.

Les productions pour les jeunes sont demeurées en grande demande. Le Commissariat a distribué au cours de l'année 96 000 trousses *Explorations*, 196 000

Oh ! Canada 2, 503 000 affiches et plus de 100 000 exemplaires du disque *Le téléphone*, complément de *Oh ! Canada* 2, suite aux demandes provenant de jeunes, de parents, d'écoles et d'organismes divers. Vers la fin de l'année, la Direction a commandé une étude des trousses *Explorations* et *Prêtez l'oreille*, qui lui permettra de décider s'il convient d'en continuer la production et celle des matériels connexes.

La revue du Commissariat, *Langue et Société*, est parue deux fois en 1985, et deux numéros spéciaux étaient en préparation à la fin de l'année. L'article de tête du premier (hiver 1985) célébrait le cinquantième anniversaire du Bureau des traductions ; le second numéro (septembre) portait entièrement sur la question des langues au Manitoba ; quant aux deux numéros spéciaux, ils renfermeront respectivement les actes du colloque d'octobre sur les minorités et les meilleurs manuscrits présentés au concours Œuvres de fiction. À cette occasion, les membres du conseil consultatif de *Langue et Société* ont apporté une aide qui a été très appréciée.

La recherche et la planification ont porté en grande partie sur l'orientation à donner aux publications à venir, notamment aux productions destinées aux jeunes. Diverses enquêtes et analyses ont été effectuées afin de déterminer des créneaux pour les productions du Commissariat dans les programmes d'enseignement des provinces, en ce qui concerne l'information sur les deux langues officielles du Canada, et de susciter l'intérêt chez les étudiants, les enseignants et le grand public. Les résultats de ce travail permettront à la Direction d'améliorer la qualité et la pertinence de ses diverses publications. Ainsi, on a entrepris d'adapter la trousse *Explorations* à l'intention des enfants de 8 à 11 ans ; et on prépare une publication du type magazine s'adressant aux jeunes de 15 à 17 ans et qui traitera des droits linguistiques, un sujet qu'on trouve rarement dans les programmes scolaires. Le Commissaire tient à souligner ici le précieux concours du Comité consultatif du programme jeunesse, dont les membres avaient été proposés par les ministres de l'Éducation ; celui-ci a tenu trois réunions en 1985 et nous a aidés à redéfinir nos clientèles et à réviser nos programmes.

Au cours de l'année, la Direction a distribué quelque 1 855 000 articles, en réponse à près de 60 000 demandes d'information et de matériels reçues par la poste ou par téléphone ou présentées en personne. Pour 1986-1987, la Direction dispose d'un effectif de 18 personnes et d'un budget de 2 876 000 $.

Gestion des ressources

Cette Direction, chargée de la gestion du personnel du Commissariat sous tous ses aspects, seconde et conseille les administrateurs pour ce qui est des lignes directrices et des pratiques en cette matière, administre le budget, contrôle les dépenses et veille à ce que les ressources matérielles soient exploitées rationnellement et efficacement. Bref, le Commissaire lui a délégué son autorité pour la plupart des questions relatives au personnel, aux finances et à la gestion des ressources.

La révision du programme en 1985 a permis à la Direction de rationaliser ses activités et de réduire de cinq membres son personnel. Le budget géré s'élevait à 9 984 000 $.

Les 132 employés du Commissariat sont tous bilingues ; 75 p.100 d'entre eux sont francophones, et 25 p.100 anglophones. Grâce aux efforts consentis en faveur d'un meilleur équilibre, la représentation anglophone a progressé — mais modestement,

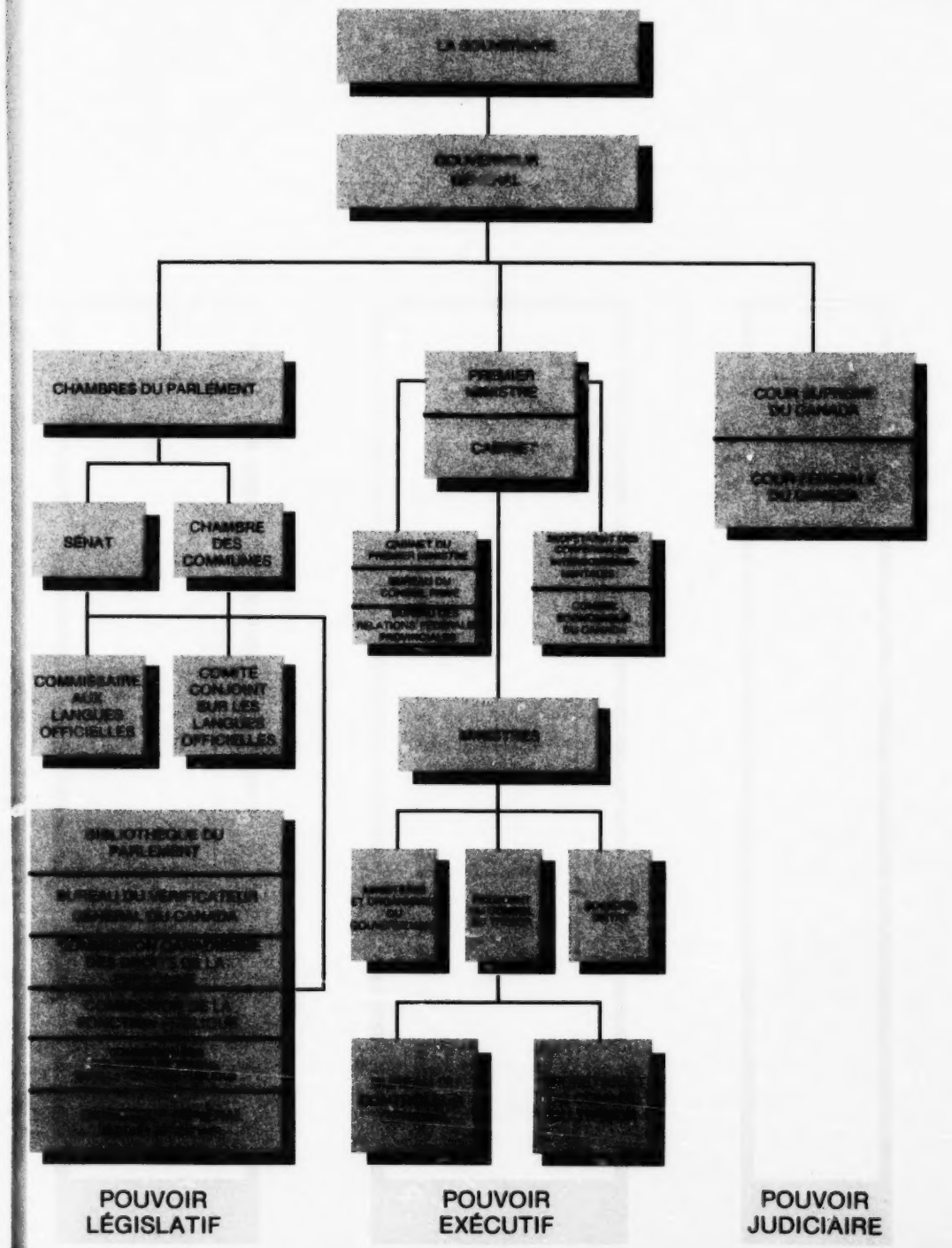
il est vrai. Environ 63 p.100 du budget est absorbé par les traitements et les cotisations aux régimes sociaux, 25 p.100 va aux programmes d'information, et le reste, soit 12 p.100, est affecté aux frais d'administration et d'exploitation. Pour 1986-1987, la Direction dispose d'un effectif de 36 personnes et d'un budget de 2 057 000 $.

Conclusion

En 1986, le Commissaire et son personnel se proposent de développer le rôle des bureaux régionaux, d'améliorer leur stratégie de communication avec les diverses clientèles, de participer à la révision de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, et d'améliorer les méthodes de collecte et d'analyse de l'information concernant les problèmes persistants de la réforme. Enfin, comme contribution aux efforts du Canada sur la scène mondiale en faveur de la liberté et de l'égalité linguistiques, le Commissariat participera, avec notamment la Commission canadienne pour l'Unesco et le Secrétariat d'État, à l'organisation d'une conférence internationale sur les questions de langue qui se tiendra en mai.

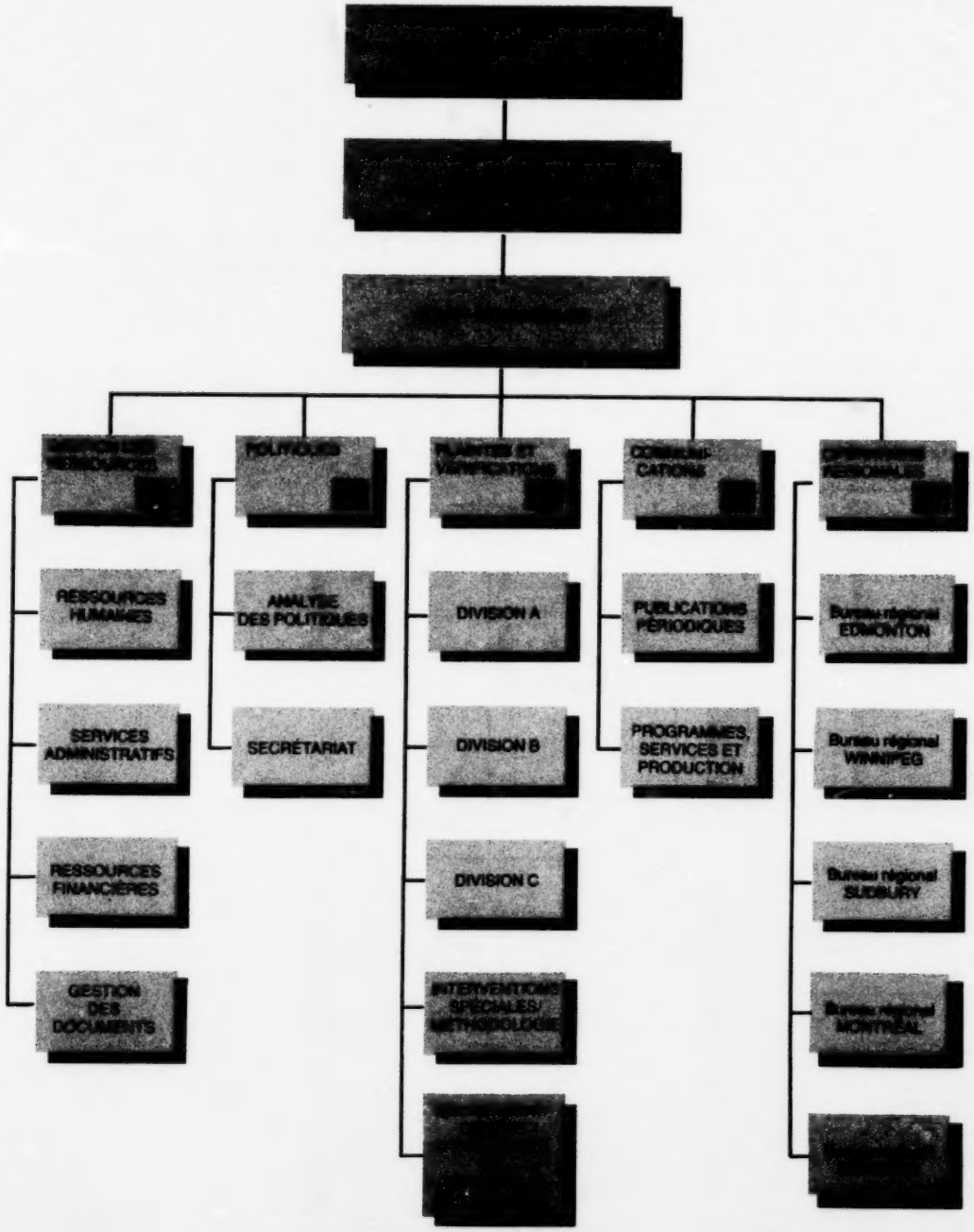
GOUVERNEMENT DU CANADA
Organigramme abrégé

1



COMMISSARIAT AUX LANGUES OFFICIELLES 2

Organigramme



■ effectif

LES PLAINTES

A.1

Répartition numérique des plaintes, selon la province, 1970-1984 et 1985; organismes mis en cause et nature des plaintes, selon la province, 1985

	1970-1984	1985						
	Total des plaintes reçues	Plaintes reçues	Organismes mis en cause		Nature des plaintes Français		Anglais	
	Nombre	Nombre	Fédéraux	Non fédéraux	Langue de service	Langue de travail	Langue de service	Langue de travail
Terre-Neuve	72	16	16	—	15	1	—	—
Île-du-Prince-Édouard	157	36	35	1	36	—	—	—
Nouvelle-Écosse	364	77	77	—	75	1	1	—
Nouveau-Brunswick	1 309	110	103	7	104	5	1	—
Québec[a]	3 776	145	135	10	49	17	77	2
Ontario[b]	7 681	506	475	31	358	129	12	7
Manitoba	1 014	58	54	4	57	1	—	—
Saskatchewan	570	36	35	1	36	—	—	—
Alberta	710	62	61	1	59	—	3	—
Colombie-Britannique	411	22	22	—	19	3	—	—
Territoires du Nord-Ouest et du Yukon	22	5	5	—	4	1	—	—
Étranger	99	7	7	—	6	—	1	—
TOTAL	16 185	1 080	1 025	55	818	182	95	9

[a] Inclut le côté québécois de la région de la Capitale nationale.

[b] Inclut le côté ontarien de la région de la Capitale nationale.

LES VÉRIFICATIONS LINGUISTIQUES ET SUIVIS

A.2

Vérifications linguistiques et suivis effectués dans les ministères et organismes fédéraux, 1983, 1984 et 1985

1983

Agence d'examen de l'investissement étranger
Comité de révision des accidents d'aviation
Comité permanent canadien des noms géographiques
Commission canadienne d'examen des exportations des biens culturels
Commission des champs de bataille nationaux
Commission du tarif
Commission sur les pratiques restrictives du commerce
Conseil des arts du Canada
Corporation commerciale canadienne
Corporation de développement du Cap-Breton
Cour fédérale (Administration)
Cour suprême (Administration)
Emploi et Immigration : participation anglophone au Québec
Gendarmerie royale du Canada (Nouveau-Brunswick et Île du Prince-Édouard)
Pétro-Canada
Pont international de la voie maritime
Secrétariat des conférences intergouvernementales canadiennes
Secrétariat d'État (Bureau des traductions)
Service correctionnel
Société canadienne des brevets et d'exploitation Ltée
Société canadienne des postes
Société d'assurance-dépôts du Canada
Société immobilière du Canada (Le Vieux-Port de Montréal) Ltée
Société immobilière du Canada (Vieux-Port de Québec) Inc.
Société immobilière du Canada (Mirabel) Limitée
Travaux publics
Utilisation de la traduction

1984

Administration de pilotage des Laurentides
Affaires des anciens combattants
Agriculture (services internes et recherche et développement)
Commission des allocations aux anciens combattants
Commission des pensions
Bureaux des services juridiques des pensions
Commission d'appel des pensions
Affaires extérieures (siège social)
Air Canada (aéroport international de Toronto: langue de service)
Air Canada (district d'Ottawa: langue de travail)
Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines
CN (tour et hôtels)
CN (langue de travail au siège social)
Expansion industrielle régionale (Bureau du tourisme)
Gendarmerie royale du Canada (administration centrale)
Harbourfront
Justice
Office canadien pour un renouveau industriel
Office national de l'énergie
Office national du film
Parcs Canada
Rapports linguistiques entre cinq sociétés de la Couronne et leurs fournisseurs du Québec
Sénat
Société de construction des musées du Canada
Travail
Tribunal antidumping
Vérificateur général du Canada
Inspecteur général des banques

1985

Vérifications
Approvisionnements et Services (Services)
Bureau du Conseil privé
Cabinet du Premier ministre
Chambre des communes
CN Marine
Commission de l'Emploi et de l'Immigration (administration centrale)
Corporation Place du Havre
Environnement
Expansion industrielle régionale
Gendarmerie royale du Canada (administration centrale)
Gouverneur général
Intégration des langues officielles dans la vérification interne
Via Rail (langue de travail)

Suivis
Assurances
Banque fédérale de développement
Centre national des arts
Commission de contrôle de l'énergie atomique du Canada
Commission canadienne des transports
Communications (Agence des télécommunications gouvernementales)
Conseil de la radiodiffusion et des télécommunications canadiennes
Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada
Conseil des arts du Canada
Parcs Canada
Pêches et Océans
Pétro-Canada
Radio-Canada (général)
Radio-Canada (ingénierie)
Revenu national (Douanes et Accise)
Revenu national (Impôt)
Santé nationale et Bien-être social
Secrétariat d'État (Bureau des traductions)
Société pour l'expansion des exportations
Transports
Travaux publics

LE PROGRAMME JEUNESSE : DISTRIBUTION

A.3

Répartition, en nombre et en pourcentage, des trousses *Oh! Canada 2* et *Explorations* distribuées dans chaque province et répartition de l'effectif des jeunes de 8 à 12 ans et de 13 à 17 ans de chaque province par rapport à l'ensemble national, 1980 à 1985.

	OH! CANADA 2			EXPLORATIONS		
	Trousses distribuées[a]		Jeunes de 8 à 12 ans[c]	Trousses distribuées[b]		Jeunes de 13 à 17 ans[c]
	Nombre	%	%	Nombre	%	%
Terre-Neuve	23 633	2,7	3,1	8 900	1,7	3,2
Île-du-Prince-Édouard	5 170	0,6	0,6	3 196	0,6	0,6
Nouvelle-Écosse	33 237	3,8	3,7	13 835	2,7	3,8
Nouveau-Brunswick	71 895	8,2	3,3	15 713	3,0	3,2
Québec	161 630	18,5	24,5	178 516	34,3	22,9
Ontario	371 485	42,5	35,1	190 530	36,6	37,3
Manitoba	38 067	4,4	4,5	18 101	3,5	4,3
Saskatchewan	25 069	2,9	4,4	12 759	2,5	4,2
Alberta	49 810	5,7	9,7	22 760	4,4	9,1
Colombie-Britannique	71 525	8,2	10,7	41 471	8,0	11,1
Territoire du Yukon	790	0,1	0,1	332	0,1	0,1
Territoires du Nord-Ouest	2 547	0,3	0,3	650	0,1	0,2
Autres[d]	12 738	2,1	—	13 007	2,5	—
TOTAL	873 866	100,0	100,0	519 982	100,0	100,0

[a]Trousses distribuées entre le 7 novembre 1980 (lancement) et le 31 décembre 1985.

[b]Trousses distribuées entre le 22 septembre 1980 (lancement) et le 31 décembre 1985.

[c]Ces pourcentages sont tirés du Bulletin nº 81-210 de Statistique Canada, *Effectifs des écoles primaires et secondaires*, 1983-1984.

[d]Trousses distribuées à des ministères fédéraux et provinciaux, à l'exclusion de ceux de l'Éducation, à des organismes nationaux et à des pays étrangers.

LE PROGRAMME JEUNESSE : COÛTS

A.4

Conception, fabrication et distribution des trousses *Oh! Canada 2* et *Explorations* : nombre d'exemplaires et coûts, 1979-1980, 1980-1981, 1981-1982, 1982-1983 1983-1984, 1984-1985 et 1985-1986

	Conception et fabrication		Distribution[a]	
OH! CANADA 2	**Nombre d'exemplaires**	**Coûts (en $)**	**Nombre d'exemplaires**	**Coûts (en $)**
1979-1980	301 508[b]	183 027	—	—
1980-1981	—	124 540	126 944	86 124
1981-1982	456 468[c]	209 717	174 259	52 308
1982-1983	—	—	196 793	67 260
1983-1984	300 100[b c]	239 618[f]	92 014	126 526
1984-1985	—	176 892[e f]	110 523[e f]	139 467[e i]
1985-1986	—	5 000[d]	192 000[d]	173 000[d]
TOTAL	**1 058 076**	**938 794**	**892 533**	**644 685**
EXPLORATIONS				
1979-1980	201 722[b]	756 712	—	—
1980-1981	—	334 721[e]	148 173	283 798
1981-1982	130 946	569 891	53 517	109 683
1982-1983	—	99 465[g]	85 142	109 914
1983-1984	182 213	889 891[h]	78 333	173 902
1984-1985	20 178[c]	135 965[e i]	78 492[c]	156 937[e h]
1985-1986	—	85 000[d]	90 000[d]	160 000[d]
TOTAL	**535 059**	**2 871 645**	**533 657**	**994 234**

[a] Comprend les frais d'administration, de publicité, d'expédition et d'évaluation.

[b] Les frais de conception et de fabrication sont répartis sur deux années budgétaires.

[c] Données révisées depuis la parution du *Rapport annuel 1984*.

[d] Estimation.

[e] Comprend les frais d'impression de 200 000 cartes-affiches *Langues du monde* ainsi que de 100 000 brochures *Le Dossier langues supplémentaires*.

[f] Comprend le développement et la production d'éléments sonores.

[g] Comprend le développement et l'impression de la deuxième édition de la carte-affiche *Langues du monde*.

[h] Comprend l'informatisation de certaines fonctions reliées à la distribution.

[i] Comprend la diffusion d'éléments sonores.

[j] Comprend l'assemblage du 5[e] tirage.

LES QUESTIONS LINGUISTIQUES VOUS INTÉRESSENT ?

A.5

Imprimés, matériel audiovisuel et trousses pour les jeunes produits par le Commissariat aux langues officielles.[a]

IMPRIMÉS

Rapport annuel. Publication bilingue présentée tous les printemps au Parlement. Fournit aux parlementaires et au grand public les données qui leur permettront de juger des progrès de la réforme du régime linguistique entreprise au Canada il y a 16 ans. Environ 200 pages dans chaque langue.

Langue et société. Trimestriel bilingue qui s'adresse à tous ceux qu'intéressent les questions linguistiques qui se posent ici et dans d'autres pays. Réunit une variété d'informations et d'opinions de collaborateurs canadiens et étrangers. Environ 24 pages dans chaque langue.

Services en français/Service in English. Feuillet bilingue qui explique en quelques mots la nature des droits linguistiques qu'ont les Canadiens en matière de services fédéraux. Donne les adresses et numéros de téléphone des bureaux du Commissaire. En blocs de 50 feuillets de 9 × 22 cm chacun.

À votre service en français ou en anglais. Carte comptoir bilingue proposée aux ministères et aux fonctionnaires pour annoncer la disponibilité de services dans les deux langues officielles. Format 13 × 16 cm, avec calendrier au verso. Décalcomanies, calendriers et macarons portant le même message également disponibles.

Langues du monde/Les langues au Canada. Carte-affiche bilingue qui, d'un côté, illustre les langues officielles de quelque 160 pays et, de l'autre, offre des données sur le français et l'anglais au Canada ainsi que sur les langues autochtones et patrimoniales. Format 91 × 61 cm.

Les langues autochtones au Canada. Affiche bilingue donnant la répartition géographique, le nombre de locuteurs et les chances de survie de quelque 54 langues indiennes et inuit. Format 30 × 65 cm.

Deux langues, c'est tout un monde. Affiche bilingue dont le thème est mis en relief par la couleur et le graphisme. Format 53 × 70 cm.

Le français et l'anglais ... dans près de la moitié des pays du monde. Affiche bilingue qui donne, sur un fond de ballons aux couleurs vives, les drapeaux des pays où nos deux langues officielles sont communément utilisées. Une légende au verso identifie ces pays. Format 48 × 69 cm.

Le français et l'anglais assurent au Canada une place de choix. Affiche bilingue publiée pour commémorer le 15e anniversaire de la Loi. 16 × 25 cm.

POUR LES JEUNES

Explorations. Trousse bilingue de trois éléments destinée aux jeunes de 13 à 17 ans. C'est un tour du monde qui les sensibilise au statut international du français et de l'anglais dans un univers linguistique extrêmement varié. Avec le jeu **Explorations**, les joueurs vont de ville en ville, au hasard des dés. La carte-affiche, **Langues du monde/Les langues au Canada** et la brochure **Le Dossier langues** complètent l'ensemble.

Le Dossier langues. Un recueil d'articles, d'illustrations et d'activités qui renseignent sur l'histoire et le rôle des langues. Seize pages dans chaque langue.

Oh! Canada 2. Trousse bilingue amusante et instructive pour enfants de 8 à 12 ans. Elle comprend une brochure de 32 pages intitulée **Oh! Canada 2**, qui s'ouvre sur une bande dessinée racontant les incroyables aventures de Hildie, Jamie, Michel et Geneviève la tortue. Les pages suivantes sont un pot-pourri d'activités et de jeux : devinettes, découpages, proverbes, etc. La trousse contient aussi un jeu appelé **Retrouvons Geneviève** qui invite à parcourir le Canada à la recherche de la tortue espiègle, et un disque 33⅓ tours **Le Téléphone.** Ce dernier est aussi distribué séparément.

Sauvons Geneviève. Décalque bilingue, haut en couleurs, de Geneviève, la tortue espiègle de la bande dessinée **Oh! Canada 2.** Idéal pour un T-shirt, 15 cm de diamètre.

Prêtez l'oreille. Trousse destinée aux parents et aux enseignants. Elle propose une cassette audio de 30 minutes et un guide d'utilisation conçus pour inciter les jeunes de 9 à 12 ans à réfléchir au rôle du langage et à se former l'oreille aux sons de la langue seconde officielle.

Les hiboux hululent. Le langage animal est prétexte à une leçon d'anglais et de français. Poster bilingue de 45 × 59 cm.

Nos amis à plumes. Affiche qui donne les noms français et anglais d'un bon nombre d'oiseaux qui égaient les villes et les campagnes de l'Amérique du Nord. 48 × 69 cm.

Les deux langues officielles du Canada : le français et l'anglais. Les services du gouvernement fédéral sont disponibles dans les deux langues officielles, voilà le message transmis aux jeunes Canadiens par les six illustrations aux couleurs gaies de cette affiche dont la vedette est une oie du Canada. 24 × 34 cm.

MATÉRIEL AUDIOVISUEL[b]

Au-delà des mots ... la Loi sur les langues officielles. Court métrage en couleur de 15 minutes expliquant la *Loi sur les langues officielles* et ce qu'elle représente concrètement pour le Canada et les Canadiens. Décrit également le rôle du Commissaire. Utile pour les séances d'information et les colloques destinés au grand public ou aux fonctionnaires. Également disponible en version anglaise. Existe en 16 mm et en vidéocassette de ¾ po.

Deux langues pour mieux se comprendre. Diaporama qui traite de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* et du mandat du Commissaire. Recommandé pour des séances d'information, des colloques. Également disponible en version anglaise. Jeu de 60 diapositives couleur et bande sonore, ou vidéocassette de ¾ po; 10 minutes.

Il était deux fois ... Twice Upon a Time. Le bilinguisme canadien vu avec le sourire. Vise surtout à susciter la discussion. Court-métrage couleur en 16 mm ou en vidéocassette de ¾ po, 10 minutes.

B. B. vingt ans après. Reportage réalisé à l'occasion du 20e anniversaire de la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme. Des entrevues avec diverses personnalités permettent de faire le point sur les progrès accomplis. Également disponible en version anglaise, *Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Twenty Years Later*. Sur vidéocassette de ¾ po., couleur, 30 minutes.

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[a] Pour obtenir les publications décrites ci-dessus il suffit d'écrire à la Direction des communications. Commissariat aux langues officielles, Ottawa, K1A 0T8.

[b] Le matériel audiovisuel peut être emprunté de toutes les cinémathèques de l'Office national du film et du Commissariat.

LES PROGRAMMES DE LANGUES OFFICIELLES

B.1

Ventilation des prévisions budgétaires et des effectifs affectés aux programmes de langues officielles à l'extérieur et au sein de la Fonction publique fédérale, 1984-1985 et 1985-1986.

	1984-1985		1985-1986	
	Prévisions budgétaires révisées ($ 000)	Effectif	Prévisions budgétaires révisées ($ 000)	Effectif
PROGRAMMES EXTERNES : PROVINCES, TERRITOIRES ET ORGANISMES				
Secrétaire d'État				
• Paiements de transfert aux provinces et aux territoires au titre des programmes de langues	204 377		211 234	
• Subventions aux groupes minoritaires de langue officielle	20 858		19 539	
• Subventions au titre des programmes d'expansion du bilinguisme	2 367		7 810	
• Dépenses de fonctionnement	3 946	71	4 749	76
Commission de la Capitale nationale				
• Subventions à des programmes externes de bilinguisme	300	,40	300	,40
Commissaire aux langues officielles	9 994	139	9 924	141
Total partiel	241 842	210,40	253 556	217,40
PROGRAMMES INTERNES : FONCTION PUBLIQUE ET FORCES ARMÉES				
Conseil du Trésor				
• Direction des langues officielles	4 920	67	5 082	67
Commission de la Fonction publique				
• Formation linguistique	36 552	748	37 337	748
• Administration et autres activités	3 308	80	3 010	65
Secrétariat d'État				
• Services de langues officielles*	86 740	1 774	90 923	1 779
Autres ministères et organismes	80 619	709	75 122	645
Forces armées	42 511	1 023	40 504	1 085
Total partiel	254 620	4 641	251 978	4 389
TOTAL	**496 462**	**4 871,40**	**505 534**	**4 606,40**

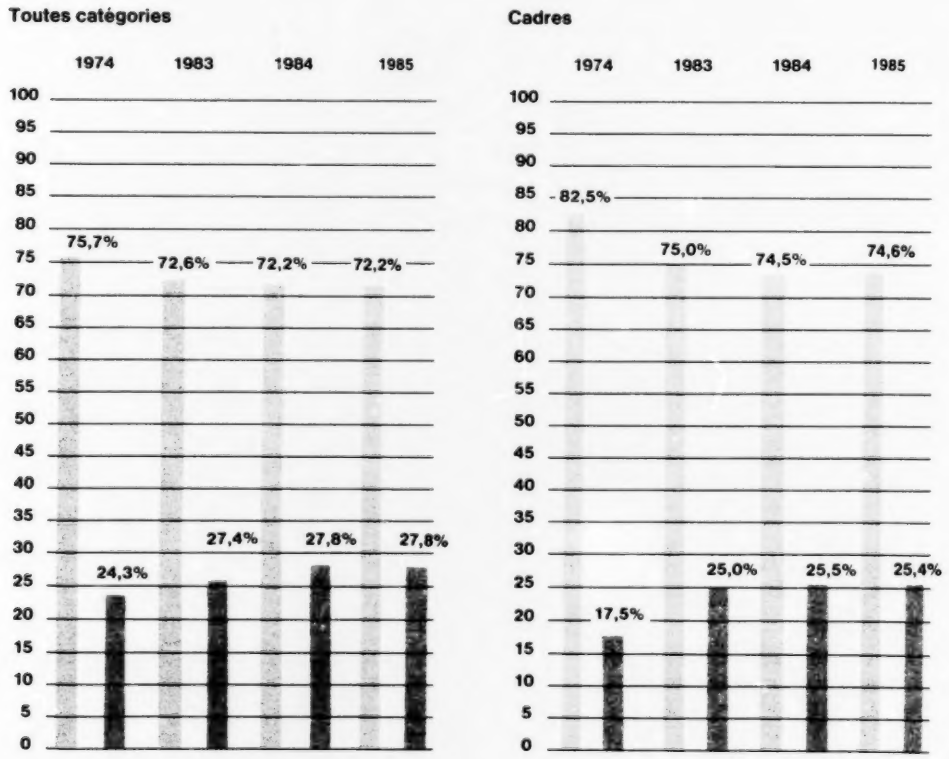
* Le terme *Bureau des traductions* a été remplacé par celui de *Services de langues officielles*.

Sources : Budget principal des dépenses et Budget supplémentaire des dépenses des années budgétaires 1984-1985 et 1985-1986, et rapports émanant des ministères et organismes concernés.

LES DEUX GROUPES DE LANGUES OFFICIELLES ET LA FONCTION PUBLIQUE DU CANADA

B.2

Répartition, en pourcentage et selon la première langue officielle[a], de l'effectif de la Fonction publique (toutes catégories professionnelles et cadres[b]), 1974, 1983, 1984 et 1985.



Légende :

Anglophones

Francophones

Note : Il est intéressant de comparer les données de ce tableau avec les statistiques pour 1965 de la Commission sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, bien que celles-ci portent sur la langue maternelle des employés et non leur première langue officielle. La répartition des Anglophones et des Francophones pour toutes les catégories étaient alors respectivement de 78,5 et 21,5 %.

[a] La Commission de la Fonction publique et le Conseil du Trésor définissent comme première langue officielle « la langue officielle (le français et l'anglais) à laquelle l'employé (ou l'employée) est le plus attaché ».

[b] Comprend les catégories suivantes : Gestion, Scientifiques et spécialistes, Administration et service extérieur, Techniciens.

Sources : Commission de la Fonction publique (cadres) et Système d'information sur les langues officielles du Conseil du Trésor (toutes catégories).

EFFECTIFS DES PROGRAMMES DE LANGUE SECONDE DANS LES ÉCOLES PUBLIQUES DE CHACUNE DES PROVINCES

B.3

Élèves apprenant l'anglais au Québec ou le français ailleurs ; rapport, en pourcentage, entre la population scolaire[c] et celle qui fait cet apprentissage et temps qui y est consacré, en pourcentage, 1970-1971, 1984-1985 et 1985-1986

NIVEAU ÉLÉMENTAIRE[d]		Population scolaire de la majorité de langue officielle[c]	Population en cours de langue seconde[c]		Temps consacré à l'apprentissage (en %)
			Nombre	%	
Terre-Neuve	1970-1971	101 877	21 835	21,4	5,0
	1984-1985[r]	76 026	37 594	49,4	7,0
	1985-1986	73 631	36 715	50,0	7,1
Île-du-Prince-Édouard	1970-1971	16 818	3 561	21,2	8,0
	1984-1985[r]	10 659	6 376	59,8	6,7
	1985-1986	10 200[a]	6 124	60,0[a]	6,8
Nouvelle-Écosse	1970-1971	121 894	12 642	10,4	7,0
	1984-1985[r]	87 856	46 804	53,3	7,8
	1985-1986[a]	87 000	47 850	55,0	8,0
Nouveau-Brunswick	1970-1971	61 923	37 305	60,2	8,0
	1984-1985[r]	39 480	28 658	72,6	9,7
	1985-1986	39 500[a]	28 915	73,2[a]	10,0
Québec	1970-1971	824 026	339 484	41,2	9,0
	1984-1985[r]	575 721	232 252	40,3	10,0
	1985-1986[a]	580 000	234 900	40,5	10,0
Ontario	1970-1971	1 356 705	514 173	37,9	7,0
	1984-1985[r]	1 037 278	654 214	63,1	10,8
	1985-1986[a]	1 025 000	645 750	63,0	11,0
Manitoba	1970-1971	134 465	39 739	29,6	5,0
	1984-1985[r]	94 253	46 631	49,5	8,9
	1985-1986[a]	93 000	46 500	50,0	9,0
Saskatchewan	1970-1971	133 514	6 950	5,2	7,1
	1984-1985[r]	107 877	12 808	11,9	6,5
	1985-1986	107 683	19 971	18,5	6,3
Alberta	1970-1971	230 433	58 235	25,3	6,0
	1984-1985[r]	224 891	50 820	22,6	7,9
	1985-1986[a]	223 000	51 290	23,0	8,0
Colombie-Britannique	1970-1971	333 340	18 558	5,6	5,0
	1984-1985[r]	279 775	75 126	26,9	5,3
	1985-1986[a]	274 000	71 240	26,0	5,3

Suite

		Population scolaire de la majorité de langue officielle[c]	Population en cours de langue seconde[c]		Temps consacré à l'apprentissage (en %)
NIVEAU ÉLÉMENTAIRE[d]			Nombre	%	
Yukon	1970-1971	3 337	N/D	N/D	N/D
	1984-1985	2 775	1 078	38,8	7,2
	1985-1986[a]	2 800	1 075	38,4	7,2
Territoires du Nord-Ouest	1970-1971	7 761	N/D	N/D	N/D
	1984-1985	9 316[b]	2 355	23,3	5,8
	1985-1986	9 400	2 450	26,1	5,5
TOTAL	**1970-1971**	**3 326 113**	**1 052 482**	**31,6[f]**	**7,5[g]**
	1984-1985[r]	**2 545 907**	**1 194 716**	**46,9**	**9,8**
	1985-1986[a]	**2 525 214**	**1 192 780**	**47,2**	**9,9**
NIVEAU SECONDAIRE[e]					
Terre-Neuve	1970-1971	58 853	37 895	64,4	10,0
	1984-1985[r]	67 601	37 286	55,2	10,9
	1985-1986	66 515	37 679	56,6	10,8
Île-du-Prince-Édouard	1970-1971	13 008	10 794	83,0	10,0
	1984-1985[r]	11 841	7 451	63,0	11,2
	1985-1986	11 750	7 447	63,0	11,2
Nouvelle-Écosse	1970-1971	85 615	59 955	70,0	13,0
	1984-1985[r]	81 940	53 445	65,2	12,1
	1985-1986[a]	81 000	52 650	65,0	12,0
Nouveau-Brunswick	1970-1971	53 310	42 708	80,1	12,0
	1984-1985[r]	44 039	29 362	66,7	14,8
	1985-1986	43 000[b]	28 769	66,9[a]	15,3
Québec	1970-1971	515 907	515 846	100,0	14,0
	1984-1985[r]	358 151	350 987	98,0	16,0
	1985-1986[a]	350 000	343 000	98,0	16,0
Ontario	1970-1971	548 827	269 079	48,9	13,0
	1984-1985[r]	554 702	226 699	40,9	13,6
	1985-1986[a]	550 000	220 000	40,0	14,0

Suite

NIVEAU SECONDAIRE[a]		Population scolaire de la majorité de langue officielle[c]	Population en cours de langue seconde[c] Nombre	%	Temps consacré à l'apprentissage (en %)
Manitoba	1970-1971	102 078	55 640	54,5	10,0
	1984-1985[r]	88 631	37 953	42,8	12,0
	1985-1986[a]	86 000	37 840	43,0	10,0
Saskatchewan	1970-1971	113 053	77 928	68,9	10,0
	1984-1985[r]	88 172	39 152	44,4	9,6
	1985-1986	88 717	40 343	50,0	9,8
Alberta	1970-1971	195 554	80 607	41,2	10,0
	1984-1985[r]	203 447	59 196	29,1	11,4
	1985-1986[a]	201 000	59 300	29,5	11,5
Colombie-Britannique	1970-1971	193 651	127 293	65,7	10,0
	1984-1985[r]	197 495	95 881	48,5	11,7
	1985-1986[a]	195 000	93 600	48,0	12,0
Yukon	1970-1971	1 297	N/D	N/D	N/D
	1984-1985	1 706	957	56,1	11,6
	1985-1986[a]	1 800	1 010	56,1	11,0
Territoires du Nord-Ouest	1970-1971	2 225	N,A	N,A	N,A
	1984-1985[r]	3 716	1 310	35,3	10,0
	1985-1986[a]	3 850	1 390	36,1	10,0
TOTAL	**1970-1971**	**1 884 376**	**1 277 745**	**67,8**	**12,5**
	1984-1985[r]	**1 701 531**	**939 679**	**55,2**	**13,8**
	1985-1986[a]	**1 679 632**	**923 028**	**55,0**	**13,9**
GRAND TOTAL	**1970-1971**	**5 210 489**	**2 330 227**	**44,7**	**10,2**
	1984-1985[r]	**4 247 438**	**2 134 395**	**50,3**	**11,5**
	1985-1986[a]	**4 204 948**	**2 115 808**	**50,3**	**11,6**

[a] Estimation de Statistique Canada.
[b] Données préliminaires fournies par le ministère de l'Éducation.
[c] Ne comprend pas les élèves pour qui la langue d'instruction est l'anglais au Québec ou le français dans les autres provinces.
[d] M à 6 sauf en Ontario (M à 8), et en Colombie-Britannique (M à 7).
[e] 7 à 12 sauf en Ontario (9 à 13), au Québec (7 à 11), et en Colombie-Britannique et au Yukon (8 à 12).
[r] Données révisées depuis la parution du *Rapport annuel 1984*.

Source : Statistique Canada, Division de l'enseignement élémentaire et secondaire.

PROGRAMMES D'IMMERSION EN FRANÇAIS

B.4

Nombre d'élèves inscrits aux programmes d'immersion en français, classes où ces programmes sont assurés et nombre d'écoles les dispensant, selon les provinces et territoires 1977-1978, 1984-1985 et 1985-1986

		Élèves inscrits	Classes	Écoles
Terre-Neuve	1977-78	95	M à 2; 6 à 8	3
	1984-1985[r]	1 437	M à 10; 12	15
	1985-1986	2 011	M à 12	25
Île-du-Prince-Édouard	1977-78	541	1 à 4; 7 et 8	7
	1984-1985[r]	2 181	1 à 10	19
	1985-1986[b]	2 484	1 à 12	23
Nouvelle-Écosse	1977-78	127	M et 1; 6 à 8	3
	1984-1985[r]	1 099	P à 9	12
	1985-1986[a]	1 250	P à 9	13
Nouveau-Brunswick	1977-78	3 179	M à 9	34
	1984-1985[r]	12 820	M à 12	93
	1985-1986[b]	14 180	M à 12	93
Québec[a]	1977-78	17 800	M à 11	N/D
	1984-1985[r]	18 178	M à 11	N/D
	1985-1986[a]	18 500	M à 11	N/D
Ontario	1977-78[r]	12 764	M à 8	160
	1984-1985[r]	76 527	M à 13	625
	1985-1986[a]	85 000	M à 13	650
Manitoba	1977-78	1 667	M à 9	13
	1984-1985[r]	11 043	M à 12	62
	1985-1986	12 632	M à 12	65
Saskatchewan	1977-78	407	M à 8	2
	1984-1985[r]	5 011	M à 12	41
	1985-1986[b]	6 314	M à 12	44
Alberta	1977-78	N/D	N/D	N/D
	1984-1985[r]	16 983	M à 12	104
	1985-1986[a]	19 500	M à 12	110

[a] Estimation de Statistique Canada.

[b] Données préliminaires fournies par le ministère de l'Éducation.

[r] Données révisées depuis la parution du *Rapport annuel 1984*.

N.D. Les données ne sont pas disponibles.

Source : Statistique Canada, Division de l'enseignement élémentaire et secondaire.

Suite

		Élèves inscrits	Classes	Écoles
Colombie-Britannique	1977-78	1 301	M à 9	15
	1984-1985[r]	12 632	M à 12	104
	1985-1986	15 486	M à 12	110
Yukon	1977-78	—	—	—
	1984-1985	186	M à 4	1
	1985-1986[a]	225	M à 4	1
Territoires du Nord-Ouest	1977-78	—	—	—
	1984-1985[r]	192	M à 10	4
	1985-1986[b]	242	M à 10	4
TOTAL	**1977-78**	**37 881**		**237**
	1984-1985[r]	**158 289**		**1 078**
	1985-1986[a]	**177 824**		**1 143**

[a] Estimation de Statistique Canada.

[b] Données préliminaires fournies par le ministère de l'Éducation.

[c] Comme dans les autres provinces, les programmes d'immersion en français s'adressent exclusivement aux enfants de langue maternelle autre que le français.

[f] Ne comprend que les programmes d'immersion ou le français est la langue d'enseignement au moins 75 % du temps.

[r] Données révisées depuis la parution du *Rapport annuel 1984*.

N.D. Les données ne sont pas disponibles

Source : Statistique Canada, Division de l'enseignement élémentaire et secondaire.

PROGRAMMES D'ENSEIGNEMENT AUX MINORITÉS DE LANGUES OFFICIELLES

B.5

Nombre d'élèves inscrits aux programmes conçus pour permettre aux enfants de la minorité de langue officielle (l'anglais au Québec et le français ailleurs), d'étudier dans leur langue maternelle; classes où ces programmes sont assurés; nombre d'écoles les dispensant, selon les provinces, 1970-1971, 1984-1985 et 1985-1986.

		Élèves inscrits	Classes	Écoles
Terre-Neuve	1970-1971	185	M à 10	1
	1984-1985[r]	84	M à 10	2
	1985-1986	106	M à 10	4
Île-du-Prince-Édouard	1970-1971	796	1 à 12	7
	1984-1985	511	1 à 12	3
	1985-1986[b]	522	1 à 12	2
Nouvelle-Écosse	1970-1971	7 388	P à 12	32
	1984-1985[r]	4 273	P à 12	23
	1985-1986[a]	4 100	P à 12	23
Nouveau-Brunswick	1970-1971	60 679	M à 12	196
	1984-1985[r]	47 077	M à 12	157
	1985-1986	46 548	M à 12	154
Québec	1970-1971	248 855	M à 11	519
	1984-1985[r]	122 573	M à 11	413
	1985-1986[a]	118 000	M à 11	410
Ontario	1970-1971	115 869	M à 13	381
	1984-1985[r]	90 854	M à 13	354
	1985-1986[a]	90 500	M à 13	350
Manitoba	1970-1971	10 405	M à 12	49
	1984-1985[r]	5 547	M à 12	30
	1985-1986[b]	5 774	M à 12	30
Saskatchewan	1970-1971	832	M à 12	14
	1984-1985[r]	832	M à 12	14
	1985-1986[b]	898	M à 12	13

[a] Estimation de Statistique Canada.

[b] Données préliminaires fournies par le ministère de l'Éducation.

[r] Données révisées depuis la parution du *Rapport annuel 1984*.

N.D. Les données ne sont pas disponibles.

Suite

		Élèves inscrits	Classes	Écoles
Alberta	1970-1971	N/D	N/D	N/D
	1984-1985[r]	1 154	M à 10	10
	1985-1986[a]	1 200	M à 10	10
Colombie-Britannique	1970-1971	—	—	—
	1984-1985[r]	1 362	M à 10	30
	1985-1986[b]	1 557	M à 12	30
Yukon	1970-1971	—	—	—
	1984-1985	30	1 à 4, 6	1
	1985-1986[a]	50	1 à 6	1
Territoires du Nord-Ouest	1970-1971	—	—	—
	1984-1985	—	—	—
	1985-1986[b]	32	1 à 12	2
TOTAL	**1970-1971**	**444 942**		**1 197**
	1984-1985[r]	**271 887**		**1 019**
	1985-1986[a]	**269 287**		**1 029**

[a] Estimation de Statistique Canada.

[b] Données préliminaires fournies par le ministère de l'Éducation.

[r] Données révisées depuis la parution du *Rapport annuel 1984*.

N.D. Les données ne sont pas disponibles.

Source : Statistique Canada, Division de l'enseignement élémentaire et secondaire.

PROPOSITIONS DU COMMISSAIRE AUX LANGUES OFFICIELLES EN VUE DE LA RÉVISION DE LA LOI SUR LES LANGUES OFFICIELLES

DÉFINITION DES OBJECTIFS ET DU BUT DE LA LOI

Préambule
Le Commissaire propose de faire précéder la Loi d'un préambule :

1) Déclarant que les *deux* principaux objectifs sont :

   - un traitement égal du français et de l'anglais dans l'administration fédérale et dans ses institutions (service, travail, pleine participation des deux communautés) ;
   - la promotion de l'égalité des deux langues officielles dans d'autres secteurs et activités de la société canadienne.

2) Reconnaissant le besoin d'une harmonisation continue de l'action fédérale, provinciale et des autres intervenants en faveur des minorités de langue officielle.

3) Soulignant que ce principe de coopération se trouve implicitement reconnu dans les droits relatifs aux langues officielles de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés* et exhortant les autorités fédérales et provinciales à œuvrer de concert en vue d'assurer dans la pratique l'égalité du français et de l'anglais à travers le Canada, selon que l'histoire, le droit et la démographie le permettent.

4) Rappelant l'importance symbolique particulière de la réalisation du bilinguisme dans la région de la Capitale du Canada et de la nécessité de coordonner l'action du Canada, de l'Ontario, du Québec et des municipalités locales dans ce but.

5) Reflétant l'objectif pour Ottawa d'encourager le secteur privé et le secteur volontaire à assumer leur rôle respectif à l'égard du public canadien, conformément à l'esprit de la Loi et à l'intention du législateur.

Caractère exécutoire de la Loi
La Loi devrait stipuler que les droits énoncés dans la Loi ont un caractère exécutoire devant les tribunaux.

CONCILIATION DE LA LOI ET DE LA CHARTE

Primauté de la Loi
La Loi comprendrait un article lui attribuant une primauté sur les dispositions des autres lois fédérales, à moins d'une déclaration au contraire dans une loi précisant les dispositions qui seront opérantes nonobstant la Loi sur les langues officielles.

Conciliation générale
L'article 2 portant sur la déclaration de statut serait modifié pour le rendre tout à fait conforme à la déclaration correspondante de l'article 16(1) de la Charte.

Actes statutaires et autres actes
Le Commissaire propose que :
L'article 4, relatif à la publication simultanée dans les deux langues d'actes du pouvoir législatif, soit examiné afin d'établir si les exceptions prévues devraient être maintenues (à la lumière des décisions les plus récentes de la Cour suprême, comme l'arrêt Blaikie).

L'article 11, relatif à l'audition des témoins, soit étudié en profondeur en vue d'établir a) quelle est la pratique actuelle à l'échelon fédéral et b) si les garanties fournies sont suffisantes.

Service au public canadien
Le Commissaire recommande :

1) De retenir dans la Loi, comme c'est le cas dans la Charte des droits, la formulation d'un *droit* personnel à un service en plus de l'*obligation* institutionnelle de fournir le service. Si la Loi reprend le libellé de la Charte, il importerait de conserver la formulation de l'article 10 de la Loi en ajoutant les mots « ou ailleurs » après les mots « au Canada ».

2) De déclarer dans la Loi que tout membre du public a le droit de recevoir des services en français ou en anglais dans les situations suivantes :

- au siège ou au bureau central de toutes les institutions fédérales partout au Canada ou dans leurs bureaux à l'étranger ;
- dans tous les bureaux situés dans la région de la Capitale nationale ;
- dans les bureaux fédéraux clairement identifiés par déclaration publique à cette fin dans les régions et les localités particulières qui seront désignées « bilingues » par règlements adoptés en vertu de l'article 35 de la Loi ;
- à tout autre bureau où il y a une demande importante, sans restriction quant à « la mesure où il est possible de le faire » ;
- partout où des services sont rendus à des voyageurs, à moins que la demande n'y soit trop faible ou trop irrégulière pour justifier ce service ; et
- partout où, indépendamment de l'importance de la demande, la vocation du bureau ou la nature du rapport établi entre l'institution fédérale et les membres du public exigent que les clients se voient offrir un choix évident entre le français et l'anglais (par exemple dans le cas des organismes dotés d'un pouvoir de contrainte).

Districts bilingues fédéraux
La Loi modifiée sous ce rapport devrait continuer à tenir compte de trois éléments de ce concept :

1) *la désignation territoriale*, établie par règlement, des lieux où selon la composante de la population, selon la langue maternelle, tous les services fédéraux devraient être automatiquement et activement offerts dans les deux langues officielles et être disponibles, que les bureaux visés se trouvent ou non à l'intérieur de ces limites territoriales ;

2) *la possibilité de désigner d'autres bureaux fédéraux*, où en raison du volume de la demande ou de la vocation du bureau, le public puisse obtenir les services dans l'une ou l'autre langue ;

3) *la possibilité a) que les lieux désignés coincident* autant que faire se peut possible *avec les régions désignées par les autorités provinciales ou locales à des fins similaires et* b) que là où c'est faisable et après consultations appropriées, *les services fédéraux, provinciaux, et locaux dans les deux langues soient dispensés dans un endroit commun facilement accessible aux minorités de langue officielle*.

Langue de travail dans l'administration fédérale
Le Commissaire propose que le droit des employés dans *toutes* les institutions fédérales d'accomplir leurs fonctions dans la langue officielle de leur choix, soit explicité comme découlant de la Loi.

Il propose également que les conditions d'exercice de ce droit (ex. sujet au service au public dans la langue appropriée) soit énoncées au dispositif ou établies par règlement selon l'article 35.

Traités internationaux et ententes fédérales-provinciales
Le Commissaire recommande :
D'inscrire dans la Loi un article explicitant la politique actuelle voulant que les traités et les ententes internationales dont le Canada est signataire soient souscrits en français et en anglais ainsi que dans les autres langues appropriées.

D'exiger que les ententes fédérales-provinciales conclues sous l'autorité du Parlement ou du gouvernement seront aussi souscrites dans les deux langues.

De préciser que dans les cas où l'entente a une incidence directe sur la langue des services au public, songer à la possibilité de prévoir dans l'entente une clause prenant acte de l'engagement de la ou des provinces de respecter les principes de la Loi dans la prestation de ce service.

PORTÉE ET CHAMP D'APPLICATION DE LA LOI

Il conviendrait d'apporter dans la Loi des précisions ou des modifications aux cinq titres suivants :

1) la définition générique de ce qui constitue, aux fins de cette Loi, une institution du Parlement et du gouvernement du Canada ;

2) les services rendus au public par des tierces-parties ;

3) le recours aux pouvoirs des organismes fédéraux de mise en œuvre et de contrôle ;

4) la reconnaissance des langues autres que le français et l'anglais ;

5) la publications des ordonnaces et des jugements des organismes judiciaires et quasi judiciaires fédéraux.

La définition des institutions visées par la Loi

- *Sociétés d'État et entreprises conjointes*
  Le Commissaire croit que lorsque la Couronne aux droits du Canada détient une proportion importante des actions, une entreprise mixte devrait être soumise à la Loi sur les langues officielles.
- *Sociétés d'État ou organismes fédéral susceptibles d'être privatisés*
  Le Commissaire est d'avis que si une société d'État ou un organisme fédéral desservant le public est privatisé, la société acquéresse devrait être tenue de s'engager elle-même en vertu de la loi habilitante à continuer au moins à servir les Canadiens dans les deux langues officielles.
- *Services fournis par des tiers*
  Le Commissaire recommande d'étendre le principe déjà prévu à l'article 10 concernant les services aux voyageurs pour assurer que partout où des services de tous genre sont fournis à un public comprenant des membres de deux communautés en raison d'une entente, d'une contribution ou d'un contrat, l'institution fédérale responsable ait l'obligation de s'assurer que ces services sont également disponibles en français et en anglais.
- *Le recours aux pouvoirs des organismes fédéraux de contrôle*
  Le Commissaire recommande de modifier la Loi pour préciser que dans certains secteurs régis à l'échelon fédéral impliquant les normes de santé et de sécurité, les télécommunications, la radiodiffusion, le transport interprovincial dans les régions bilingues, ou là où la langue est un élément essentiel à une communication efficace avec les Canadiens, le gouvernement devrait chercher par les moyens appropriés, législatifs ou autres, à faire prendre en considération par ces organismes de réglementation le service au public dans les deux langues officielles quand ils réglementent les activités des entreprises sous leur juridiction.
- *Les langues autres que le français et l'anglais*
  Le Commissaire recommande d'incorporer à la Loi une disposition stipulant que cette Loi devrait concorder avec l'objectif de promouvoir le maintien et la valorisation des autres langues que le français ou l'anglais et ainsi s'insérer davantage dans la perspective des principes énoncés à l'article 27 de la Charte.
- *Décisions, ordonnances et jugements bilingues*
  Le Commissaire recommande la réaffirmation des dispositions d'exception en exigeant que tout organisme rendant de telles décisions et désireux de publier celles-ci en une seule langue soit tenu d'exposer les motifs pour lesquels cette décision, cette ordonnance ou ce jugement ne devrait pas être assujetti à l'article 5(1) de la Loi.

MANDAT ET POUVOIRS DU COMMISSAIRE

Tenue d'instructions de sa propre initiative
Le Commissaire propose que soit précisée la nature et l'étendue de son pouvoir distinct de procéder de sa propre initiative aux instructions requises et de rechercher les mesures réparatrices dans les domaines suivants:

1) *Audiences publiques*
   La Loi devrait définir le pouvoir discrétionnaire du Commissaire de tenir une audience publique dans le cadre des instructions auxquelles il procède, si à son avis, l'intérêt public est mieux servi de cette façon.

2) *Vérifications et rapports linguistiques*
   La Loi devrait définir plus précisément le rôle de vérificateur linguistique fédéral du Commissaire et les mécanismes entourant la publication des rapports et le suivi des recommandations qu'ils contiennent.

3) *Pouvoir de réclamer des mesures réparatrices*
   La Loi devrait exiger que chaque rapport spécial au Parlement soit d'abord soumis au gouverneur en conseil qui disposera d'un délais (90 jours) pour y réagir. Si le Commissaire juge alors que les mesures proposées demeurent insuffisantes, le Comité parlementaire sur les langues officielles, ou un autre Comité auquel on aurait confié la surveillance de la mise en œuvre de la Loi, serait alors réputé saisi de son rapport.

4) *Enquête sur les dispositions linguistiques des autres lois fédérales*
   La Loi devrait préciser à l'article 26 la compétence du Commissaire à recevoir des plaintes et à procéder à des instructions relativement aux dispositions de toute loi fédérale ou de tout règlement ayant un rapport quelconque avec le traitement égal des deux langues.

Protection statutaire du Commissaire et de son personnel contre les actions judiciaires
La Loi devrait prévoir en faveur du Commissaire et son personnel une immunité à l'égard des poursuites judiciaires et les soustraire à l'obligation de témoigner devant un tribunal relativement aux questions dont ils auraient pris connaissance dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions.

Autonomie administrative du Commissariat

- La Loi devrait établir dans l'ensemble un parallèle entre le statut du Commissaire et celui du Vérificateur général ;
- La Loi devrait rendre le Commissaire plus directement responsable envers le Parlement en matière de finance et de personnel.

DÉCLARATION CONJOINTE DES PRÉSIDENTS RESPECTIFS DE LA FÉDÉRATION DES FRANCOPHONES HORS QUÉBEC ET D'ALLIANCE QUÉBEC AU COLLOQUE SUR LES MINORITÉS DE LANGUE OFFICIELLE

Depuis sa conception, cette conférence a offert une occasion exceptionnelle aux minorités linguistiques du Canada. Grâce aux bons offices du Commissaire aux langues officielles, nous nous sommes réunis, pour la première fois, à partir des dix provinces et des territoires canadiens pour discuter de nos préoccupations mutuelles. Jamais auparavant, l'ensemble de nos communautés ne s'était réuni autour d'une même table pour exprimer leurs espérances, leurs frustrations, leur compréhension d'elles-mêmes et leur vision du Canada.

Nous avons examiné nos différences. Nous avons appris à mieux connaître les problèmes, les défis et les aspirations de près de un million de Canadiens d'expression française vivant en dehors du Québec. Et nous avons aussi discuté des problèmes, des défis et des aspirations d'un nombre presque équivalent de Québécois d'expression anglaise qui vivent l'expérience d'une minorité linguistique au sein d'une autre minorité linguistique.

En même temps, nous avons compris que nous partagions une même vision du pays et du rôle, vital et dynamique, des minorités linguistiques au Canada. Nous avons appris que des idéaux comme la coexistence, l'égalité des deux langues et la justice linguistique nous tiennent également à cœur. Nous avons aussi constaté que nous étions les uns et les autres en butte à des difficultés semblables et que, malgré nos différences, nous avions en commun nombre d'objectifs et de valeurs. Enfin nous avons pu nous rendre compte qu'en dépit des distances qui nous séparent, notre champ d'action était souvent le même.

Nous avons traité des particularités du Québec, notamment de la relation particulière entre les Québécois d'expression française et les communautés francophones hors Québec ainsi que de l'occasion unique donnée aux Québécois d'expression anglaise de faire comprendre à la majorité d'expression anglaise des autres provinces les difficultés d'une minorité linguistique.

Nos communautés respectives se doivent de faire front commun partout où leurs intérêts et leurs objectifs coïncident. Ensemble, elles représenteront, d'une seule voix, près de deux millions de Canadiens qui vivent l'expérience d'une minorité linguistique au jour le jour. Cette approche ne vise pas à atténuer nos forces individuelles ni à masquer nos différences, mais plutôt à unir nos efforts lorsque le meilleur intérêt de chacun l'exige. Il s'agit pour nous tous d'assumer ainsi un leadership responsable et généreux.

Nous avons la profonde conviction que les Canadiens tant d'expression française qu'anglaise doivent se sentir bien et chez eux quand ils utilisent leur langue, où qu'ils aient choisi de vivre au Canada.

Pour que cette idée se matérialise dans le quotidien, il importe que nos communautés respectives aient un accès égal, chacune dans sa langue, aux services gouvernementaux, notamment aux services de santé et de bien-être ainsi qu'aux programmes d'assistance au développement économique.

Il est essentiel que les provinces prennent en toute bonne foi les mesures nécessaires pour que le droit à l'éducation dans la langue minoritaire — consacré par la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés* — puisse vraiment s'exercer. Il est aussi essentiel que les services judiciaires soient accessibles dans les deux langues. Il faut également que nous soyons représentés équitablement dans les fonctions publiques des divers ordres de gouvernement et que nous n'y soyons victimes d'aucune discrimination linguistique.

Toutefois, et avant tout, il appartient au gouvernement fédéral d'assumer de nouveau un rôle de chef de file et de réaffirmer la dualité linguistique du pays. Nos espoirs et nos aspirations ne pourront être satisfaits que s'il exerce un leadership vigoureux capable d'entraîner les autres administrations publiques.

Dans un premier temps, et nous croyons que cela est facilement réalisable, nous demandons au gouvernement du Canada :

- d'établir des mécanismes de coordination des activités de tous les ministères et organismes fédéraux qui assurent ou pourraient assurer des services aux communautés minoritaires de langue officielle ;
- de clarifier les obligations de chaque ministère et organisme envers ces communautés ;

- et, enfin, de mettre au point des moyens d'évaluer les conséquences de ces mesures sur la vie des communautés de chacune de nos régions.

À cette fin, nous sollicitons respectueusement une rencontre avec le Premier ministre du Canada. Le Premier ministre a déjà accordé une entrevue à des représentants de la Fédération des Francophones hors Québec et d'Alliance Québec.

Mais maintenant, pour donner suite au colloque, il nous faut discuter avec lui des initiatives que nous venons de suggérer et qui ne constituent qu'un strict minimum, si nous voulons que soit pris un nouvel engagement national en faveur de l'égalité de nos deux langues.

Par exemple, la FFHQ et Alliance Québec pourraient, en matière de collaboration, entreprendre des démarches communes auprès du secteur privé, notamment des banques et des grandes chaînes de vente au détail, pour que soit mise en valeur la dualité linguistique canadienne, tant dans la publicité que dans le service à la clientèle.

Comme le Commissaire aux langues officielles l'a si justement exprimé, le temps est venu de porter un regard neuf sur la réforme du régime linguistique. Nous croyons que notre position est un premier pas utile vers le changement et le renouveau.

QUESTIONNAIRE DU SONDAGE SUR LES LANGUES OFFICIELLES EFFECTUÉ PAR RÉALITÉS CANADIENNES

Quatre versions de ce questionnaire ont été utilisées, destinées aux Francophones au Québec, aux Francophones hors Québec, aux Anglophones au Québec et aux Anglophones hors Québec.

- *Langues officielles*

1. Quelle est la langue ou quelles sont les langues désignées par le terme « langue officielle du Canada » ?

   Anglais *et* français seulement.

   Français seulement.

   Anglais seulement.

   Autre.

2. Voici quelques opinions que d'autres personnes ont exprimées concernant le français et l'anglais. Pour chacune, dites-moi si vous êtes d'accord ou en désaccord.

   a) Le français et l'anglais devraient être des matières obligatoires dans toutes les écoles canadiennes.

   b) Pour ma part, je pense que le Canada devrait avoir une seule langue officielle — l'anglais.

   c) Pour ma part, je pense que le Canada devrait avoir une seule langue officielle — le français.

   d) Ce serait une bonne chose si tous les Canadiens savaient parler et le français et l'anglais.

- *Apprentissage de la langue seconde*

3. A l'heure actuelle, comment décririez-vous votre habileté à parler l'anglais ?

   Je sais à peine quelques mots.

   Je sais quelques mots et quelques expressions mais je ne le parle pas vraiment.

   Je le parle un peu mais pas assez pour soutenir une conversation.

   Je peux converser en anglais mais pas très facilement.

   Je le parle sans aucune difficulté.

4. Dans quelle mesure le fait de parler anglais ou de mieux le parler vous serait-il utile présentement ?

   Très utile : je pourrais le parler tous les jours.

   Assez utile : je pourrais le parler souvent mais pas tous les jours.

   Un peu utile : je pourrais le parler parfois mais pas très souvent.

   Pas utile du tout : je pense que je n'aurais jamais à le parler.

5. En pensant à l'avenir, disons dans dix ans environ ; selon vous, dans quelle mesure vous sera-t-il alors utile de savoir parler l'anglais ?

   Très utile : je pourrais le parler tous les jours.

   Assez utile : je pourrais le parler souvent mais pas tous les jours.

   Un peu utile : je pourrais le parler parfois mais pas très souvent.

   Pas utile du tout : je pense que je n'aurais jamais à le parler.

6. Mis à part les cours d'anglais à l'école, à peu près à quelle fréquence entendez-vous de l'anglais autour de vous ?

   Presque tous les jours.

   Une ou deux fois par semaine.

À l'occasion — mais moins qu'une fois par semaine.

Jamais.

7. a) Pendant combien d'années avez-vous étudié l'anglais à l'école *primaire* et/ou *secondaire* ?

b) Et avez-vous étudié l'anglais ailleurs qu'à l'école primaire et/ou secondaire ?

c) Où avez-vous étudié l'anglais, ailleurs qu'à l'école primaire et/ou secondaire ?

8. À votre avis, dans quelle mesure est-ce important de pouvoir parler et l'anglais et le français pour un jeune qui veut réussir au Canada de nos jours ? Diriez-vous que c'est. . .

Très important.

Moyennement important.

Pas très important.

Pas important du tout.

- *Services dans la langue minoritaire*

9. a) Lorsqu'il s'agit d'offrir des services au public, quelle est la langue, ou quelles sont les langues, que le gouvernement fédéral devrait utiliser ?

Anglais seulement.

Français seulement.

Les deux, anglais et français.

Autre.

b) Lorsqu'il s'agit d'offrir des services au public, quelle est la langue, ou quelles sont les langues, que le gouvernement du/de (province de l'entrevue) devrait utiliser ?

Anglais seulement.

Français seulement.

Les deux, anglais et français.

Autre.

c) Lorsqu'il s'agit d'offrir des services au public, quelle est la langue, ou quelles sont les langues, que les entreprises du/de (province de l'entrevue) devrait utiliser ?

Anglais seulement.

Français seulement.

Les deux, anglais et français.

Autre.

10. a) Les Anglophones/Francophones du/de (province de l'entrevue) ont-ils le droit d'être servis dans leur propre langue lorsqu'ils achètent des timbres au bureau de poste ?

b) Les Anglophones/Francophones du/de (province de l'entrevue) ont-ils le droit de recevoir des services hospitaliers dans leur propre langue ?

c) Les Anglophones/Francophones du/de (province de l'entrevue) ont-ils le droit d'être servis dans leur propre langue dans un magasin à rayons ?

d) Les Anglophones/Francophones du/de (province de l'entrevue) ont-ils le droit de faire instruire leurs enfants dans leur propre langue ?

11. Si vous aviez besoin d'information sur vos droits linguistiques, à qui vous adresseriez-vous ?

Gouvernement.

Gouvernement fédéral.

Gouvernement provincial.

Commissariat aux langues officielles.

Organisme gouvernemental autre que le Commissariat aux langues officielles.

Avocat.

Autre.

12. a) Les Anglophones/Francophones du/de (province de l'entrevue) devraient-ils avoir le droit d'être servis dans leur propre langue lorsqu'ils achètent des timbres au bureau de poste ?

b) Les Anglophones/Francophones du/de (province de l'entrevue) devraient-ils avoir le droit de recevoir des services hospitaliers dans leur propre langue ?

c) Les Anglophones/Francophones du/de (province de l'entrevue) devraient-ils avoir le droit d'être servis dans leur propre langue dans un magasin à rayons ?

d) Les Anglophones/Francophones du/de (province de l'entrevue) devraient-ils avoir le droit de faire instruire leurs enfants dans leur propre langue ?

13. Maintenant, en ce qui concerne les Francophones/Anglophones qui vivent à l'extérieur du/au Québec. . .

a) Les Francophones hors Québec/Anglophones au Québec devraient-ils avoir le droit d'être servis dans leur propre langue lorsqu'ils achètent des timbres au bureau de poste ?

b) Les Francophones hors Québec/Anglophones au Québec devraient-ils avoir le droit de recevoir des services hospitaliers dans leur propre langue ?

c) Les Francophones hors Québec/Anglophones au Québec devraient-ils avoir le droit d'être servis dans leur propre langue dans un magasin à rayons ?

d) Les Francophones hors Québec/Anglophones au Québec devraient-ils avoir le droit de faire instruire leurs enfants dans leur propre langue ?

- *Relations entre les deux groupes linguistiques*

14. a) En ce moment, comment décririez-vous les relations entre les Canadiens francophones et les Canadiens anglophones ?

Bonnes ?

Passables ?

Mauvaises ?

Pas certain(e).

b) En ce moment, diriez-vous que les relations entre Francophones et Anglophones au Canada vont en s'améliorant, en se détériorant, ou restent à peu près les mêmes ?

S'améliorent.

Se détériorent.

À peu près les mêmes.

Pas certain(e).